# THE DEVELOPMENT
# OF THE
# Italian Schools of Painting

BY

RAIMOND VAN MARLE
Doctor of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Paris

---

VOLUME III

With 10 collotype plates and 368 illustrations

**HACKER ART BOOKS**
**NEW YORK**
**1970**

ND611 .H27 1970 v.3

First published by Martinus Nijhoff
The Hague 1924
Reprinted by Hacker Art Books
New York 1970

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number—70-116366
SBN: 0-8717-048-0

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Preface . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . VII
Chapter I: Giotto . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1
Chapter II: Giotto's assistants and immediate followers . 178
Chapter III: Taddeo Gaddi . . . . . . . . . . . 301
Chapter IV: The Sienese influence in Florence . . . . 348
Chapter V: Andrea Orcagna, his brothers and other followers . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 454
Chapter VI: The end of the Giottesque tradition . . . . 536
Appendix: Notes on Florentine Miniatures . . . . . . . 650
Additions and corrections . . . . . . . . . . . . . 653
Indices . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 657

163103

N.B. The terms "right" and "left" are used from the standpoint of the spectator unless the contrary be stated.

# CHAPTER I.

## GIOTTO (1).

Although we have reason to believe, judging from the numerous towns to which they were called to execute works, that Cavallini and Cimabue were also known as great artists, still we have no evidence that they enjoyed the honours and popularity which were bestowed on Giotto at the end of his life.

---

(1) In the following list I do not mention those works which describe Giotto as the author of the frescoes of the Incoronata at Naples and others wrongly attributed to him. *D'Ancona,* Il vero rittratto di Dante, Lettura I 3, Milan, 1903, p. 203. *B. Aynalow,* The Stories of Giotto in Assisi; Studies on Italian art history, Vol. II, Petrograd, 1908 (Russian). *G. Baccini,* Vecchio di Mugello e Giotto, Florence, 1901. *I. Del Badia,* La Patria e la casa di Giotto, La Nazione, 19 April 1893. *I. Del Badia,* Giotto e fiorentino, Florence, 1901 (Extract from Firenze Nuovo, Sept. 1901). *Bayet,* Giotto, Paris, 1901. *Bayet,* Giotto à Assise, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, 1907. *Berenson,* Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, 1908, p. 45. *G. De Blasiis,* Immagine dei uomini famosi in una Sala di Castelnuovo attribuite a Giotto, Napoli Nobilissima, IX, 1900, p. 65. *Brousolle,* Etudes d'art, de voyage et de religion, les fresques de l'Arena de Padoue, études d'iconographie religieuse, Paris, 1905. *G. Cascioli,* La Navicella di Giotto, Bessarione, 1916. *L. Chini,* Vita di Giotto, Firenze, 1875. *R. Davidsohn,* Die Heimath Giotto's, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XX, 1897. *Dohme,* Giotto, in Dobbert's Kunst u. Künstler, III. *P. Fedele,* Recension of L. Venturi's La data dell' attivita etc., Arch. del. R. Soc. Rom. di Stor. Patr., XLI, 1918, p. 353 and XLIV, 1921, p. 330. *A Foratti,* Il Giudizio Universale di Giotto in Padova, Boll. d'Arte del. Minist del. Pubbl. Istr., 1921, p. 49. *L. Frati,* Giotto a Bologna, L'Arte, 1910, p. 466. *K. Frey,* Studien zu Giotto, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1885, p. 107. *R. Fry,* Giotto, Monthly Review, Dec. 1900, Feb. 1901. *F. Gentile,* A proposito della morte della Vergine attribuita a Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, 1915, p. 187. *G. Guasti,* Gli affreschi di Giotto nella Cappella di Bardi in S. Croce, Florence, 1853. *H. Janitschek,* Die Kunstlehre Dante und Giotto's Kunst, Leipzig, 1892. *Lafenestre,* St. François d'Assise et Savonarola, inspirateurs de l'art italien, Paris, 1911, p. 145: Giotto et la légende franciscaine. *C. Ludeschi,* Giotto, Nuova Antologia, VI, 1867, p. 31. *B. Marinangeli,* La serie d'affreschi Giotteschi rappresent. la vita di S. Francesco nella chiesa superiore di Assisi, Miscellanea Franciscana, XIII, 1911, p. 927 (On the titles of the frescoes inscribed under each). *R. van Marle,* Recherches sur l'iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio, Strassburg, 1920.

---

*R. van Marle*, On the Roman origin of Giotto's art, Rassegna d'Arte, 1919. no. 3–4. *R. van Marle*, L'orgine romaine de l'art de Giotto, Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, May—June 1922. *Martinelli*, Pitture e fresco di Giotto in Ravenna, Ravenna, 1874. *F. J. Mather*, La fede cristiana di Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, 1913, p. 200. *G. Mestica*, S. Francesco, Dante e Giotto, Roma, 1881. *C. Morelli*, Lettere risguard. la scoperta fatta etc. delle pitture di Giotto nella cappella di S. Francesco in Sta. Croce, Florence, 1851. *Morpurgo*, Un affresco perduto di Giotto nel palazzo del Podesta di Firenze, Florence, 1897. *Moschetti*, La Cappella degli Scrovegni, Firenze, 1904. *A. Muñoz*, Reliquie artistiche della vecchia basilica Vaticana a Boville Ernica, Bollet. d'Arte, del Minist. dell' Pubbl. Istr., 1911, p. 161. *E. Müntz*, Boniface VIII et Giotto, Mélanges d'archéol. et d'histoire, Rome, 1881. *Olcott*, Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata dell'Arena or Giotto's Chapel in Padua, 1835. *Palmarini*, L'Arte di Giotto, Rassegna Internaz. della Letteratura e Arte contempor, Florence, 1901. *F. Mason Perkins*. Giotto, London, 1912. *F. Mason Perkins*, Una tavola smarita di Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, 1914, p. 193. *F. Mason Perkins*, Ancora del quadro di Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, 1914, p. 243. *H. Quilter*, Giotto (Great Artist series), London, 1881. *H. Riegel*, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Italiens, Leipzig, 1898, p. 77: Giotto's Wandgemälde in S. Maria della Arena u. andere Wandgemälde Padua's. *Rintelen*, Das Altar Werk in der Sakristei von S. Peter in Rome, Beilage Allgemeine Zeitung, München, 1905, pp. 287 and 407. *Rintelen*, Giotto und Giotto Apocryphen, München, 1912. *Romdahl*, Stil u Chronologie der Arenafresken Giotto's, Jahrb. K. Preus. Kunstsamml., XXXII. *Ruskin*, Giotto's Arena Chapel of Padua, London, 1859–60. *Ruskin*, Mornings in Florence. *G. Salvadori*, Un telaio di Giotto, L'Arte, 1912. *Salvatico*, Sulla Cappella degli Scrovegni nell Arena di Padua, Padova, 1836. *A. Schmarzow*, Kompositionsgesetze der Franzlegende in der Oberkirche zu Assisi, Leipzig, 1918. *B de Sellincourt*, Giotto, London, 1905. *O. Sirén*, Giotto (Swedish), Stockholm, 1906. *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, 2 vols, Cambridge, U.S.A., London, Oxford, 1917. *J. B. Supino*, Giotto, Firenze, 1920. *J. B. Supino*, Giotto a Padova, Rendiconti della R. Acc. di Bologna, Ser. Scienze morale, Ser. 2, 1921—22, p. 15. *H. Thode*, Giotto, Leipzig, 1899. *H. Thode*, Franz von Assisi, und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien, Berlin, 1904, 2nd ed. *J. J. Tikanen*, Der Malerische Stil Giotto's, Helsingfors, 1884. *Tolomei*, La Capella degli Scrovegni etc., Padova, 1836. *A. Venturi*, Dante e Giotto, Nuova Antologia, 16 Febraio 1900. *A. Venturi*, Le Vele d'Assisi, L'Arte, 1906, p. 19. *L. Venturi*, Introduzione a l'arte di Giotto, L'Arte, 1919, p. 49. *L. Venturi*, La data dell' attivita Romana di Giotto, L'Arte, 1919, p. 229. *L. Venturi*, La Navicella di Giotto, L'Arte, 1922, p. 49. *O. Wulff*, Zur Stilbildung der Trecento Malerei, II u III, Giotto u Seine, Nachfolger, Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft, XXVII, 1904, pp. 221 and 308. *U.G.G Zimmermann*, Giotto u. der Kunst Italiens des Mittelalters, Leipzig. 1899.

It would indeed be difficult to over-rate the genius of Giotto, but until quite recently his place as an innovator in realism, and his other artistic merits have been thoroughly misunderstood. The appearance of Giotto's art, however great it may be, was not miraculous nor unprepared but was led up to by Cavallini, Cimabue, the Pisan sculptors and perhaps even more by Arnolfo di Cambio. This question however will be resumed later on.

In all probability Giotto was born in 1266; Vasari's statement that it was ten years later is hardly compatible with the fact that towards 1300 we find him already undertaking important works; besides this, Antonio Pucci says in his Centiloqio that Giotto died in 1336 at the age of seventy and Pucci being a contemporary of the artist we have no reason to doubt his word. His birthplace is Colle in the commune of Vespignano to the North of Florence. Sig. Iodoco Del Badia (¹) defends the theory that Giotto was born in Florence itself; he has discovered a document according to which there lived in Florence in 1295 in the quarter of Sta. Maria Novella, a smith, called Bondone, whom Sig. Del Badia, influenced by a 15th century remark written on the back of the document, believes to be the father of Giotto, whose name is probably an abbreviation of Angiolotto (²) which is a derivative of Angiolino, the original name of the child of the smith, Bondone. The argument is thin and unconvincing. Other documents of 1329 and 1331 give us the name of the painter Giotto mentioning that his father lived at Colle, while one of 1330 proves that he himself was born there, for on his sons contracting a loan they are mentioned as "fratres filii Giotto Bondonis pictoris de Colle" (³). In 1312 Giotto was inscribed in the guild of "Medici e Speziali" (⁴), while acts of 1311, 1312, 1314, 1320, 1321, 1325, and 1326 make it clear that during these years he lived in Florence in the quarter

---

(¹) *I. Del Badia,* Giotto e fiorentino.

(²) Prof. Thode suggests that Giotto might be an abbreviation of Ambrogio, however, the name Joctus or Giottus appears in legal documents in which the use of abbreviations is rare. Various theories are expounded by Langton Douglas in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 28 note 1.

(³) *R. Davidsohn,* Die Heimath Giotto's, etc., p. 374.

(⁴) *Frey,* La Loggia dei Lanzi, pp. 72, 319.

of Sta. Maria Novella (¹); it is also known that at the same time another Giotto Bondone, who came from Siena, lived in Florence (²).

Vasari narrates the legendary story that Giotto's father was a labourer, but the term applied to him in the previously mentioned documents makes us more inclined to believe he was a well-to-do landowner. The above author, borrowing from Ghiberti, continues his romance by telling us that one day, while guarding sheep, Giotto sketched one of the animals on a stone, and Cimabue, happening to pass, was so struck by the realistic execution of this poor shepherd that he at once adopted him as a pupil. A commentator on Dante of the 14th century relates to us a much more likely version of the youth of Giotto. According to him Giotto's father apprenticed him to a woollen-merchant, whose place of business he seldom entered, his inclinations leading him rather to frequent the various painters' studios, and in the end the great master of the day advised the father to allow his son to follow his artistic bent and in this way Giotto became a pupil of Cimabue's (³). This account is neither improbable nor fantastic and deserves more confidence than that of Vasari, not only because of the well-known unreliability of the latter's facts, but also because an author of the 14th century is more likely to have gathered truthful information than one of the 16th. Both versions agree in one point and that is in claiming Cimabue as the master of Giotto; this fact from a 14th century writer, certainly deserves due consideration but I rather suspect that the name of this great painter was given as being the only one well-known and worthy of such a pupil, even although later we shall find that the works of Giotto betray a slight influence of Cimabue.

Notwithstanding contrary opinions recently expressed, I still believe that Giotto towards 1300 was active in Rome, working under the orders of Cardinal Stefaneschi, that he executed the

---

(¹) *R. Davidsohn,* Forschungen zur Gesch. von Florenz, III, p. 213. *Supino,* Giotto, p. 315.

(²) *C. F. von Rumohr,* Italiensche Forschungen (new ed.), Frankfurt, 1920, p. 252 note. *Davidsohn,* Die Heimath. *Davidsohn,* Forschungen zur Gesch. v. Florenz, III, Berlin, 1901, no. 1053, *G. Salvadori,* op. cit.

(³) *Milanesi-Vasari,* I, p. 371, note 1.

mosaics in the portico of S. Pietro, for which he received the sum of 2200 golden florins, a polyptych for which he was paid 800, and some frescoes in the choir 500 golden florins. In 1300 he might still have been in Rome, working at frescoes for the jubilee which the Pope celebrated in that year, and if so it is possible that he then made the acquaintance of Dante, who is known to have been in the Eternal City on a mission this same year. But to Giotto's sojourn in Rome we shall return later on.

If Vasari's statement be correct that it was Giovanni di Muro who asked Giotto to come to Assisi, it must have been between 1296 and 1304 because this chief of the order died in the latter year and we know that probably shortly after, Giotto was working in the Arena chapel at Padua. In Assisi we may attribute to him the first nineteen scenes from the life of St. Francis in the Upper Church, and after a long interval some of the frescoes in the Magdalene chapel of the Lower Church. Ghiberti attributes most of the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church to him (¹). In Padua, where, according to Benvenuto Immola, Dante was his guest (²), Giotto executed the marvellous series of frescoes in the Arena chapel. A Dante commentator who wrote during Giotto's lifetime, about 1334, quotes the towns where the great painter was active, Rome, Naples, Avignon, Florence and Padua (³). As all the other towns, mentioned by this author are known to have been visited by Giotto, there is no reason to doubt his visit to Avignon, but it must have been after 1309, the year the popes went to this town. Vasari names other towns in France, and elsewhere it is mentioned that Giotto travelled even as far as Paris. Riccobaldo, in his chronological compilation which he continued until 1313, tells us that Giotto was employed at Assisi, Rimini and Padua. Vasari, giving more details, informs us that

---

(¹) *Ghiberti*, Denkwürdigkeiten, ed *J. von Schlosser*, I, Berlin, 1912, p. 39 "Dipinse . . . . quasi tutta la parte di sotto", which I understand to mean the lower row of frescoes in the Upper Church and not, as *von Schlosser*, II, p. 11, supposes, the frescoes in the Lower Church.

(²) *F. Baldinucci*, Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, I, Florence, 1845, p. 143. This however is very doubtful, for the Dante known to have been in Padua at this date seems to have been other than the great Florentine poet.

(³) *F. Baldinucci*, op. cit., p. 40.

he was working there for Pandolfo Malatesta, whose son, later on, destroyed his work. The same authority tells us that in 1316 Giotto was back in Florence; it is, however, very probable that he decorated the Bardi chapel in Sta. Croce after the canonisation of St. Louis, which occurred in 1317, for Louis is represented in these frescoes with a nimbus. At this time perhaps he also ornamented the Peruzzi chapel, and, according to Ghiberti, two other chapels of this church. Documentary evidence proves that in 1318 he was still in Florence. Vasari states that in 1322 Giotto was active in Lucca for Castruccio, and in 1327 was requested to make a design for the tomb of Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, where — still always according to Vasari — he made frescoes in the Pieve and in other churches in and outside the town. The same authority follows Giotto to Verona, Ferrara, Urbino, again to Padua, to Ravenna and Gaeta, but I see no reason to treat this information with any greater degree of confidence than Vasari, on previous occasions, has shown himself worthy of. The possibility of Giotto having been at Ravenna is the only part of the statement supported by other evidence (¹).

Charles of Calabria charged Giotto to paint a fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, which represents him kneeling at the feet of the Madonna; this was certainly done between 1326 and 1327, when the Calabrian prince was governor of Florence. His father, King Robert of Naples, called the painter to his town. Giotto arrived in Naples before the 13th of September 1329 and left probably in 1332 (²). We find references to his paintings in the Big chapel or Barbara church, and in the Secret chapel of the New Castle and to the execution of an altar-piece. In 1330 Giotto was attached to King Robert's court; in March 1332 he receives a donation for the payment of household necessities and in April a payment ot twelve ounces of gold. This same year, or the following one, Giotto had a lawsuit with Giovanni of Pozzuoli. Petrarch in his letter to Giovanni di Mandello seems to refer to Giotto's frescoes when he speaks of the paintings in the royal chapel of the castle of Naples, executed by a "sometime countryman, the most important painter of our time".

---

(¹) Conf. *C. Ricci*, L'Ultimo refugio di Dante, Milan, 1891.

(²) *W. Rolffs*, Geschichte des Malerei Neapels, Leipzig, 1910, p. 44.

Besides the above, according to Ghiberti, Giotto painted in the Sala of King Uberto (Roberto) in Naples the "uomini famosi", which we must certainly take as being the "nine worthies", and he probably executed the female figures which form the pendants also. A sonnet of the middle of the 14th century on the figures in this hall gives us an idea of the decoration (1). Ghiberti was the first to place these paintings in the Castel del Uovo instead of in the "Castel Nuova", a mistake which all later authors have fallen into.

Of paintings which, according to Summonti, who wrote in 1524, Giotto executed in the church and convent of St.Clare in Naples, nothing now remains, while it is now generally believed, that the frescoes of the Incoronata church, which authors of a past generation attributed with great regularity to Giotto, are by the hand of Roberto Oderisio.

Before going to Naples, Giotto must have executed for Bishop Tebaldo Pontano di Todi, parts of the frescoes which adorn the Magdalene chapel in S. Francesco, Assisi.

Not only is Giotto's constant travelling from place to place proof of the fame which he enjoyed during his lifetime, but the uncommonly great number of his followers who are spoken of by Franco Sacchetti (1335—1410) in his "Novelle" as Giotto's brigade is a further testimony. It is to be supposed that many of these pupils accompanied their master on his frequent journeys and probably assisted him with most of his works.

The greatest honour which fell to Giotto's lot was the resolution of the town government and other officials of Florence, on the 12th April 1334, to appoint him chief architect of the Cathedral; and the reason, given for this nomination is particularly complimentary, for it was not only on account of his skill in this art, of which he certainly must have given previous evidence, but also to furnish a reason for his remaining in the town of Florence (2).

It is highly important to find such public recognition of genius, and to my knowledge this is the first instance of it since classical antiquity (¹). Prof. Thode truly remarks that regret for Dante's exile, through which Florence lost one of the greatest poets ever born, might have been a warning to the Florentines to esteem more highly the presence of their great men.

---

(1) *G. De Blasius*, Immagini di uomini famosi etc. and *Schubring*, Repert. f. Kunstwissensch. XXIII, 1900, no. 5. *Venturi*, V, p. 448, note 1.

(2) This document is published by *Baldinucci*, op. cit., p. 39 and in *Gay's* Carteggio.

No knowledge has come down to us as to how far Giotto was occupied with the reconstruction of the fortifications of Florence and similar works which come within the range of his activities, nor do we know at what stage in the building of the Dome Giotto took over the work from Arnolfo di Cambio; for the facade in its present appearance in no way resembles the original plans of Giotto. The tower, however, can be claimed as one of his creations and of this we are told that on July 18th 1334 a great ceremony took place to celebrate the laying of the first stone. It is very doubtful if the architect who came after Giotto, remained faithful to his plans, for the lower part, which was executed before his death (²), corresponds to an old plan which was not closely followed for the rest of the construction. The sculpture which adorns the lower part seems also to have been modelled after designs of the great artist. Ghiberti tells us that they are by Giotto's own hand and that he saw the sketches; certainly nothing in the style of the work leads us to believe the contrary but the execution may have been entrusted to Andrea Pisano who, of late, has been claimed as the author of the rest of the sculpture on the tower.

Azzo Visconti seems to have resented the fact that Milan did not possess a single work of this great genius and in 1336 succeeded in obtaining from the Florentine authorities permission for Giotto to visit that town and paint some frescoes in his palace. On his return from Milan it is said that Pope Benedict XII

---

(¹) *Baldinucci,* op. cit., quotes all the eulogies on Giotto from Dante's celebrated comparison with Cimabue until those of the 17th century. Of these we shall specially mention the passage in the V book of his Epistole in which Petrarch says of the great painter "Duos ego novi pictores egregios, nec formosos, Joctum florentinum civem, cuius inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem Senensem (Simone Martini). In his will Petrarch leaving a picture of the Madonna to Francesco da Carrara, Lord of Padua, writes "Operis Jocti Pictoris egregii, quae mihi ab amico meo, Michele Vannis de Florentia missa est; in cuius pulchritudinem ignorantes non intelligunt, magistri autem artis stupent", *Baldinucci,* op. cit., p. 41.

(²) Pucci states that Giotto only lived to see his tower eleven ells high.

asked the aged painter to come again to Avignon and work for an exceptionally high salary, but this perhaps is only an echo of his previous visit there, and anyhow his death, which both, Villani and Pucci report as occurring on the 8th January 1337, made the realization of this project impossible. His funeral expenses were defrayed by the town and he was buried with a great display of pomp and splendour in the Cathedral, but the exact site is now unknown. Lorenzo di Medicis ordered the sculptor Benedetto da Majano to make a medallion of the great painter to be placed in the church which contained his remains.

It should be mentioned that Giotto is reputed to have been a poet. Villani, in his biography of illustrious Florentines, tells us so and Milanesi, in his edition of Vasari, as well as von Rumohr, reproduce a canzone on poverty which appears in a codex of the Laurenziana Library, Florence, under his name. Villani informs us besides that the painter had many accomplishments and reveals the interesting detail that Giotto worked with the help of mirrors. Vasari also relates several anecdotes about the painter which do not deserve to be repeated. Nor shall I give the long list of works which the biographer of Arezzo attributes to this master, while that of the Anonimo Gaddiano, which includes many productions of Taddeo Gaddi and the one of Antonio Billi, are not worthy of more notice. The summing up of Ghiberti however deserves some attention. His enumeration of Giotto's works includes mosaics, frescoes in one of the chapels and the panel paintings in S. Pietro, Rome, the frescoes of the Arena chapel, Padua, representations of the Christian faith in the Palazzo della Ragione in the same city (¹). Ghiberti goes on to tell us further that Giotto worked in the church of S. Francesco at Assisi and also in Sta. Maria degli Angeli near there, and he attributes to him a crucifix and another panel in Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, a Madonna and two other figures in the Badia of Florence where he also ornamented the Cappella Maggiore with frescoes and executed the altar-piece (²). In Sta. Croce he frescoed four chapels and made four panels. At Padua in the church of the Franciscan monks he painted many beautiful pic-

---

(¹) *Supino,* Giotto a Padua, is of opinion that the frescoes were executed about 1312.

(²) *R. Davidsohn,* Forschungen, IV, p. 494.

tures and in the church of the Umiliati (today the Ogni Santi) in Florence, he was responsible for a large crucifix, which is still there, four panels, amongst which are the Death of the Virgin (Berlin) and a large painting of the Madonna (Uffizi) and above the door, leading to the cloister, a Madonna and Child. According to the same author Giotto left a crucifix and another panel in the church of S. Giorgio and in the church of the Predicatori (Sta. Maria Novella) another crucifix (1) and a particularly beautiful panel. Ghiberti also mentions Giotto's activity in the palazzo of the Podesta (Bargello) and in the Magdalene chapel there.

In as much as these works are still in existance a certain tradition based on Ghiberti's indications was formed regarding the works of Giotto, of which Thode was a strong partisan. It is only of late that Prof. Venturi began to contest the authenticity of this traditional list as far as the frescoes in the vault of the Lower Church are concerned, while F. Rintelen reduced the original list to about half.

About Giotto's early activities in Rome, in addition to the indications that his art is clearly an outcome of the movement which took place in this city in the 13th century, we have fairly reliable documentary evidence.

In the book of the benefactors of S. Pietro, which contains short notes about the church dignitaries connected with the basilica, we find under the year 1342 a note of the death at Avignon of Cardinal Giacomo Stefaneschi of the Gaetani family, with the information that he had caused Giotto to execute an altar-piece for the high altar of S. Pietro for which the artist received eight hundred golden guilders, and also the mosaic of the Navicella for which was paid the enormous sum of two thousand two hundred guilders (2).

It may be however that a certain desire to emphasize the magnificence of the prelate might have led the biographer to exaggerate the amounts paid for the two different works, the more so as throughout the text there is an obvious tendency to show us the Cardinal as a Maecenas; Mr. Rintelen has already pointed out the improbability of such an enormous sum having been given for the execution of the mosaic.

---

(1) In a document of 1324 there is mention of a crucifix by Giotto in this church, *Davidsohn,* op. cit., p. 478.

(2) The text is given by *Baldinucci,* I, p. 41, and with some alteration by *Mancini* and *Grimaldi,* v. *Supino,* Giotto, p. 58. *Egidi,* Necrologie e libri affini della prov. di Roma, I; Necrologie della citta di Roma, Roma, 1908, p. 222. *Hössl,* Jacobus Gaytani Stefaneschi, Berlin, 1918.

Many writers have erred in thinking that the information concerning Cardinal Stefaneschi is to be found in two different sources: the Martirologium and the Necrologium; nor is it exact to state that the original accounts furnish us with the date 1398.

These and other statements have been made by Prof. L. Venturi in his remarkably clever article on the date of Giotto's activity in Rome, which he admits as having taken place probably about 1320.

His facts, however, are not convincing. Mancini and Baldinucci, it is true, were the first to mention the date as 1298, but Prof. L. Venturi was unable to reply in a satisfactory manner to their reason for giving this date, in fact he treats it with a certain amount of derision. The date 1320 in connection with a decoration for the church of S. Pietro, seemed highly improbable to Profs. Fedele and Supino since the Pope and his court had already been transferred to Avignon for eleven years. To this Sig. Chiapelli answers that Cardinal Stefaneschi, who had always manifested so much zeal for this church, might very well have continued his good works. This, however, is hardly likely, especially as the cardinal himself had apparently in 1319 already taken up his residence in Avignon. (1)

As for the fresco executed in S. Giovanni in Laterano for the jubilee of 1300, Prof. L. Venturi remarks that the attribution to Giotto is not certain. Moreover he thinks that it might very well have been painted at a later date to commemorate this event, and inscribed accordingly. This hypothesis is somewhat feeble and it seems to me much more likely that a work which was meant to celebrate such an event was made at the required time. It is true, however, that we have no other reason for ascribing this fresco to Giotto than a critical examination of the work itself. Panvinius thought it was by Cimabue.

Recently Sig. Chiapelli has published an important discovery proving that Giotto was in Rome before 1313 since at that time he gives full power to a correspondent in Rome to withdraw certain house-hold goods be had left in that city. Certain details force us to suppose that he had already left Rome for some considerable time; besides we find him in Florence in 1311. On the other hand the number of the objects – almost a complete establishment — mentioned is sufficient proof of a fairly long sojourn in Rome. The result of this document is that prior to 1311, Giotto lived a certain length of time in Rome so that it is quite possible he was there in 1298 and 1300. Even although these dates are not absolutely certain, the appearance of the works themselves force us to look upon them as youthful productions or at least of the time when he was a member of the Roman school. Prof. L. Venturi is also of opinion that it was at this school that Giotto received his artistic education (¹).

---

(1) *De Nicola,* L'Affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone, L'Arte, 1906, p. 340.

If the dismounted altar-piece in the sacristy be the same as the one mentioned in the document, it must be one of the productions — and they are fairly numerous — of a pupil of the master's, which Giotto allowed to pass under his own name, as he probably also did the works in the Gallery of Bologna, the sacristy of Sta. Croce, Florence and in the Louvre. Not only would this correspond with the facts obtained from the Liber Benefactorum, but Grimaldi, whose information is generally reliable, tells us in a catalogue of the Vatican Library, composed in 1603, that a metrical inscription below this painting informs us that it was by the hand of Giotto and painted about the year 1320 (²).

The mosaic of the "Navicella" in the portico of S. Pietro was for centuries Giotto's most celebrated and most frequently quoted creation, but this work has changed its place and been restored so often, that now I do not think even the original composition is left to us (fig. 1). At the top between two figures, blowing trumpets — allegorical representations of the wind of antique conception —

---

(¹) Prof. *L. Venturi*, L'Arte, 1922, p. 69 note 1, says, in reply to my criticism of his article on the date of Giotto's Roman activity, that he had never dreamt of denying the artist's Roman education on which I particularly insist, nevertheless it would have been more logical on his part to have announced it in his first article which is entirely dedicated to the connection between Giotto and Rome.

(²) *De Nicola*, L'affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone, p. 339. *Supino* believes the altar-piece a work of Giotto's own hand, executed at the same period as the mosaic of S. Pietro.

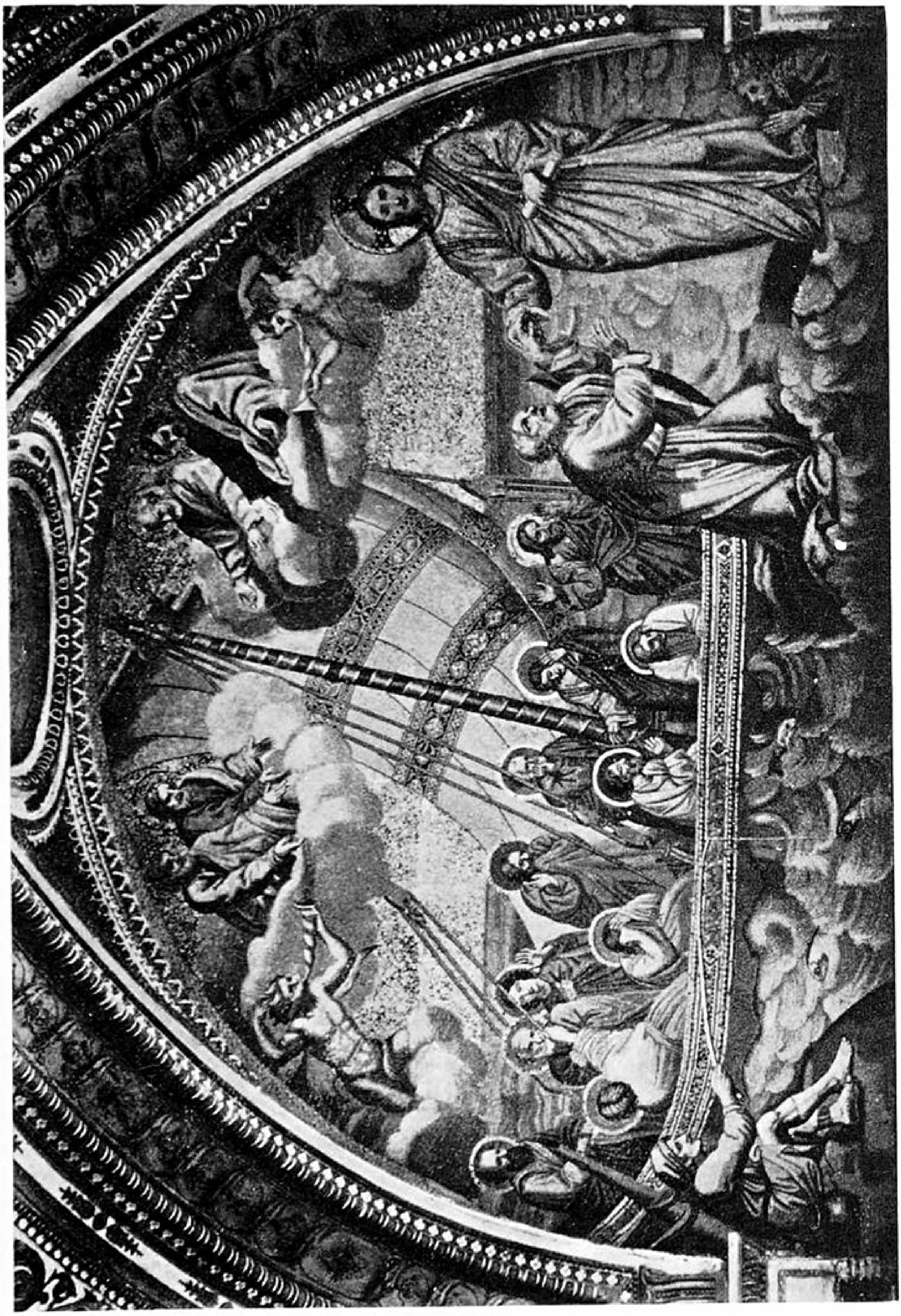


Fig. 1. Giotto, the Navicella. Mosaic in the Portico of S. Pietro, Rome.

Photo Alinari.

four Evangelists are half seen emerging from clouds; below in the ship with its full blown sail the eleven Apostles are depicted making signs of distress and fright, while in the near foreground St. Peter, whose appearance is notably different from anything Giotto could ever have portrayed, kneels before the tall majestic figure of the Lord, Who supports the disciple by the arm. To the right of the Saviour the bust of the donor is represented and in the opposite corner the symbolical fisher casting his line into the peculiar waves.

One figure however of this mosaic has been preserved in its original state (1), it is the bust of a beautiful angel, now in S. Pietro Ispano, Boville Ernica, strongly resembling in manner the frescoes at Assisi and betraying in the roundness of the head, the influence of Cavallini (fig. 2). Comparing it with another angel, restored in 1727, now in the crypt of S. Pietro (2), we can judge to what extent the mosaic has been altered and deformed (3).

About the year 1300 or shortly after, Giotto painted the frescoes in the portico of S. Giovanni in Laterano in commemoration of the pope's jubilee, but of these only a small fragment remains. Two of these paintings which have now completely disappeared, represented, according to authors of the 16th and 17th centuries who saw them, the baptism of Constantine and the building of the Lateran. Of another which depicted Pope Boniface VIII reading the proclamation, a drawing in the Ambrosiana, Milan, shows us the original appearance (4). It is of this scene that an over-painted fragment remains on one of the pillars of the church, portraying the Pope in full pontifical robes reading from a scroll which is not placed on the desk in front of him, but is held before him by a young priest; on the other side a richly dressed prelate leans with one arm on the balcony which is hung with drapery; a profile of yet another figure is seen between the columns of the loggia in which they all stand (fig. 3).

---

(1) *A. Muñoz,* Reliquie artistiche etc., Bolletino d'Arte, 1911, p. 161, Pl. 1 and fig. 3.

(2) *Idem,* fig. 4.

(3) *Idem.* This article relates the story of the demolition and change of site of Giotto's Navicella giving reproductions of the following designs of this mosaic: a drawing in the Chantilly Museum, a picture in the Museum of Lyons (a very free rendering), a drawing in Cod. Barb. Lat., 2733, a late design in Cod. Barb. Lat. 4410. A design made after the restoration of 1617 is to be found in Sta. Maria dei Capuccini. An old copy by a Sienese master (?) in Lord Pembroke's collection (reprod. in Venturi, V, fig. 242) is probably the most faithful facsimile of Giotto's original. Many others are mentioned by *L. Venturi,* La Navicella. There exists a drawing of this subject in the collection in the Louvre (Florentine School) which this writer does not record.

(4) Reprod. *Zimmermann,* op. cit., fig. 139.

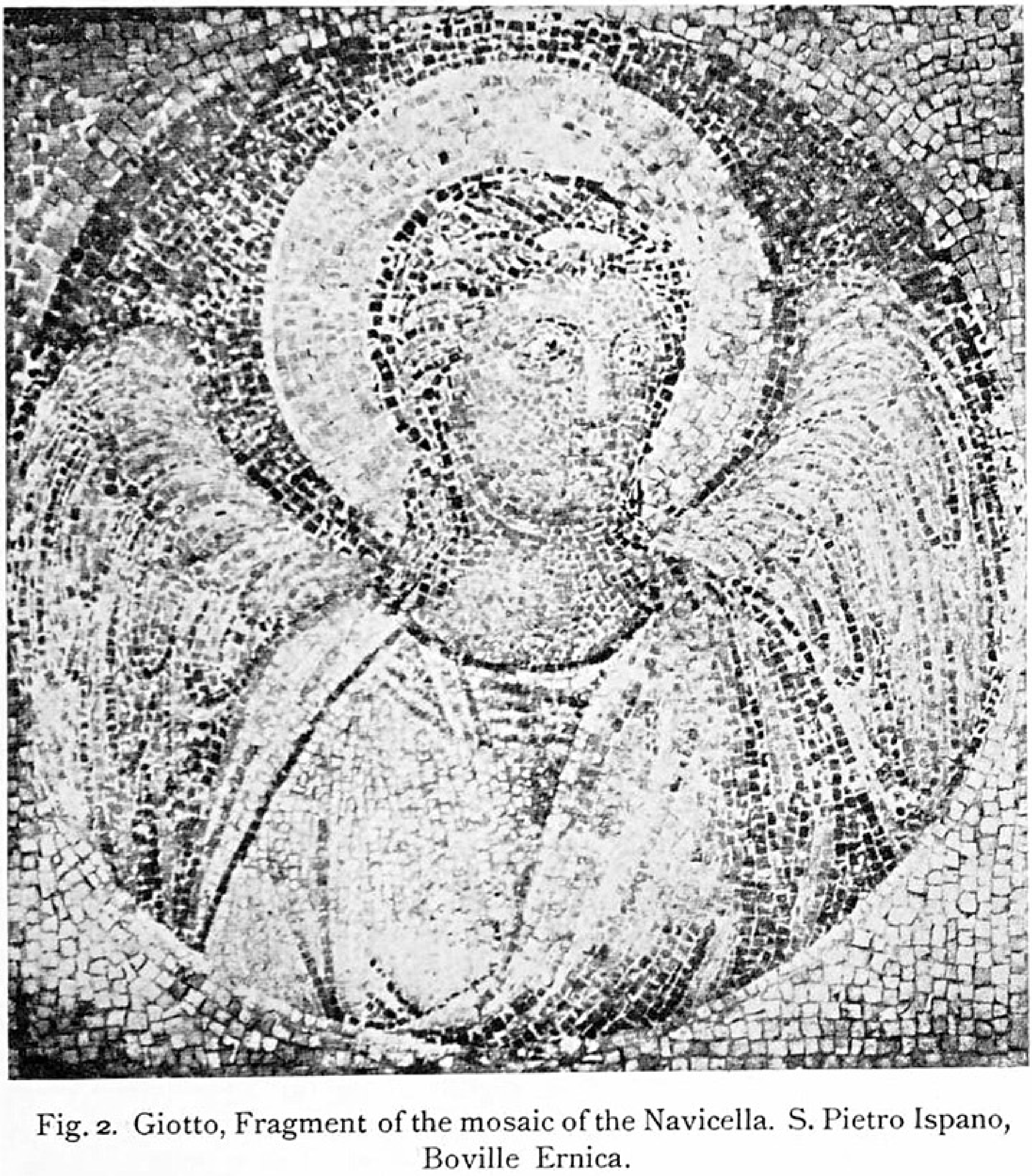


Fig. 2. Giotto, Fragment of the mosaic of the Navicella. S. Pietro Ispano, Boville Ernica.

As a work of art this fragment of fresco is of very little importance, but in trying to form an idea of the original aspect of this painting we shall come to the conclusion that it must have resembled in style such works as the representation of the four Church-

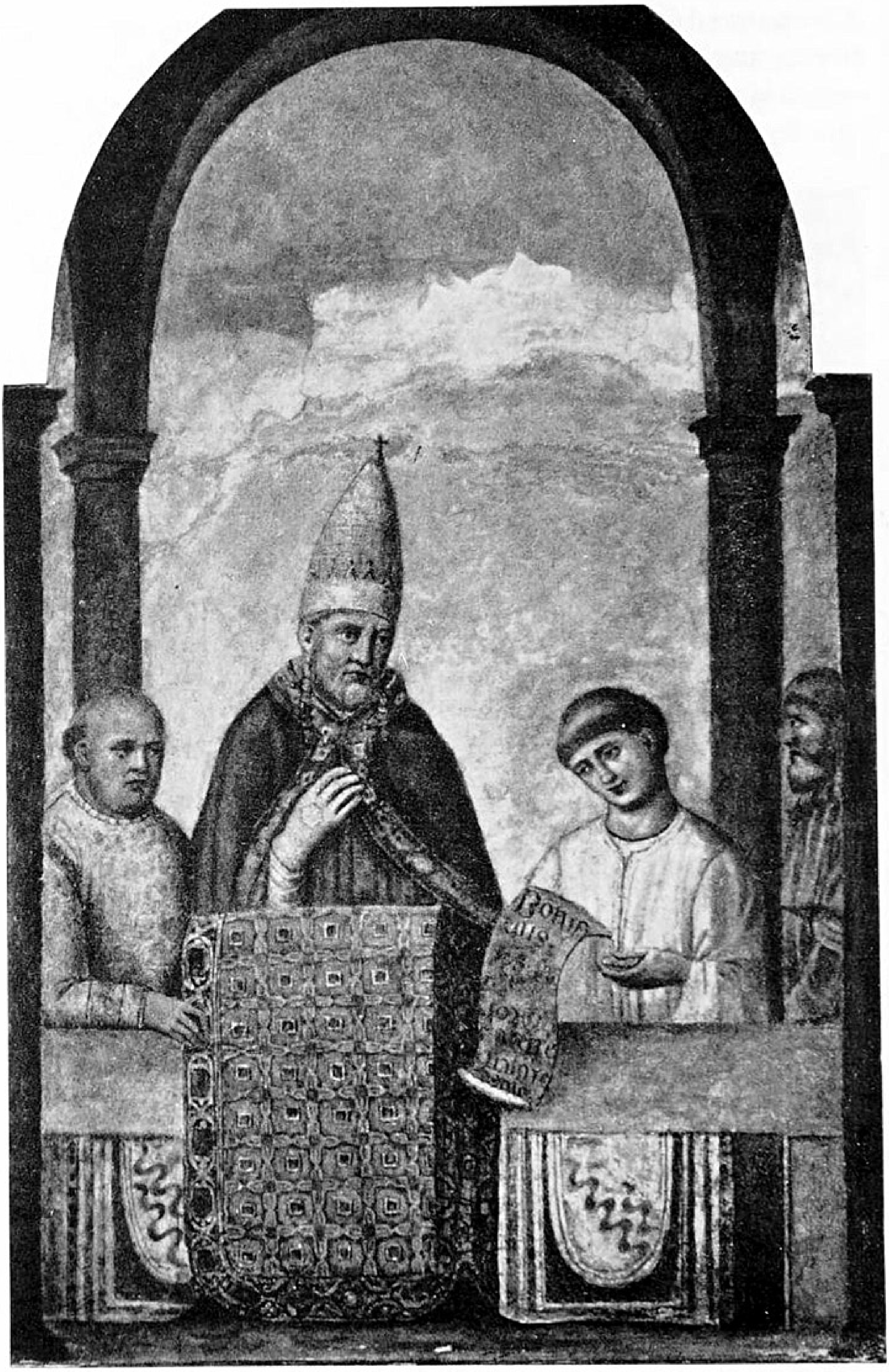


Fig. 3 Giotto, Pope Boniface VIII reading a Proclamation. S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

Fathers in the vault of the Upper Church of Assisi which, in the previous volume, were attributed to an assistant of Cavallini's, whose manner he had evolved (¹). Consequently this painting as well as the angel head in mosaic, preserved at Boville Ernica, show us that Giotto's art originated in Rome where he produced these works. We must not forget that, if born about 1266, Giotto was no longer in his first youth at the time of their execution so that we may calculate that his stay in Rome extended from his early years of study and apprentice-ship until he was a more or less independent artist.

It should also be remarked that the art of the previous generation, from which Giotto took his inspiration, was obviously and entirely that of Cavallini under its least Byzantine aspect, because in neither of his works do we find any trace of an Oriental influence.

In his series of frescoes which, in the Upper Church of Assisi, illustrate the life of St. Francis, Giotto has followed the biography of St. Bonaventura, rarely diverging from the order in which this author relates the different incidents in the life of the saint (²). This is but natural, as this version of the Poverello's story had been made by the Franciscan for the purpose of providing the world with an authentic and definite biography.

(1) The series starts with a preliminary scene which shows us a simple man to whom St. Francis had given some tuition, laying his mantle at the feet of the saint and prophesying that all the faithful would one day venerate him to a similar extent (fig. 4). In the background is a free rendering of the Temple of Minerva, which is still to be seen in the Piazza Grande. St. Francis is in the act of stepping on to the cloak which the kneeling adorer lays out for him; the scene is flanked on either side by two noblemen who witness the proceedings. The flat faces and the draping of the garments which but rarely remind us of Giotto, have lost their original appearance through restoration, but much is still left of Giotto's own work; this perhaps is chiefly manifest in the extremely simple composition which, although

---

(¹) Vol. I, p. 542.

(²) *Marinangeli,* La serie di affreschi etc.

free from all rigidity, comprises, in addition to what is necessary to make the spectator understand that the event occurred in the public street, only the very essential figures. In comparison with the two figures to the left and the central ones, those conversing together on the right seem of a particularly feeble design, one of them especially does not seem very firmly placed on his feet. The peculiar delineation of the features, the proportions and the small hands will be found again in the frescoes which terminate the series and it is my opinion that these two figures have been added by this other painter to a fresco of Giotto's.

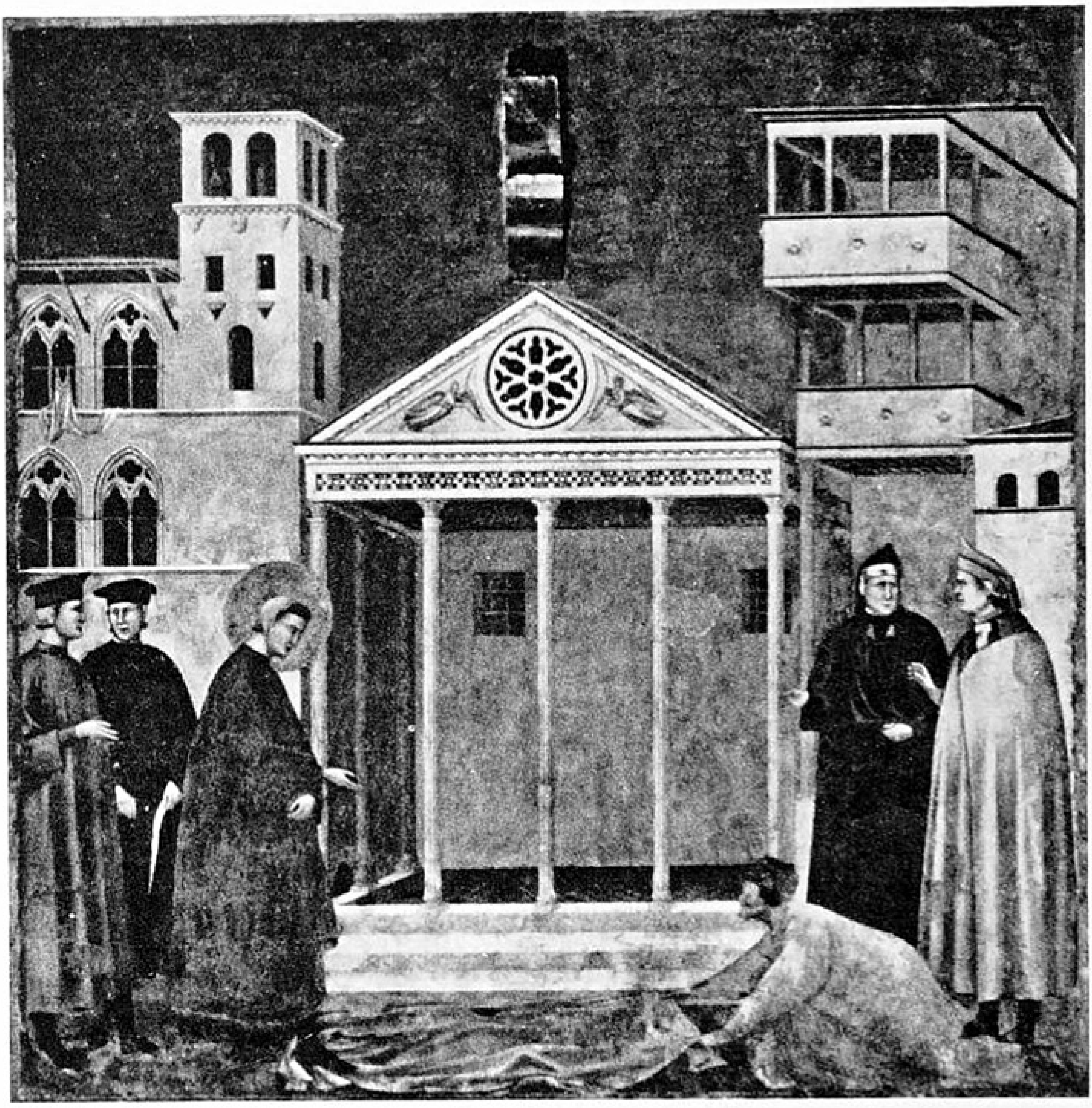


Fig. 4. Prologue to the Legend of St. Francis. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

(2) The second scene illustrates St. Francis giving a very rich

garment to a poor nobleman with the double object of helping him to a coat and ridding him of the shame he must have felt at being so poorly clad (fig. 5). The saint is depicted presenting his gift, while his horse grazes quietly behind him. In the hilly

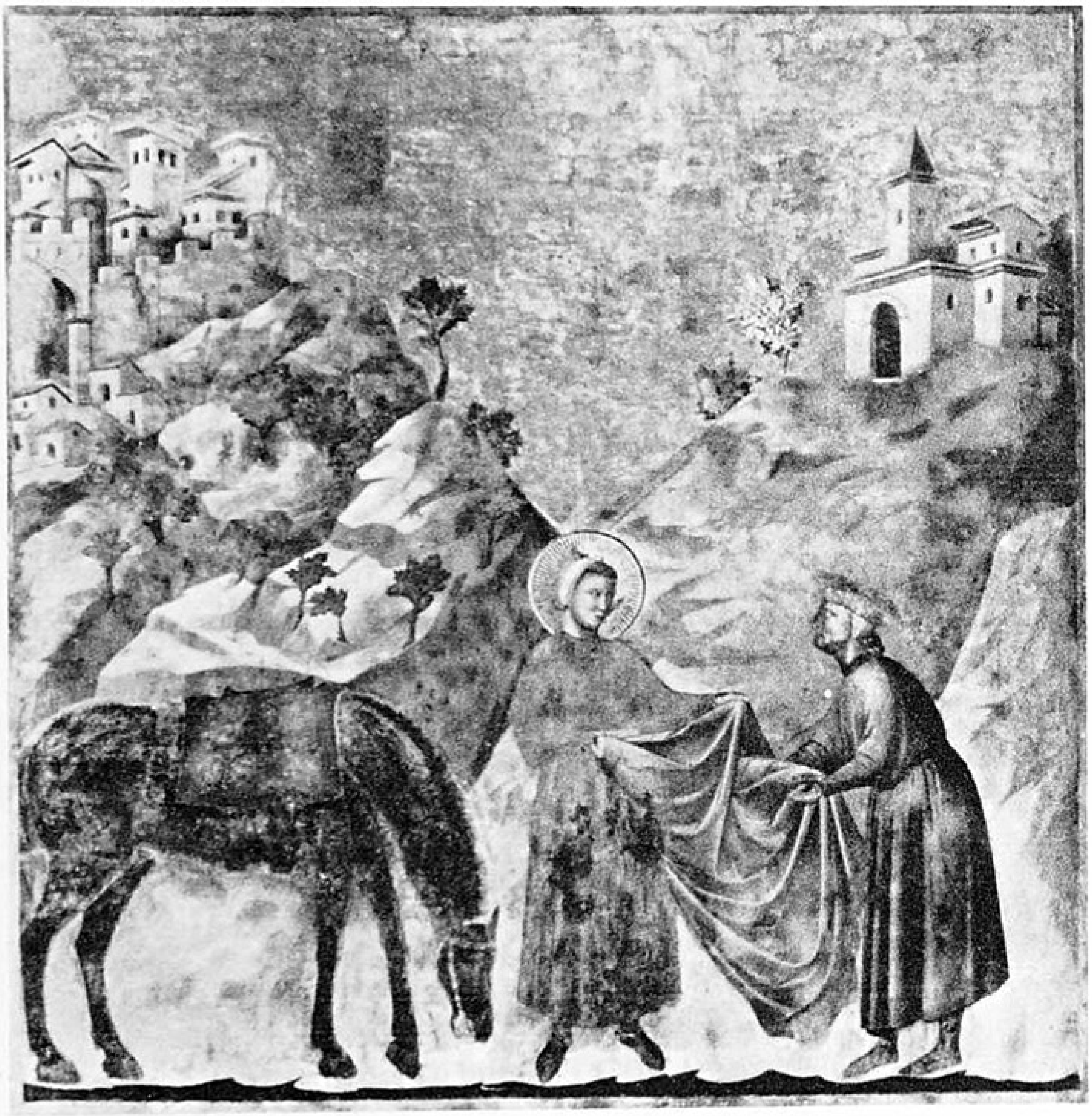


Fig. 5. St. Francis giving his cloak to a poor nobleman. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

background we can see a town, some trees and to the right a church. The best points which the restorer has left us of this picture, are the perfectly natural attitude of the horse, and the draping of the garments. The ugly colouring of this fresco cannot possibly be the original.

(3) The consequence of the previous event is illustrated in this, the third fresco, where Christ is represented appearing to

the sleeping Francis and showing him the great reward he will receive for his good deed (fig. 6). The saint, turned towards the spectator, lies in a bed over which there is a high canopy. Behind him we see the Lord pointing to a beautiful four-storied building

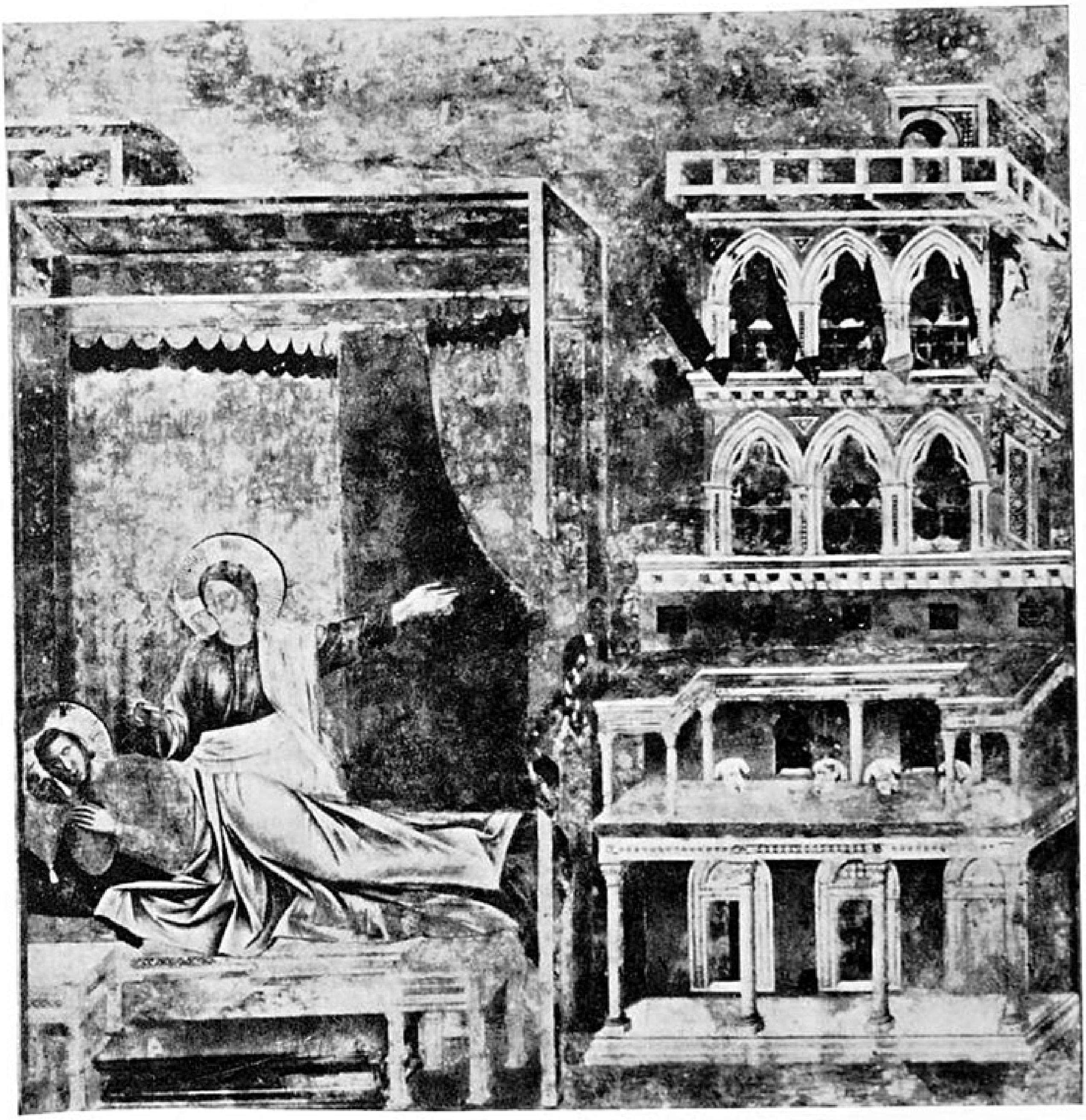


Fig. 6. St. Francis' vision of the reward for his good deed. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

and some arms which — as is announced — are to belong to him and his soldiers. The vision seen in the dream occupies quite half of the whole painting, but Giotto, thinking that the public might not easily understand the connection between it and St. Francis has added, to make it clearer, the figure of the Lord pointing to the reward, although in the legend there is only mention of a voice. In contradiction of Ruskin's statement that Giotto never succeeded in depicting a recumbent figure at ease, we must here admire the very natural attitude of the sleeper; the curious folds of the bedcover however can only be the result of restoration. In this scene Giotto must have followed the legend of the "three companions", for Bonaventura includes in the vision the bride "Poverty" and Thomas of Celano in his biographies mentions the visionary house as being St. Francis' own. I find this painting the least attractive of the whole series.

(4) The fresco, which shows us St. Francis at S. Damiano, where he heard the voice of the Lord ordering him to rebuild his church, is more damaged than any of the others. Through a doorway the saint is seen kneeling in prayer before a crucifix placed over the altar. Part of the wall has fallen away, to enable us to see inside the church, as well as to indicate the ruined condition of the building, made obvious by the roof, of which nothing remains but the wooden framework.

(5) St. Francis breaking with his father is one of the most interesting of the frescoes and certainly the first in which Giotto had scope to display his just psychological observations (fig. 7). Against two high buildings which fill either side of the background, we see in the middle left a crowd behind the furious father Bondone who makes gestures of such uncontrollable anger, that the man immediately behind him restrains him by gripping his arm; the expression on the father's face can hardly be said to be in harmony with his very evident anger. In front of the group are two small boys carrying in their uplifted skirts, stones, which they had already made use of as the young saint was on his way to this spot. On the opposite side is a smaller group of figures, of whom St. Francis is the foremost; with arms outstretched, and eyes uplifted towards heaven, he obviously prays, paying no attention to his threatening father, having given all his clothes back to his parent, who carries them over one arm, he is naked but for the garment which the Bishop of Assisi holds about him. The latter figure looks away from this painful scene; he is closely followed by two very severe-looking church dignitaries. This painting has again suffered from restoration, but in looking at it we are struck by the numerous qualities it still retains, of which the principal are perhaps the general dramatic composition and the contrast of sentiments expressed in the different

figures, which combine to form the most perfect illustration of this event in the saint's life. The figure of the furious father is the first instance in Giotto's career – perhaps in the history of Italian art in general — of the portrayal of such realistic and psychological details and the representation of figures belonging to a popular art, already far distant from the dignified naturalism of Cavallini's mosaics in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere, and finding its direct ancestors in the frescoes of S. Clemente, Rome.

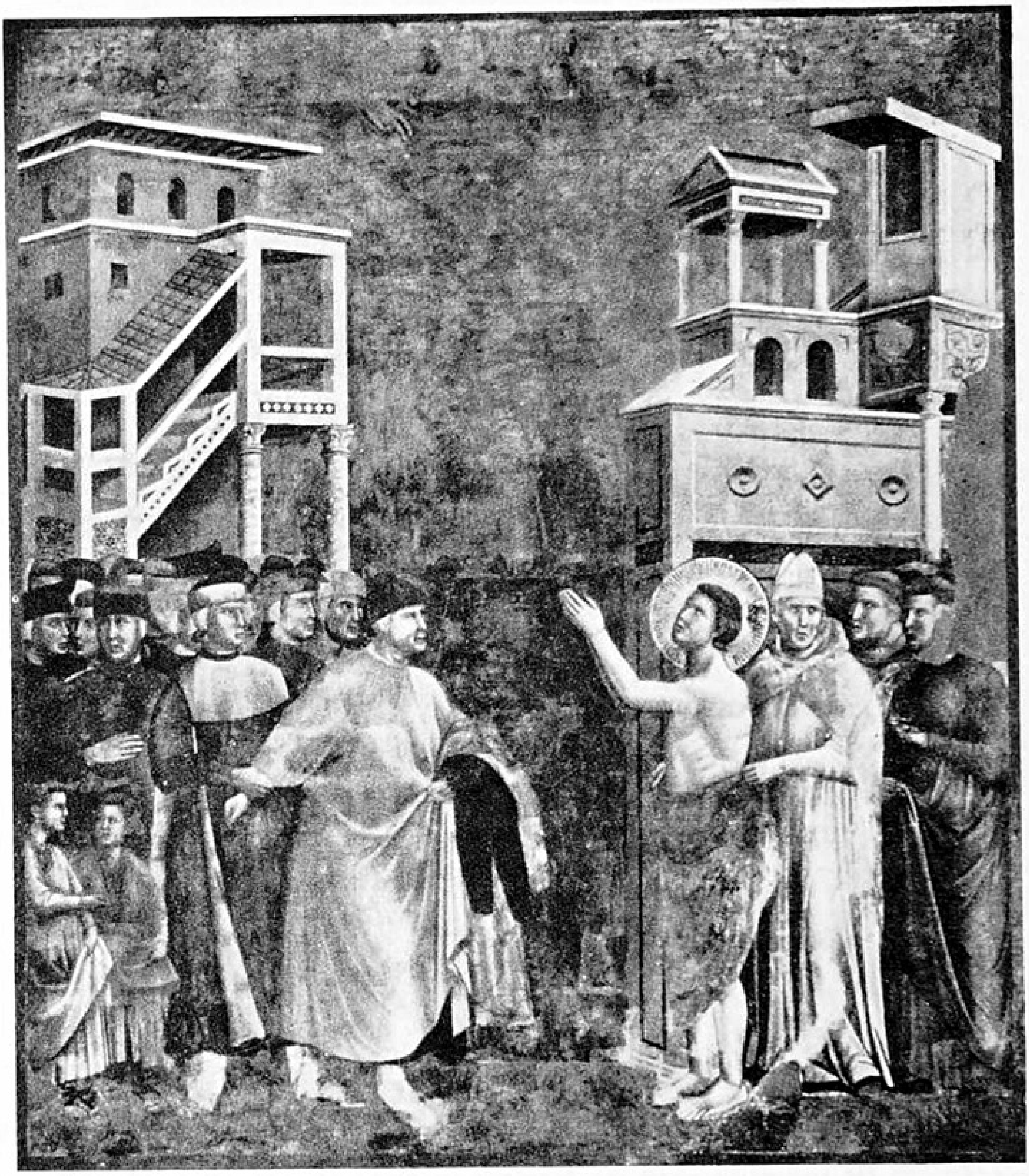


Fig. 7. St. Francis breaks with his father. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

(6) The dream of Pope Innocent III in which St. Francis is revealed to him supporting the church, has many points in common with the representation of the saint's own dream (figs. 8

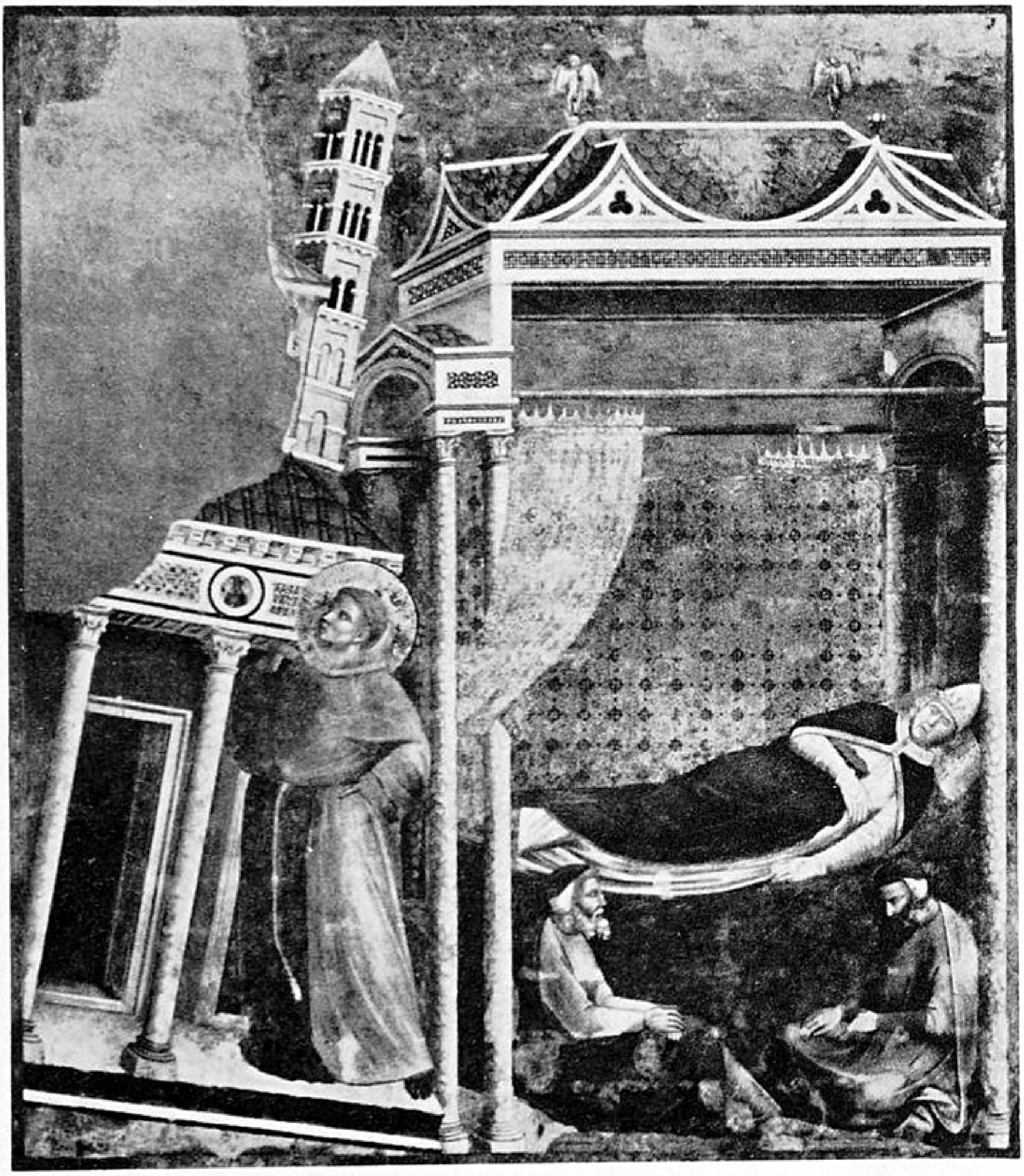


Fig. 8. Pope Innocent III sees St. Francis supporting the Church. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

and 9). The fresco is again vertically divided into two parts, the one on the right occupied by the sleeper, that on the left by the vision. Under a high architectural canopy the Pope in his priestly vestments lies in a less natural manner than the sleeping figure of the previous fresco; on the floor in front of the bed are seated

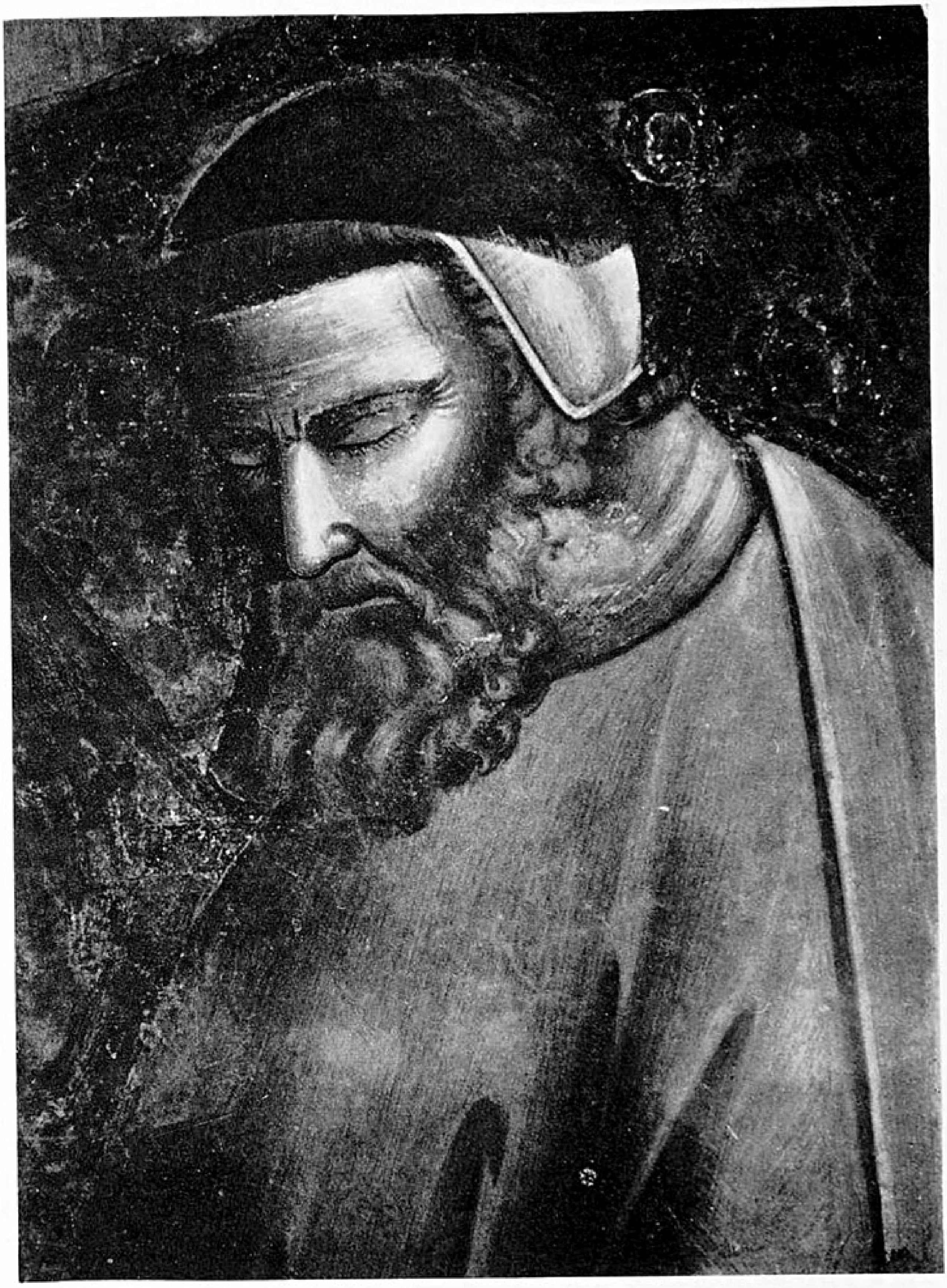


Fig. 9. Detail of fig. 8. Photo Alinari.

two old and bearded servants, one of whom has fallen asleep, his attitude and features masterfully lifelike (¹). St. Francis on the

---

¹) Mr. *Venturi* remarks that in this composition Giotto followed a mosaic of Rusuti's in Sta. Maria Maggiore, but if the latter dates from the year 1308 — v. Vol. I, p 493 — it was probably the contrary which took place.

left with his back to the Pope is seen supporting on one shoulder the portico of a church with a high campanile, the whole inclining to one side as if about to topple over, the saint himself standing on the falling platform. It is obviously a representation of the Lateran church, only Giotto has given it a more classical style. Until now St. Francis has been depicted as a clean shaven young man, but from this fresco until the end of the series he is clothed in his monk's habit and wears a short beard.

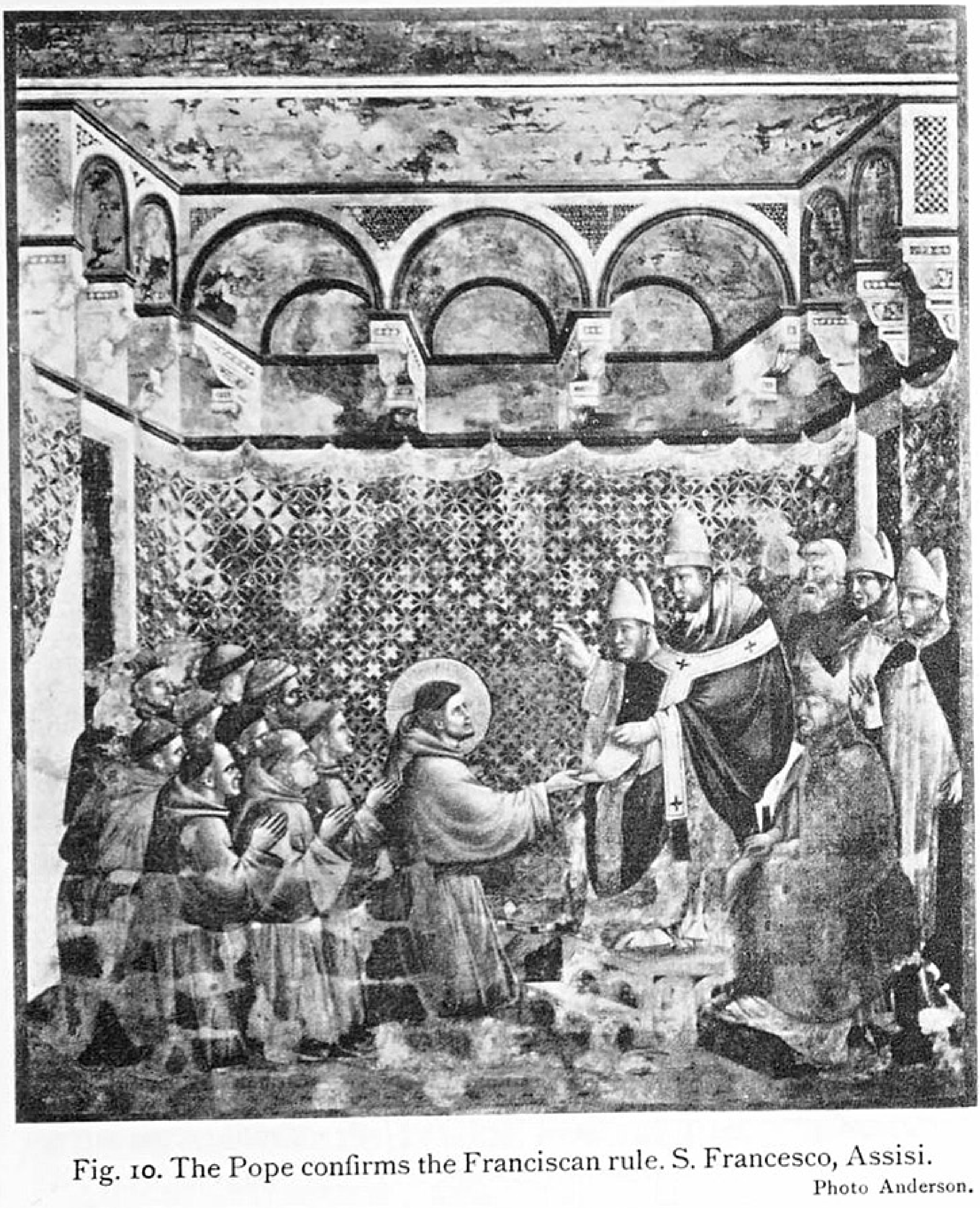


Fig. 10. The Pope confirms the Franciscan rule. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

(7) The result of the above-mentioned vision will be found in this fresco where the Pope, until now hesitating, confirms the rules of the order of St. Francis (fig. 10). In an elaborately arcaded room the Pope is seen seated on a high throne, surrounded by several church dignitaries and the two guards of the previous scene; he raises one hand in benediction as he receives the rules of the order from St. Francis, who kneels before him; behind the saint is a group of his brethren in the same attitude as their leader, but with their hands clasped as if in prayer. Besides the excellent composition, we are here again struck by the great diversity of life-like and individual expressions, even though some of the heads have suffered through restoration. In executing the faces — especially the Pope's — of the personages in this fresco, Giotto seems to have been influenced by the works of Cavallini which he had before him, for we find here that piercing sidelong gaze of the eyes peculiar to the older master (1). Besides this, the Pope resembles the figure of St. Gregory in the vault, but many of the monks' faces have a hard angular aspect, which may be due to restoration.

(8) In depicting the vision which the brothers had of a ball of fire in a chariot drawn by two horses, Giotto has deviated from the text on two important points (fig. 11). Firstly the biographer speaks of the vision as being seen in the house, but the painter, to produce a better effect, places it on the roof; and secondly in the text there is only mention of a flaming ball which the brethren took to be the thought of St. Francis coming to them, but which Giotto interprets as being the saint himself, whom he depicts in the chariot with a striated aura radiating from him. Of the brothers, three stand outside a high building, one pointing to the chariot,, a second telling of it to the others, who lie or sit on the floor of the house whose front wall, in order that the monks within may be seen, has been replaced by two pillars, giving to the building, which is walled in above, a very peculiar aspect. The figures of the standing monks are excellent, especially the one to the right, and the draping of their habits extremely natural; the two red horses are taken from an antique model and their almost identical attitudes are somewhat wooden.

---

(1) Mr. *Venturi* believes that this and the five following frescoes are possibly the work of Rusuti.

Following Bonaventura, Giotto should have now depicted the apparition of the saint at Arles which we find much later. Prof. Thode suggests that the painter had a special aversion to placing one vision adjacent to another but this is not a likely explanation, for the scene which replaces it is also an apparition and not in any way more dissimilar to the previous fresco than the one which, according to the text, should be represented. I think it more probable that the original plan of decoration was to place

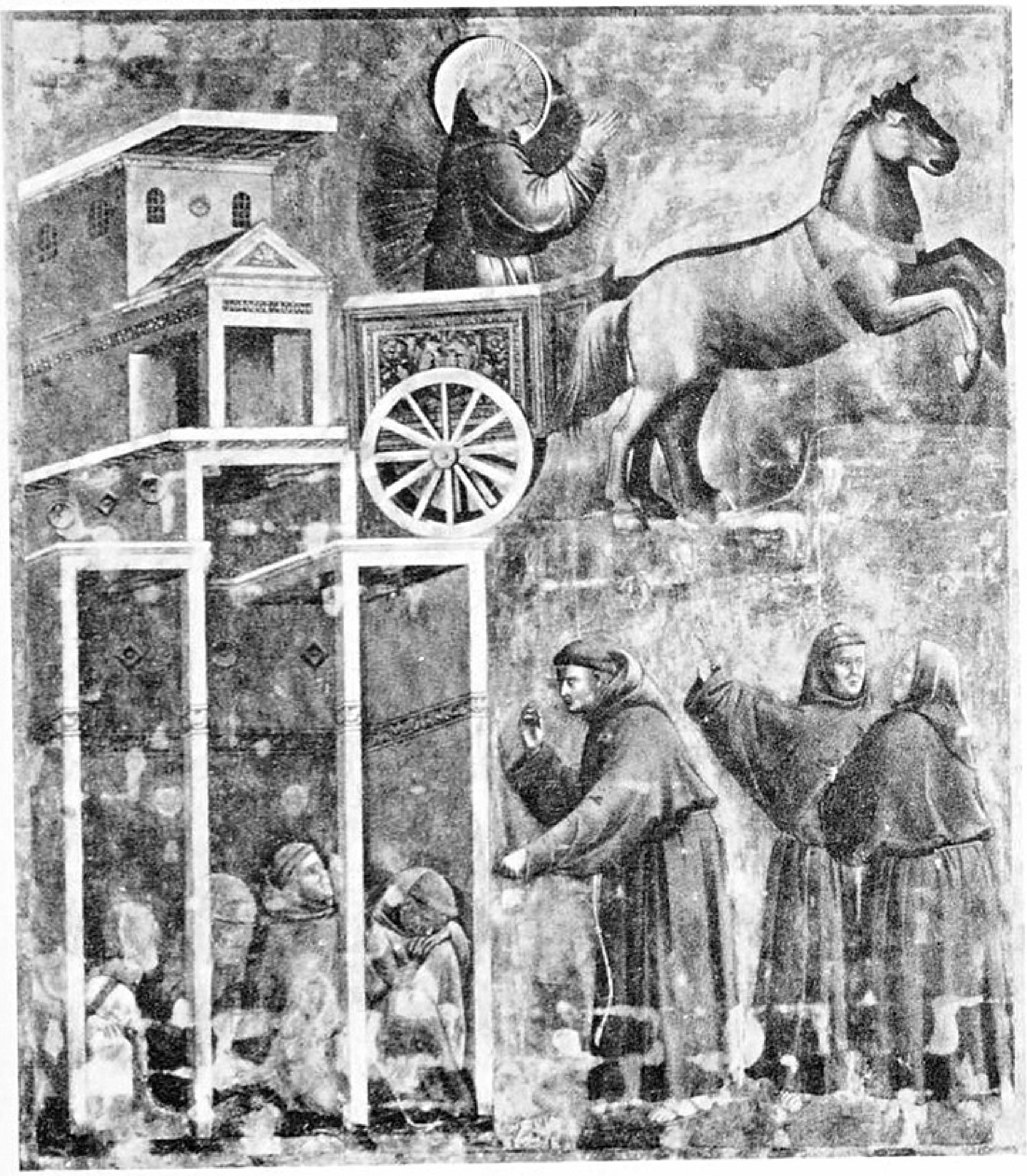


Fig. 11. The vision of St. Francis being taken to heaven in a fiery chariot.
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

between the seventeenth scene (preaching before the Pope) and the nineteenth (receiving the stigmata) one of the many miracles which Bonaventura relates as occurring between these events,

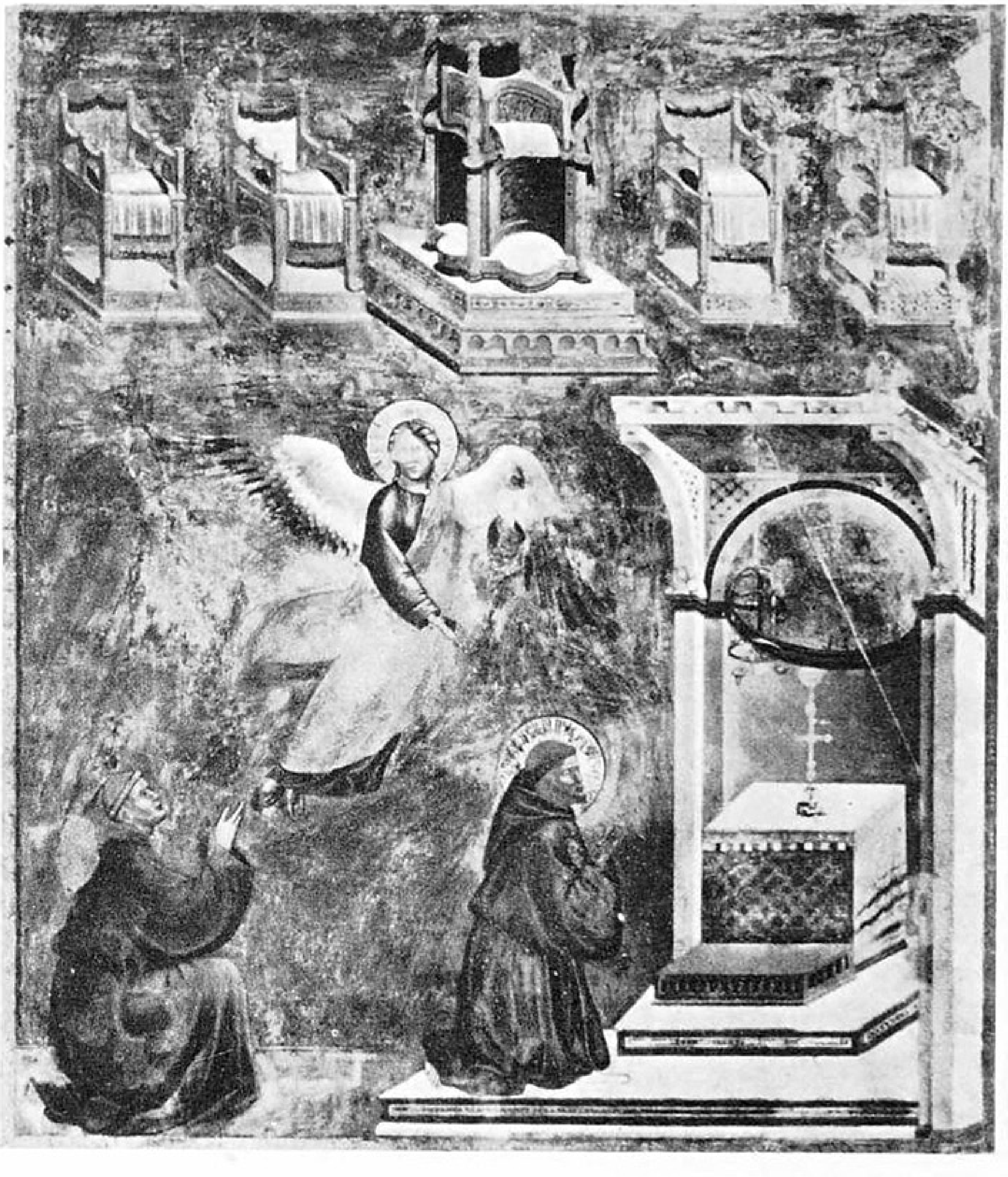


Fig. 12. The vision of the empty thrones. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

but for an unknown reason the apparition at Arles was chosen to be depicted here.

(9) The event now illustrated is that of a brother praying behind the saint and seeing above him a throne which, a voice explains, was once the celestial seat of a fallen angel but is now predestined for St. Francis (fig. 12). The painting is much damag-

ed and of the angel, whom Giotto depicts to voice the prophesy, little of the original appearance remains; this angelic figure, however, makes it very clear that the devoutly praying St. Francis is to occupy the most important of the five thrones seen above. This row of thrones is stiff and inartistic, and where the text speaks of "amongst many seats in heaven he beheld one that was more honorable than the rest, adorned with precious stones and shining with the utmost splendour" we might certainly expect to find something less rigid than these five Gothic seats, the centre one of which is larger, slightly different in shape, and placed on a higher pedestal, but of the precious stones and shining splendour no trace is to be seen. The shape and decoration of the altar, to which the saint gives his well-expressed, whole-hearted devotion, are in every way superior to the thrones.

(10) The next scene portrays Brother Sylvester, charged by St. Francis, driving from Arezzo the devils who had caused so much quarrelling amongst the inhabitants. It is recorded that the town enjoyed singular peace after the exhortations (fig. 13). The town is depicted within circular walls, some of the citizens being visible through one of the gates; before the large building of a church to the left, outside the city walls, St. Francis kneels in ardent prayer while in front of him the monk Sylvester raises his hand to chase away the devils who are seen flying from the town. This again is not in strict accordance with the legend from which we gather that Sylvester was sent forth alone, but Giotto has here represented the saint to show how the messenger was given the power to deliver the city from evil. The attempt at perspective in this fresco is rather a failure for, as Prof. Thode says, the artist has heaped the houses on each other, so that those more distant seem to stand on the roofs of the nearer ones. The painter has also tried to place the town further away than the monks by depicting the people seen through the gate much smaller, but the effect obtained is absurd because the people in the gate-way seem to be almost as near the eye of the spectator as the figures of the two Franciscans. The natural attitude of Sylvester however holding his habit with one hand as he exhorts the evil spirits, and the plasticity of his figure show great artistic qualities.

(11) Next follows an illustration of the ordeal proposed by

St. Francis to the Sultan to test the truth of the Christian religion against that of the heathen magi. St. Francis offered to walk through fire if, on his coming out unscathed, the Sultan would be converted to Christianity, but the monarch fearing rebellion among his heathen priests declined to bind himself (fig. 14). To the left of the fresco is a low building surmounted by a loggia; before this burns a fire to the left of which stand the heathen priests and to the right St. Francis and a brother monk; the saint looks towards the Sultan who is majestically seated on an elab-

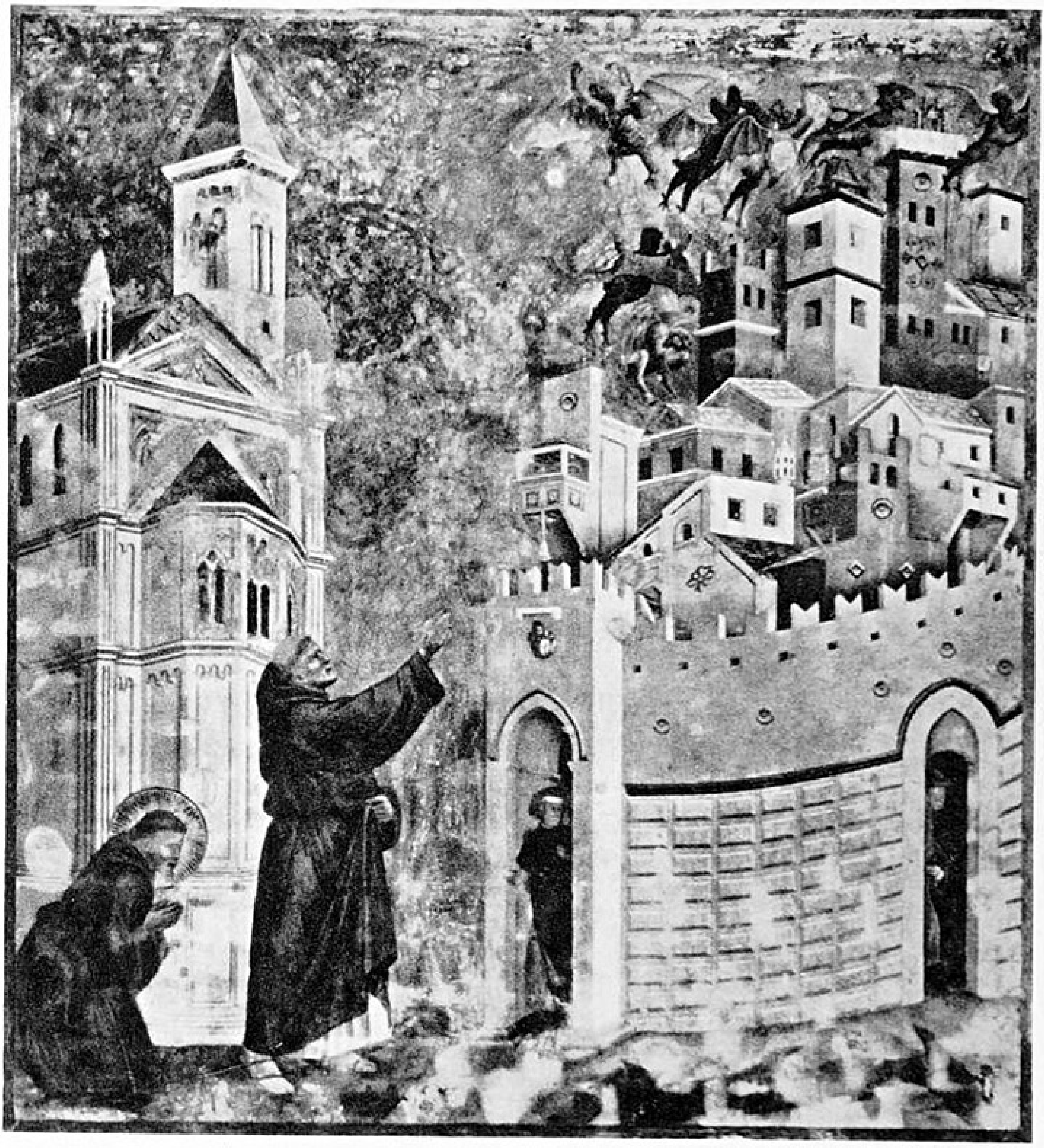


Fig. 13. The devils driven out of Arezzo. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

orate marble throne and supported by four of his suite. Although this painting is somewhat altered by restoration, it is one of the best of the series and is also rich in diversity of expression. In the left corner we see the magi trying to steal away from the offered

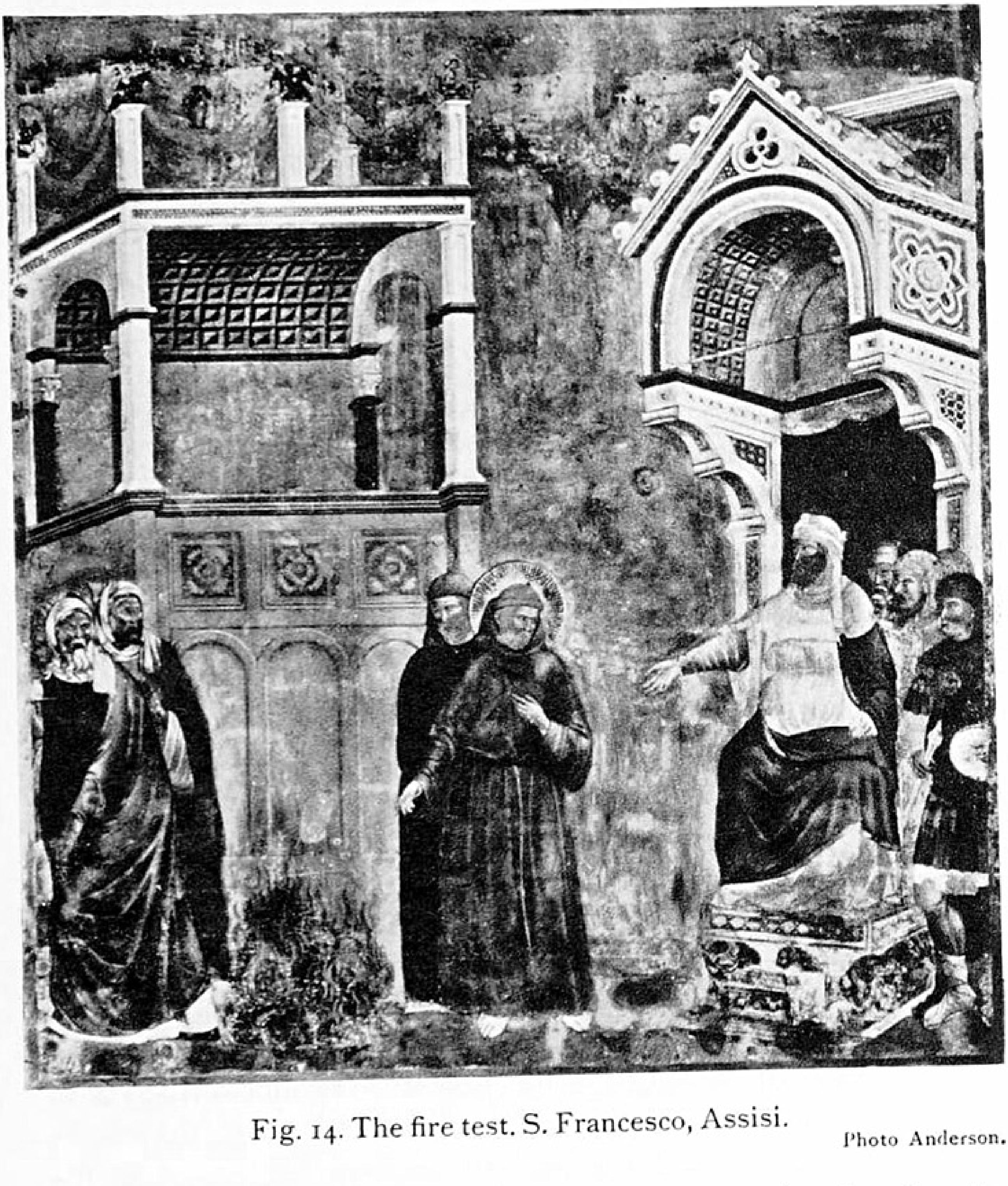


Fig. 14. The fire test. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

ordeal, the central figure of St. Francis on the other hand waits calmly for the Sultan's consent, while Brother Illuminato behind the saint looks with pity at the unbelieving magi. The Sultan, from his gesture, seems to invite the priests to submit to the trial, his courtiers watching the proceedings with great interest. It is clear that Giotto depicts here the first proposition which frightened the heathen so much that the monarch was unable to accept it. The legs of the soldiers standing behind the Sultan show a strangely defective design which might be the result of repainting.

(12) Much more simple in composition is the scene in which the brothers have a vision of the saint in mid-air with arms outstretched in the form of a cross. The background contains on the right a few small trees and on the left is filled by a heavily constructed building with square towers in front of which stand four monks, in very evident surprise, contemplating the apparition of their leader who is represented as rising out of a cloud and looking towards the half-length figure of the Lord, Who emerges from a circle above. This last element is an addition of the painter's who wished to illustrate that passage in the text, which runs: "unknown and hidden things of the divine wisdom were laid bare unto him". Time has again dealt roughly with this painting, but the plastic figures of the monks are excellently portrayed (1).

(13) The representation of the Christmas Mass at Greccio, where the little figure of the Child Christ becomes alive in the arms of the saint, rivals the fresco in which St. Francis breaks with his father even although in the former many of the faces have undergone much alteration since the original execution (fig. 15). The event seems to take place in the choir as indicated by the lectern and the back view of the crucifix which is placed on the top of the low wall which divides this part from the rest of the church (2). The pulpit with its little stairway is also seen from behind and Giotto has no doubt depicted here a special spot well known to him, where he had observed all these details. Through the opening in the wall a crowd of women streams in from the nave of the church; the choir itself is almost filled with men, mostly monks, four of whom, much taller than the others are with heads uplifted and mouths open giving praise to the Lord. To the right is a high canopied altar decorated with gar-

---

(1) I cannot imagine what led Prof. A. Venturi to say that this legend was not related by Bonaventura who, on the contrary, must be claimed as its only source; v. Chap. IX, 8, of this author's work.

(2) *Wulff*, Zur Stilbildung der Trecento-Malerei, p. 231, believes it represents the choir room of the Portiuncula.

lands in honour of the feast; before this and almost in the centre of the scene St. Francis kneels down and lifts out of the manger the doll which at this moment comes to life and looks at the saint. Of all his works in S. Francesco, this is perhaps the one where

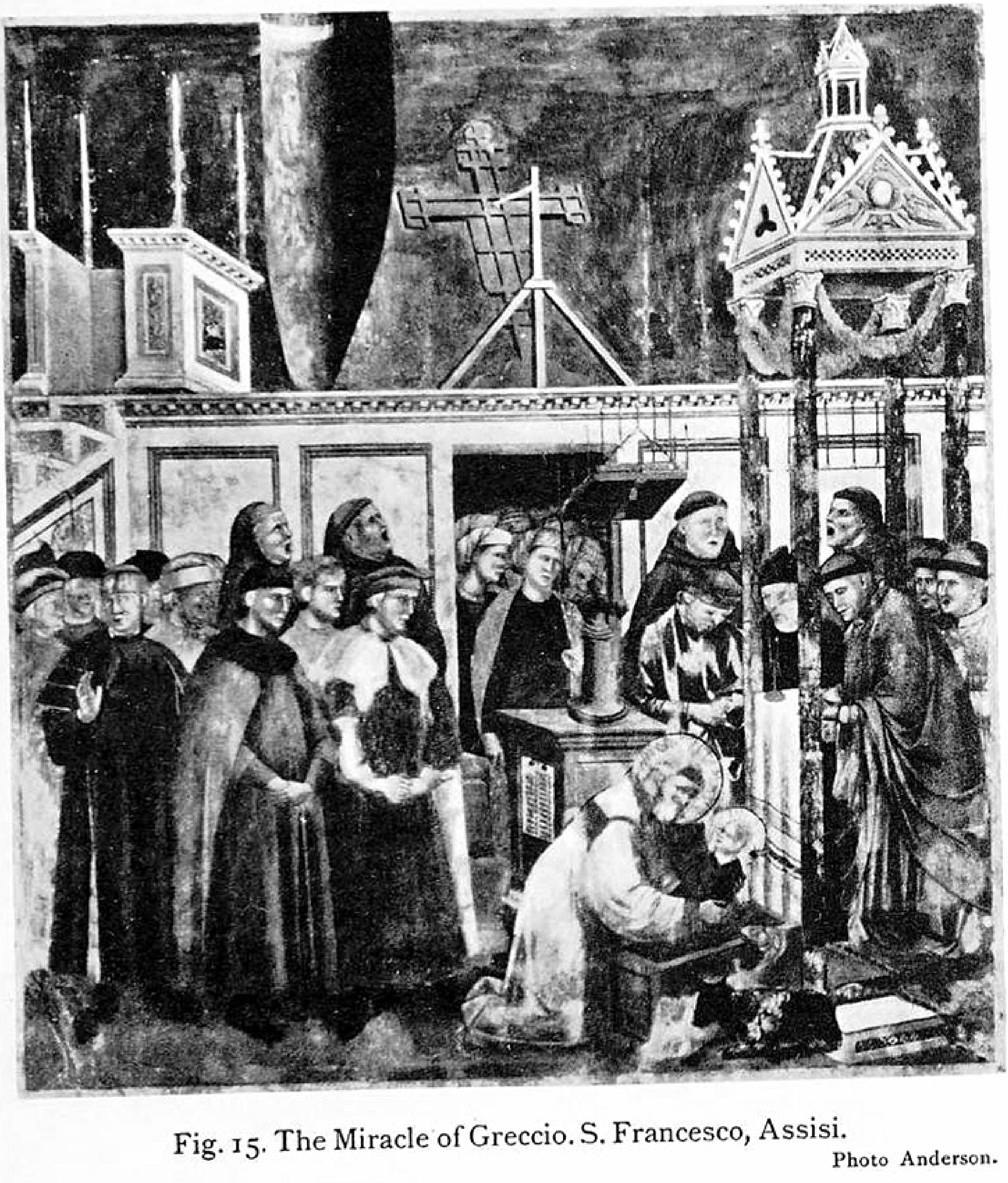


Fig. 15. The Miracle of Greccio. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

Giotto's sense of reality manifests the greatest perfection Firstly the site, where the miracle occurs, with the crucifix seen from the back and the little entrance to the pulpit only visible from the choir, is very natural; so also are the four singing monks. Some of the spectators are depicted with the greatest realism; one, for example, leaning on the lectern, another on the altar, and

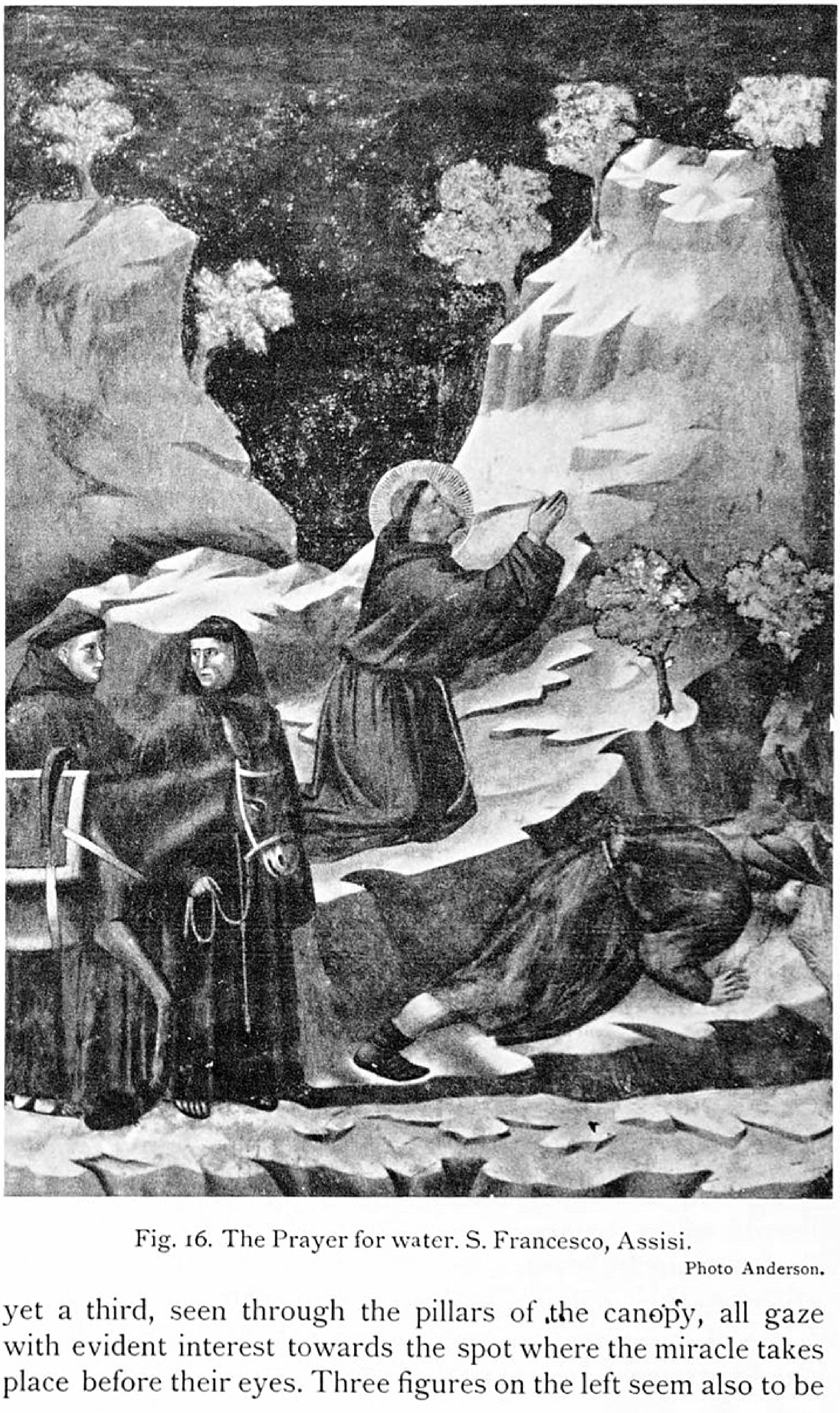


Fig. 16. The Prayer for water. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

yet a third, seen through the pillars of the canopy, all gaze with evident interest towards the spot where the miracle takes place before their eyes. Three figures on the left seem also to be aware of the strange event, and of these one must certainly be Messr John of Greccio who, according to Bonaventura, was the only one to notice the miracle. The peculiar light effects and some of the less successful draping may be the result of repainting.

(14) The illustration of St. Francis producing a marvellous stream of water to quench the thirst of his donkey-driver (fig. 16) should, if the text be followed, have been represented some time ago, but, as Prof. Thode remarks, the subject affords little scope for an elaborate painting and therefore is well-suited to occupy the narrow space reserved for it next the door. In a very rocky landscape in which are a few scattered trees, the saint is seen kneeling with outstretched hands; more in the foreground and to the left two monks talk together, one holding the reins of the donkey; to the right the driver lies on the ground with his head over the edge of the rock, clearly expressive of his avidity to drink from the flowing stream. This position of the poor thirsty driver gives us another example of Giotto's keen power of observation, and well deserves the admiration which has been expressed from the days of Vasari down to our own time. The donkey shows us this artist's great skill in depicting animals.

(15) We find this last quality of Giotto's again in this fresco where St. Francis is seen preaching to the birds (fig. 17). This event is again out of order and, following Bonaventura, should come after the next scene, but for the same reason as the previous scene was placed on the left of the door, and thus forms a pendant to it on the right of the door.

In the left-hand corner and in front of two trees stands a monk who evinces surprise at St. Francis who, with his back towards the brother, is bending forward gesticulating and talking seriously to the attentive birds which stand grouped on the ground looking up at their preacher, while one bird flies down from the large tree on the right in order to join his companions below. It is impossible to describe the touching tenderness expressed in the features and attitude of the saint. In following the older representations of this scene, one of which at least, he must have frequently seen in the Lower Church, Giotto shows his dependence on former traditions of which many examples will be found in his work. The trees are more natural than any we have seen until now in his other works. The presence of the monk in the picture

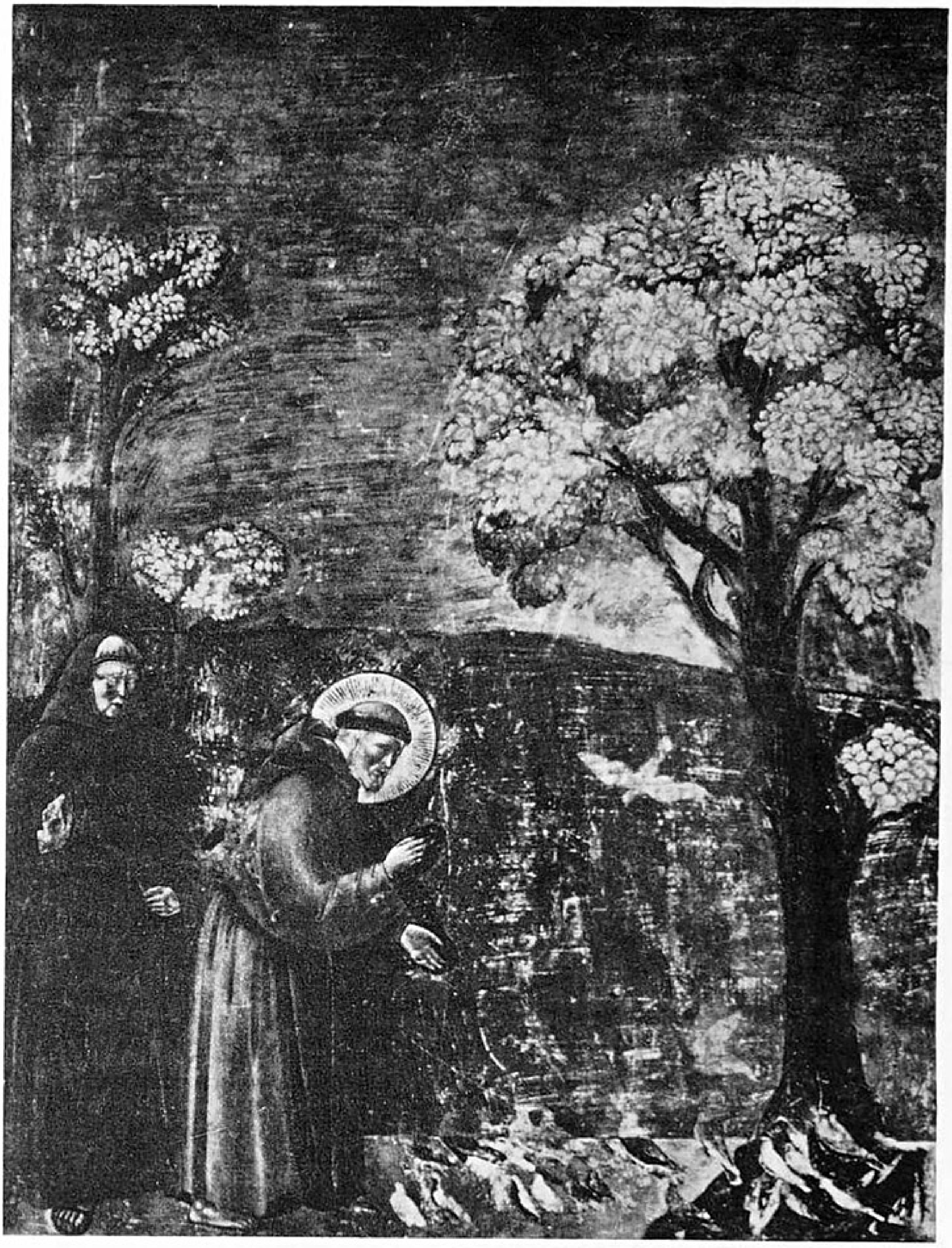


Fig. 17. The Sermon to the birds S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

is a freedom taken with the text by the painter, for we read, that though several brothers waited while their holy leader delivered his sermon to the birds, it was near the road and not with him. The monk also appears in the fresco of this scene which the Master of St. Francis represented in the Lower Church.

(16) The sudden and almost immediate realisation of the prophesy that St. Francis had made concerning the death of the Knight of Celano at whose table he supped, is depicted in a well arranged composition (fig. 18). Under an arched canopy is a table covered with a cloth and spread with cups, jugs, knives, bread, etc.; only one monk remains seated, St. Francis has just risen and is turned as if about to go towards the group on the right where the dead knight lies on the floor; two women, one may suppose his wife and daughter, are kneeling near him, the former supporting the body of her husband, the latter bringing her hands to her face in a gesture of horror. A large number of people stand behind this

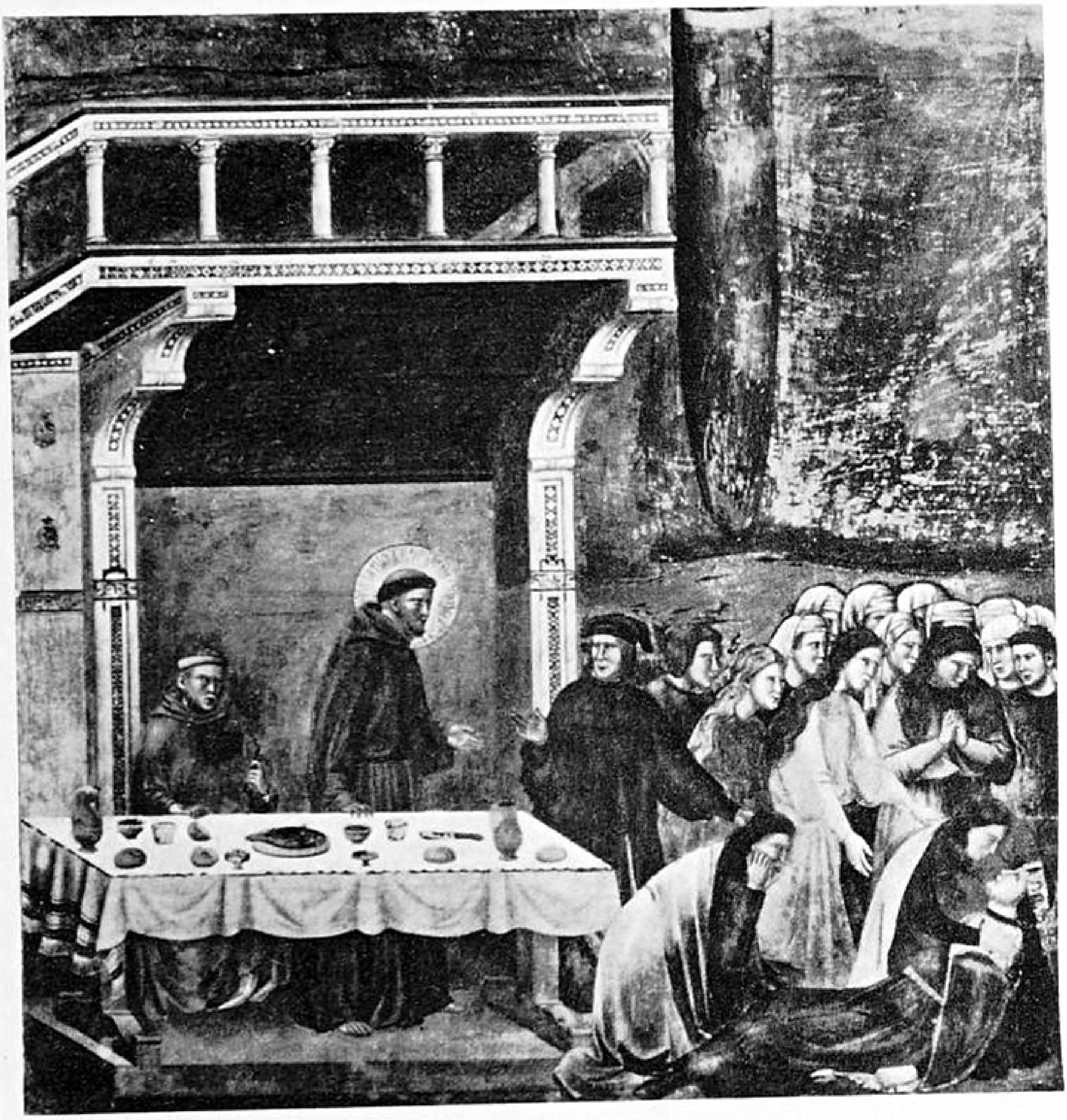


Fig. 18. The Death of the Knight of Celano. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

group, most of them showing, in a variety of attitudes and expressions, their excitement at this unexpected event. In striking contrast is the calm and stately figure of St. Francis as he goes towards those who manifest so strongly their great distress. It

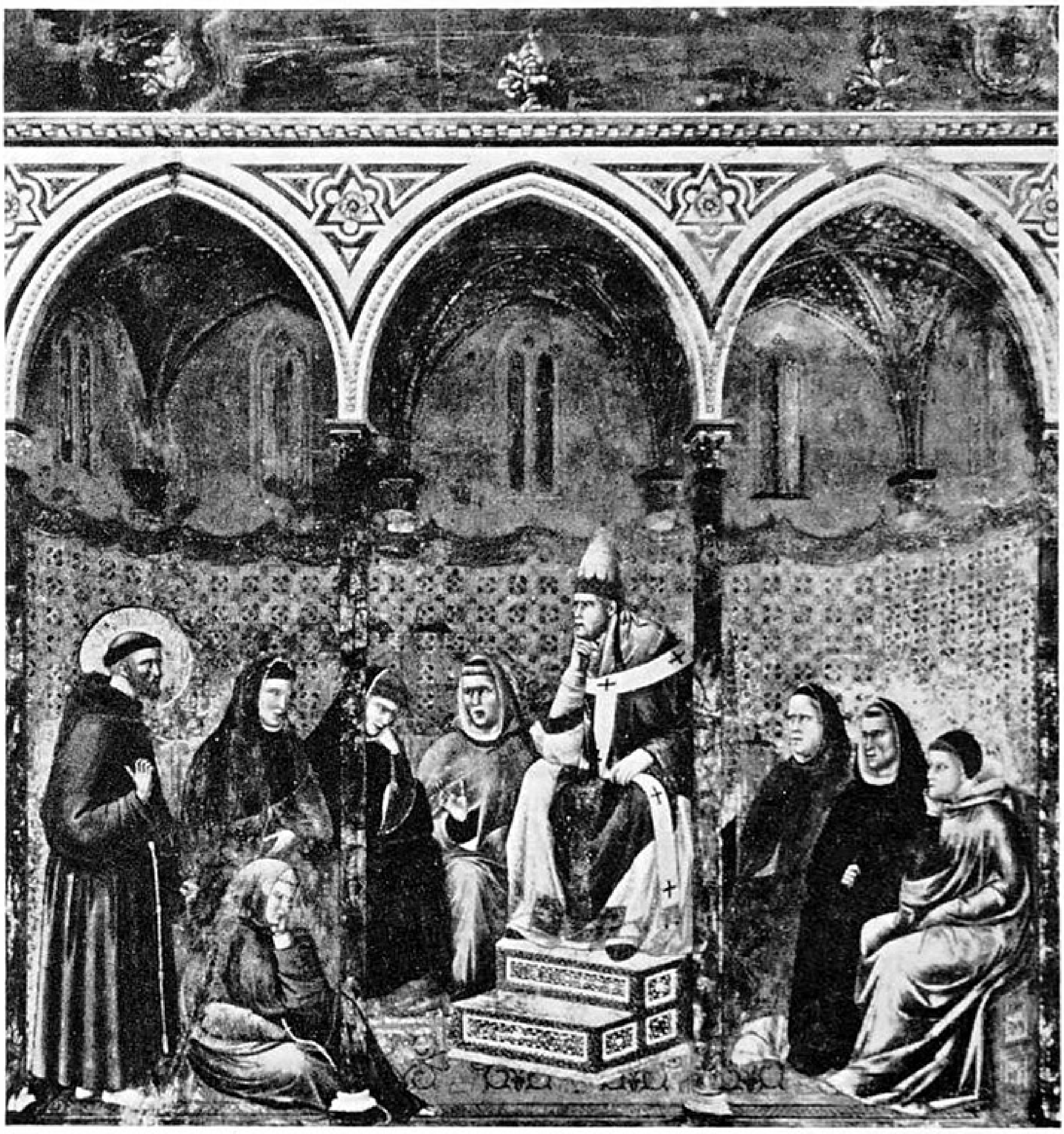


Fig. 19. St. Francis preaching before the Pope. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

may be, as Prof. Thode says, that in looking at this fresco one gets the impression that it is rather the punishment of an evil deed, than the demise of a good and charitable man who by confession had prepared himself to part from this life. The evident horror of death of some of the surrounding figures sooner betrays the Italian emotional temperament of the artist than a strong

Christian conviction. Of all the scenes which Giotto has represented here, this is the one where the text gave him least indication, Bonaventura only briefly mentioning the facts and giving no details of the circumstances, which were left to the painter's own imagination and sense of reality; so that in this case at least he was not in any way impeded.

(17) The following fresco depicts St. Francis, about to preach before Pope Honorius III, forgetting his sermon and being inspired by the Holy Ghost (fig. 19). The event takes place in a room, the Gothic vaults of which are supported by pillars; the Pope sits on a throne with three prelates on either side while in front of him stands St. Francis at whose feet a monk is seated. The different expressions on the faces form again the great quality of this work. With his hand in a strained position, the holy preacher looks as if he were in a trance while the Pontiff with intense interest written on his face, gazes steadily and penetratingly at the saint, whose words produce a varying effect on the rest of the auditors, all of whom listen attentively, but while one makes an enthusiastic gesture of approval, a second shows signs of repentance and the others appear to be meditating.

(18) The apparition of St. Francis at Arles during a sermon of St. Antony of Padua which, as was mentioned, should have been placed much earlier in the series, forms the subject of this fresco (fig. 20). In a room with handsome Gothic windows many monks are seated — mostly on the floor, some however on benches — listening to the orator, who stands in front of them. The monk, Monaldus, who sees the apparition, sits alone in the left corner of the picture; he looks towards the door-way in which St. Francis appears standing a little above the level of the floor with arms outstretched. Prof. Thode rightly observes however that contrary to the text St. Antony also is aware of the vision. Giotto, having succeeded no doubt in depicting to his own satisfaction the varying effects of the previous sermon on the auditors, repeats the attempt in this fresco but not with the same excellent result; he has managed however to show the difference in the emotion felt by Brother Monaldus, in comparison with that of the monks, only moved by St. Antony's words.

(19) The apotheosis of St. Francis' life is illustrated in the last fresco belonging to Giotto's cycle, but is unfortunately one of

the most dilapidated. The event is depicted as taking place in a rocky landscape; to the left on the summit of the rocks are some trees, and lower down a small resting house; to the right we see a little chapel near which a monk sits reading a book; at the side of the hut St. Francis is represented on one knee looking towards the apparition of the seraph, in whose direction he also holds the palms of his hands. From the middle of the seraphic wings emerges the body of the crucified Christ. The condition of this fresco is so bad, that we can admire little more than the soberness of composition. In representing the body of the Lord, Giotto has again given way to his fantasy, but as it is from this apparition

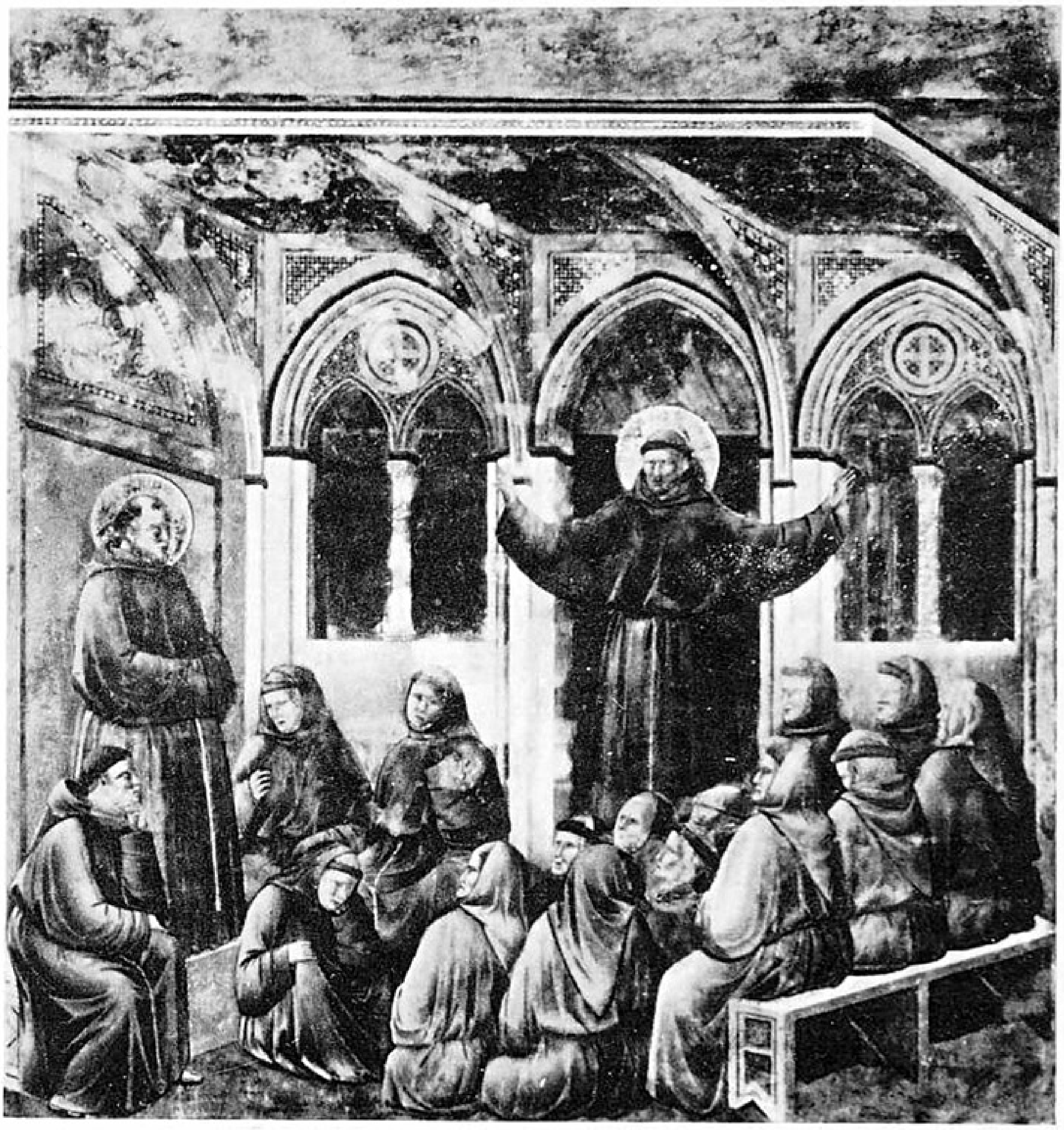


Fig. 20. The Apparition at Arles. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

that St. Francis receives the stigmata as indicated by the lines radiating from the wounds of the Crucified, the liberty of the artist is easily understood. The monk and the second little building, near which he sits reading, make it clear that Giotto, in representing this episode, followed the second meditations on the stigmata of the Fioretti; and the monk is Brother Leo, who, posted outside the chapel door, had to listen for the voice of St. Francis, calling from higher and higher up the mountain until he was quite out of ear-shot, then the saint knew that he was sufficiently isolated from the rest of the world. But the fact that the monk is here depicted reading a book may be to remind us of the legend, related by Bonaventura, of how St. Francis one day asked a brother in a chapel to open the Book of Gospels and it opened at the history of the Passion, this was repeated three times and each time the same passage was revealed; in this way the saint knew that as he had followed his Master through life, so too he was destined to follow him in His Passion. Because the saint's dislike of books occupied a very important place in his train of thought, it is not likely that the painter would have represented a Franciscan reading a book, unless in reference to some special incident.

Another work originally by the hand of Giotto, but now hardly recognisable on account of the repaint, is a half-length figure of the Madonna, holding the Child, which adorns the wall above the main entrance door of the Upper Church.

The nineteenth fresco terminates that part of the series which I believe to have been executed by Giotto or under his direct guidance.

It is well known that many art critics doubt or disbelieve that Giotto was the author of these paintings which, it is true, are not expressly mentioned by the oldest writers, although, as I have already said, Ghiberti seems to include them in his enumeration of Giotto's productions.

All the same the existence of an important record contemporary with the artist himself is in favour of our admitting Giotto as the author of these frescoes; Riccobaldo in his "Compilatio Chronologica", under the year 1305, speaks of Giotto's activities in Assisi and no doubt he was referring to these frescoes because those in the Magdalene chapel — the only other paintings in the Basilica which can be attributed to the master — were not executed, as we shall see, until after 1314.

Vasari tells us with great precision that Giotto was called to paint the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church and that it was Fra Giovanni de Murro, then General of the order who charged him with this work.

The generalship of Giovanni de Murro lasted from 1296 until 1304 (¹). Now we know that Vasari never verified any of the information he offers us even if he could have done so without very much trouble. He certainly did not select Giovanni de Murro on account of the relevance of his dates, because he obviously was not aware of the time when he held this generalship, otherwise there is no reason why he should have placed the St. Francis cycle after the frescoes of Sta. Croce, Florence, instead of at the beginning of his biography of Giotto, especially since his accounts are invariably chronological. Consequently it is clear that Vasari provides us here with a fact which he must have obtained from some other source which may very well have been reliable.

The period, 1296—1304, is certainly the one in the artist's career to which we can most easily ascribe the paintings in the Upper Church, and it does not seem impossible to me that this cycle was executed before the works in Rome. The mosaic fragment and the repainted piece of fresco rather contradict this hypothesis but this evidence alone is not sufficient to rely on. A better argument in favour of placing the Assisan cycle between 1296 and about 1300 would be that if they were made in the last years of the generalship of Giovanni de Murro they would approach more closely the Paduan frescoes and we should then be justifiably surprised that so great change took place in the master's art in an apparently short period. None the less, as we shall see, we are not altogether sure of the exact date when the latter were executed.

Again, in my opinion the St. Francis cycle forms such an obvious ensemble with the frescoes of the Roman school above, that it would be only natural to conclude that they were executed after only a short interval and probably all conceived together.

---

(¹) Chronica XXIV Generalium ordinis minorum. Quarachi, 1897, p. 432.

Herein we find another argument in favour of the hypothesis that Giotto made the frescoes at Assisi before the mosaic and the fragment of painting we still possess of his works in Rome.

Of late the difference in style of the architecture in the frescoes of Assisi and in other works of Giotto's, has been the cause of placing the former late in the artist's career (¹). I do not think however that this can be considered a valuable argument. It is true that a difference does exist and that the windows with the dividing columns in Assisi are of a somewhat more elaborate design; but this form of window is by no means an invention made during Giotto's life-time but existed, as well as those of a more simple model that we find in other works, for some considerable time. Giotto consequently chose to depict in his paintings at Assisi another form of window than in his works at Padua and Florence. The triforium of the transept of the Upper Church might have influenced the artist in his choice of window model.

Again, in the fresco of the funeral of St. Francis, one of Giotto's followers shows us a façade of a church much more elaborately executed than we meet with in earlier or contemporary paintings, but although this is an early instance of such a complicated building forming a background to a painting, the model itself does not in any way oblige us to ascribe it to a later date than the one we have fixed for Giotto's activities at Assisi.

The development of the realistic architectural background in Giotto's works will again help to confirm the hypothesis that Padua comes after Assisi and before Florence. At Assisi we do not, as yet, find any attempt in this direction, at Padua it is fairly well depicted in the meeting at the Golden Gate, and in Jesus driving out the Money-Changers from the Temple, while if we compare the view of the city in the Resurrection of Drusiana at Florence with that in the fresco in the Upper Church of the chasing out of the devils from Arezzo or compare again the compositions of the fire-ordeal before the Sultan in these two places, I do not think that any one would conclude that the paintings in Assisi are productions of a more mature stage in Giotto's career.

But after all, the authenticity of this cycle as a work of Giotto's is anything but certain and not even generally admitted. In 1904

---

(¹) *Supino*, Giotto, p. 166.

Wulff already expounded the contrary hypothesis (¹) which was taken up and developed by Rintelen, while of late Schmarzow has attributed them to the Roman mosaicist, Rusuti (²), and I know that to-day many art critics doubt (³) or tend to deny Giotto as the author of these frescoes.

Without offering any conclusive argument, and being perfectly aware of the fact that we are not dealing with a certainty, I feel all the same fairly convinced that the series is by Giotto. Naturally the arguments in support of this hypothesis will not be found in a comparison with later and more mature works of the master, but sooner in an attempt on our part to form a clear idea of the aspect of a youthful work of Giotto's, once admitting that he received his artistic training in Rome. Considering, too, that we have fairly valuable documentary evidence, I think we are right in maintaining the old attribution. Obvious differences separate the works of Assisi from those of Padua but on the other hand there are no irreconcilable differences, on the contrary many points may be discovered which connect the two series. We meet with the same narrative spirit expressed in an identical manner, we find the same compositions, space conceptions and perspectives and after all a much greater resemblance in type than is generally admitted. This we shall be convinced of if we compare the faces of the group of monks in the confirmation of the rules of St. Francis, one of the most criticised — and rightly too — of the frescoes of Assisi with, for example, the faces of the saved in the Last Judgment at Padua, part of which however is, as we shall see, painted by his closest follower. Again the angel head at Boville Ernica belongs to the same art as the St. Francis cycle and in as far as the difference in technique allows, they resemble in such a manner, that it is not difficult to believe that they are products of the same hand.

If it be true that the St. Francis cycle is a work of Giotto's, then it is certainly a juvenile work and not one of a more mature stage in his career, of which repainting has disguised all the original qualities, as Signor Supino has lately thought it to be. The frescoes, though in many places freely retouched, have not

---

(¹) *O. Wulff*, Zur Stilbildung, etc., p. 221.

(²) *A. Schmarzow*, Kompositions Gesetze etc., p. 119.

(³) Such as *O. Sirén*, Giotto etc., p. 19.

been repainted to such an extent as to prevent our judging them at their true and proper value and although we find here much to admire, there is no doubt that the Paduan series is of finer quality.

Whether made before or after 1298, many elements in the frescoes of Assisi betray the Roman origin of the art of their master (1). The frequent use of ornamental mosaics of the Cosmati style, which appears in almost all the scenes, is decidedly a Roman detail, while in the vision of the Pope, the façade of the church depicted is obviously that of the Lateran; the campanile too is a typically Roman work.

Direct inspiration from classical antiquity may be observed in the frequently depicted Corinthian capitals and the small statues ornamenting the houses, as in the scenes of the devils driven from Arezzo and the ordeal before the Sultan.

The two angelic figures resembling genii who carry the wreath on the façade of the temple in the first scene, and on the top of the ciborium in the representation of the miracle of Greccio, and more especially the horses of the fiery chariot in which the saint is brought to heaven, are clearly of classical aspect.

Particularly Roman is the narrative spirit which inspired the author of these frescoes and which may be traced back through the art of Conxolus and similar painters to the masters of the 9th century, such for instance as the one who executed the Ascension in the subterranean church of S. Clemente.

An interesting point in the cycle at Assisi is the transformation which the artist makes St. Francis undergo as the story advances. In describing the different scenes we noticed how frequently the painter added here a figure or there took some liberties with the text he illustrated in order to show us the event with more lucidity. It is of course possible that a certain iconographical tradition already existed for the representation of scenes from the life of St. Francis, but in as far as we can judge from the small scenes around the panel pictures of the Poverello, there was most probably no fixed composition for the various events. There seem to be more points of contact with the cycle in the Lower Church, executed by the "Master of St. Francis", but it however only comprises a few incidents. It is, then, very probable that many of the details added to those given in the text were invented by the painter in order to make his work more comprehensible to the spectator. This tendency also corresponds with the general spirit of the entire cycle in which the artist always pays particular attention to the psychological importance of the moment, attempting most of all to produce truthful dramatic representations of the events in which the diversity of the human emotion is understood and rendered in a perfectly modern spirit. His paintings are a study in realistic psychology. I should even venture to say that on account of his great understanding of the diversities of the human mind, and his attempt faithfully to portray the manifestations thereof, Giotto failed to be a mystical painter, nor do I think we can call him a Franciscan artist such, for example, as Guinta Pisano was. Although he shows us at Assisi nineteen different aspects of the Poverello, there are but few which seem to give us an image of the saint as we would like to imagine him. Giotto's vision was probably too much based on his direct contact with reality to allow of the execution of a more idealistic conception of the saint.

---

(1) *R. van Marle,* Les origines romaines etc.

As to their compositions, the frescoes of Giotto do not differ very much from the mosaics of Cavallini; he continues to adopt the same mise-en-scene with isolated pieces of architecture which was also followed by Torriti. There is, however, a difference in the manner in which Giotto places his figures in the space in which the action takes place especially when the event is represented in an interior. Cavallini, according to Byzantine principles frankly shows us the locality as forming the background to the action as in the mosaics of the Nativity of the Virgin and of the Child Jesus in Sta. Maria-in-Trastevere; in the first case it is a room, shut off by curtains, which we find behind the group, while in the second the Madonna and the other figures are represented in front of the grotto. And as we saw in the frescoes of Cavallini's helper a building forms the background of the Pentecost scene.

Giotto, like artists who, although belonging to a previous generation, were his contemporaries at the beginning of his career, such as Rusuti and the follower of Cavallini in Naples, places his figures sometimes well inside a room. He obtains this effect in three different ways. If the room only occupies part of the whole picture, he shows us the roof and the walls cut through, but in such a manner, that the cut off ends reach the surface on which the fresco is painted (the Dream of St. Francis, the Dream of the Pope and the Vision of St. Francis in the Chariot). On the other hand, if the interior view is all that is represented, the ends of the two side walls, the floor and in one case also the ceiling coincide with the extremities of the fresco itself (Confirmation of the Rules, the Sermon before the Pope, and the Apparition at Arles). In these cases a fairly effective although never correct perspective produces the impression which the artist aimed at and which he intensifies in some cases by making the pillars, which support that part of the building nearest the spectator, pass in front of the figures (Dream of the Pope, Vision of St. Francis in the Chariot, Sermon before the Pope). Then again Giotto shows us in a certain number of scenes isolated details with the intention of indicating the site of the proceedings but without depicting any space effect or perspective (St. Francis breaking with his Father, the Vision of the empty Thrones, the scene before the Sultan, the Death of the Knight of Celano).

It is clear that for Giotto the expression of space and its dependent elements never became a reality. The truth of his representations always lies in the human part, the figures, their actions and expressions, while the composition if compared with them must always strike the spectator as extremely unnatural. A most striking example of this is offered in the scene of the ascension of St. Francis in the fiery chariot where a wall is left out in order to reveal to us in the interior a group of sleeping monks, all heaped together and quite out of proportion with the space. Whether the monk who speaks to them is meant to stand in or outside the same room is difficult to say; if inside, the place where the artist depicts him is badly chosen, if on the other hand he is meant to be outside, we do not understand how one of those in the interior can hear and see him as he evidently does. The chariot of St. Francis seems to have started from the roof.

Giotto did not trouble much about his compositions and expression of dimensions, he wanted to tell his stories by means of living and acting figures; all details of architecture, houses, walls and furniture he only depicted in as far as they play a part in the event, but without ever desiring that the figures and their surroundings should be in harmony, or form a realistic representation of an event. For Giotto all the importance lay in the dramatic action but he had no feeling for the realism of the mise-en-scène of interiors or architectural exteriors; his landscapes however are depicted with a much greater sense of reality. Figures and their surroundings occupied two very different places in Giotto's mind, so much so that we cannot say that at Assisi he painted one picture in the modern meaning of the word.

The conception of placing an event in the centre of its surroundings was however more modern and somewhat nearer reality than that of showing the surroundings only as background, as we still found in Cavallini's works. In dealing with the Paduan frescoes we shall have to return to this question.

No doubt the frescoes of Assisi were greatly appreciated by Giotto's contemporaries, and Vasari tells us that they brought great fame to their author. Copies of them made in the 14th century still exist in S. Francesco, Pistoia, in the chapel of the Campo Santo of Pisa, and in the last chapel to the right in S. Fortunato, Todi. Giotto many years later repeated several details of these scenes in Sta. Croce, Florence, showing thereby that he himself was not dissatisfied with the earlier cycle.

Of Giotto's works the most important will be found in the Arena chapel at Padua (1).

This chapel was built by Enrico Scrovegno, son of Reginaldo, a well-known miser and usurer whom Dante has placed in the seventh circle of his Inferno (2).

Enrico however spent part of the ill-gotten riches of his father in a manner which in our opinion entirely redeems the name of Scrovegni. In 1301 he was made a noble of the Venetian Republic after which in 1303 he started the building of the chapel which was consecrated in 1305 and embellished with the magnificent series of frescoes by the hand of Giotto.

Cavalcaselle, no doubt on account of the supposed meeting of Giotto and Dante at Padua in 1306, tells us that it was in this year, that the great master executed these paintings. The fact is that we do not know at all with certainty when they were made; we are perfectly free to assume a few years interval between the consecration and the decoration (¹) and this is not without importance for about ten years would then have elapsed between the execution of this cycle and the one at Assisi, admitting always the latter was painted between 1296 and '98, which lapse of time would help to explain the difference in the style of the two works. If this be so the paintings of the Arena chapel can never again be called a juvenile work, as is so frequently done, because Giotto, probably born, as we saw, in 1266, would just be forty or even perhaps one or two years older when be made these frescoes; which age seems more in accordance with the style of the work.

---

(1) *Moschetti,* La cappella etc. *Romdahl,* Stil u chron. etc.

(2) XVII, 64—66. Ed un, che d'una scrofa azzura e grossa (arms of the Scrovegni), segnato avea lo suo sacchetto bianco, me disse: che fai tu in questa fossa? etc. Con questi Fiorentin son Padovano.

The chapel, although of very simple construction, is entirely covered with painting. Not only are the walls embellished with thirty-eight scenes from the lives of Joachim and Anna, the Virgin and the Redeemer, in three different rows, and the entrance wall with the Last Judgment according to an old tradition, but the sky-blue vaults are adorned with figures in medallions, the lower part of the walls with personifications of the virtues and the vices, each architectural division is covered with series of medallions enclosing half-figures while the scenes are separated from each other by ornamental frames in which we find illustrated different subjects from the Old and New Testaments. The choir contains a series of frescoes mostly representing the last incidents in the life of the Virgin and her death, but these have been executed by an inferior artist who was not one of Giotto's closest followers. All the decorative work, frames and medallions are not by Giotto himself but by his pupils.

---

(¹) I do not think that the argument which Sig. Moschetti brings forward for his hypothesis that the chapel was ornamented in 1304—5 is very convincing. He supposes that the frescoes were painted on the walls when still wet, and in the difference between the actual façade and the one of the model held by the founder in the scene of the Last Judgment, he finds reason to believe that the façade was not yet finished when the fresco was made. On the other hand, we know how very often a considerable time elapsed between the achievement of the construction and the ornamention of a church, while the models held by founders have hardly ever anything in common with the real aspect of the building.

The Arena chapel, then, small as it is, contains a richness and abundance of paintings we rarely find in large churches.

The series of thirty-eight scenes with which we shall start is divided into three rows and begins on the upper part of the right wall near the choir, as fresco series in churches invariably do.

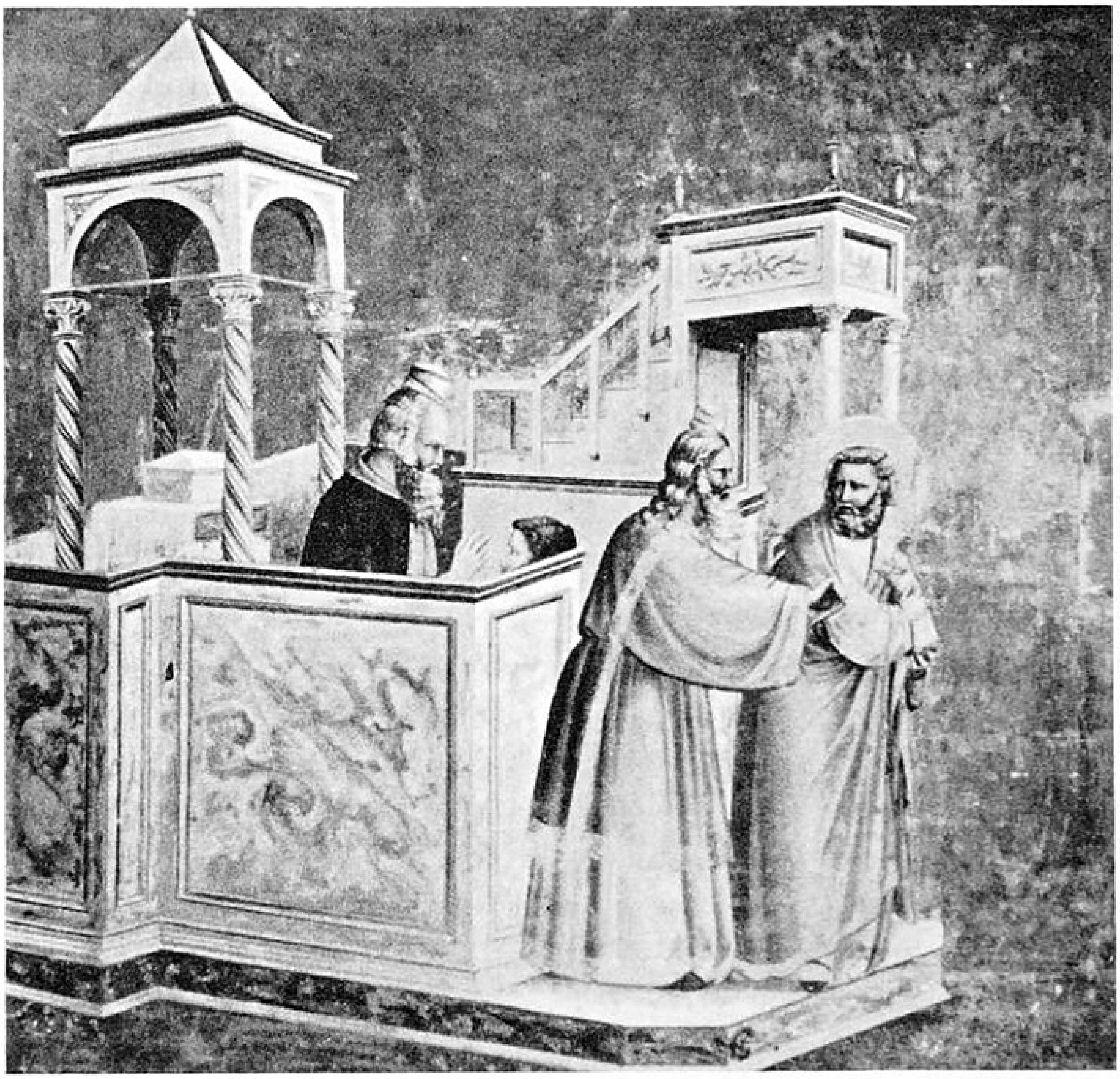


Fig. 21. Giotto, Joachim chased from the Temple. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

(1) The first scene represented is Joachim being driven from the temple in which the priests no longer allow him to sacrifice because he is childless (fig. 21). We are at once struck by the extreme simplicity of the composition; the event is represented as taking place between two persons only, the priest and Joachim, the former a venerable grey-bearded old man looks severely at the undesirable whom he pushes without violence towards

the door. Joachim nimbussed like a saint, does not resist but looks sadly and somewhat reproachfully over his shoulder at the priest. Two other figures, only partly visible over a low marble wall, make it clear that the scene occurs in the temple, one is an old priest while the second, whose head alone is to be seen, evidently kneels before him offering up a sacrifice (¹). The wall separates the altar which is under a high canopy, from the rest of the building, and which, along with the pulpit, forms the background of the fresco; these constructions are similar to those in the scene of the Christmas miracle at Greccio in the Assisan series. The figures of Joachim and the two priests, with their high cylindrical sacerdotal head-dresses, are stately and impressive, and the scene, in which only the very essential elements have been depicted, is altogether of a dignified sobriety; but one might easily feel inclined to imagine such a scene taking place with more agitation as the painter of a 13th century panel in the Gallery of Pisa depicted it (²). Here we find one priest followed by two others violently pushing Joachim towards the door of the temple where a little gesticulating crowd await his exit; this conception, however, appears after Giotto's fresco with its reserved gestures, as amusing and somewhat vulgar. The type of venerable old men which Giotto depicts in this scene and which will be found throughout his works at Padua belongs to his monumental style, while in the St. Francis series the few bearded figures we find are of quite a different type.

(2) Joachim's retreat in the mountains is one of the most beautiful of all the scenes on these walls (fig. 22). The background is formed by rocks, projecting in a peak on the right; on these, some scattered trees are growing, a realistic observation which Giotto had already attempted at Assisi but more daringly sets forth here; against this background the grief-striken figure of Joachim, his arms folded in his cloak in front of him, his eyes fixed on the ground, taking no notice of the delighted little dog who welcomes him, advances slowly from the left towards two handsome young shepherds who exchange an understanding glance of sympathy

---

(¹) We learn from the Gospels of the Pseudo-Matthew and of the Nativity of Mary that Joachim desired to sacrifice with other people.

(²) v. Vol. I, p. 286.

for the troubles of their master; behind these two youthful figures a flock of sheep, small, and for Giotto, badly designed, emerges from a simple little hut which is built against the rocks. Of the three excellent figures of this fresco, it is certainly the majestic Joachim who is the most admirable in his well expressed meditation over his unlucky fate. Giotto has undoubtedly attained here a ripeness and mastery which were previously lacking, or at least not so evident.

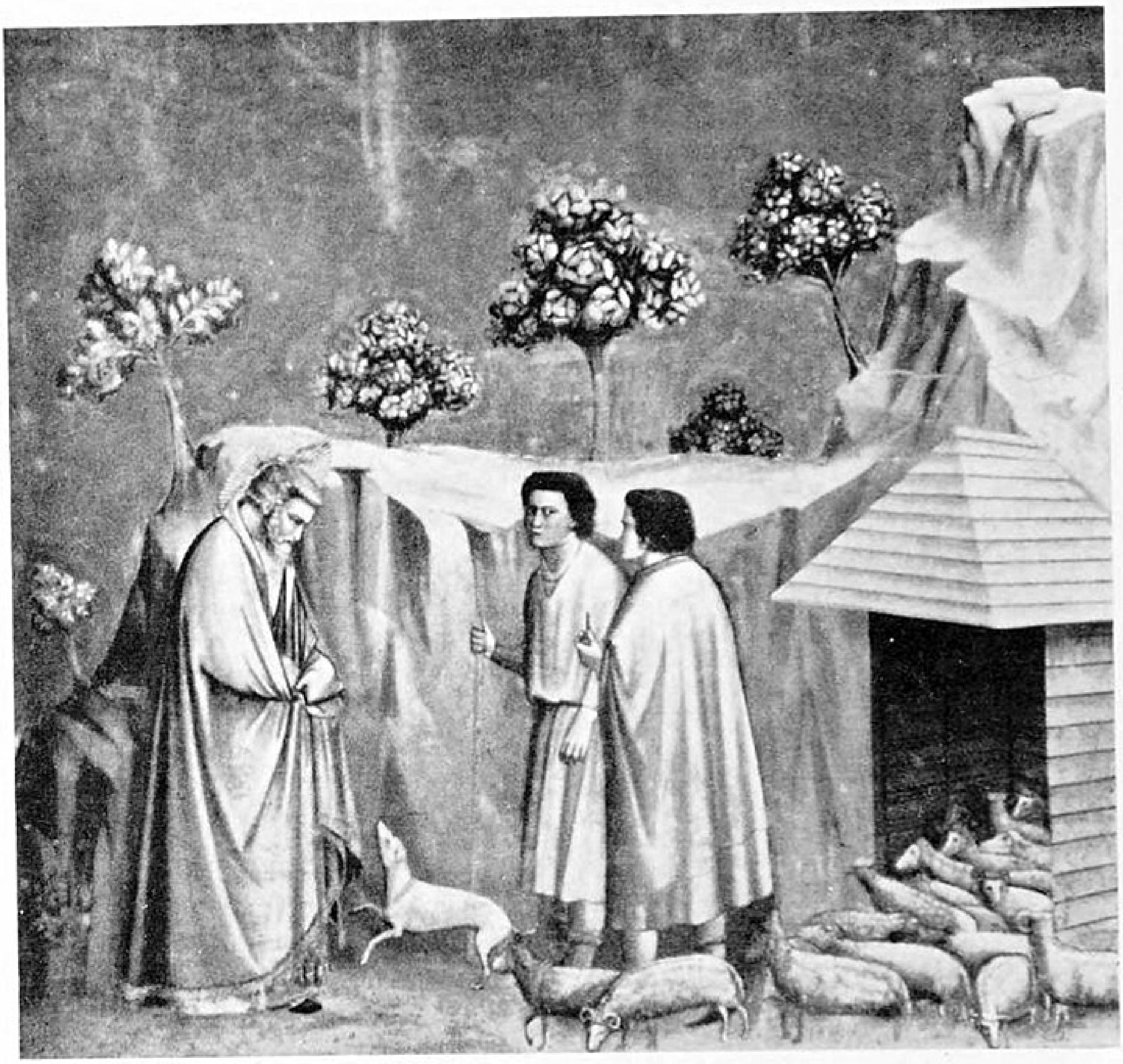


Fig. 22. Joachim with the Shepherds. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

(3) The Annunciation to St. Anna varies somewhat from the text where it is related as taking place in a garden. Giotto however depicts it indoors, probably in order to be able to represent the servant Judith who had previously spoken to and encouraged his mistress in her distress, but who was not really present at

the event. The intervening wall being left out, we see Anna kneeling in her dainty bedroom, furnished with a bed, half concealed by a curtain, a chest, a bench and some articles on the wall; her head is covered with a veil, an element perhaps inspired by the text which mentions that she wore her wedding dress;

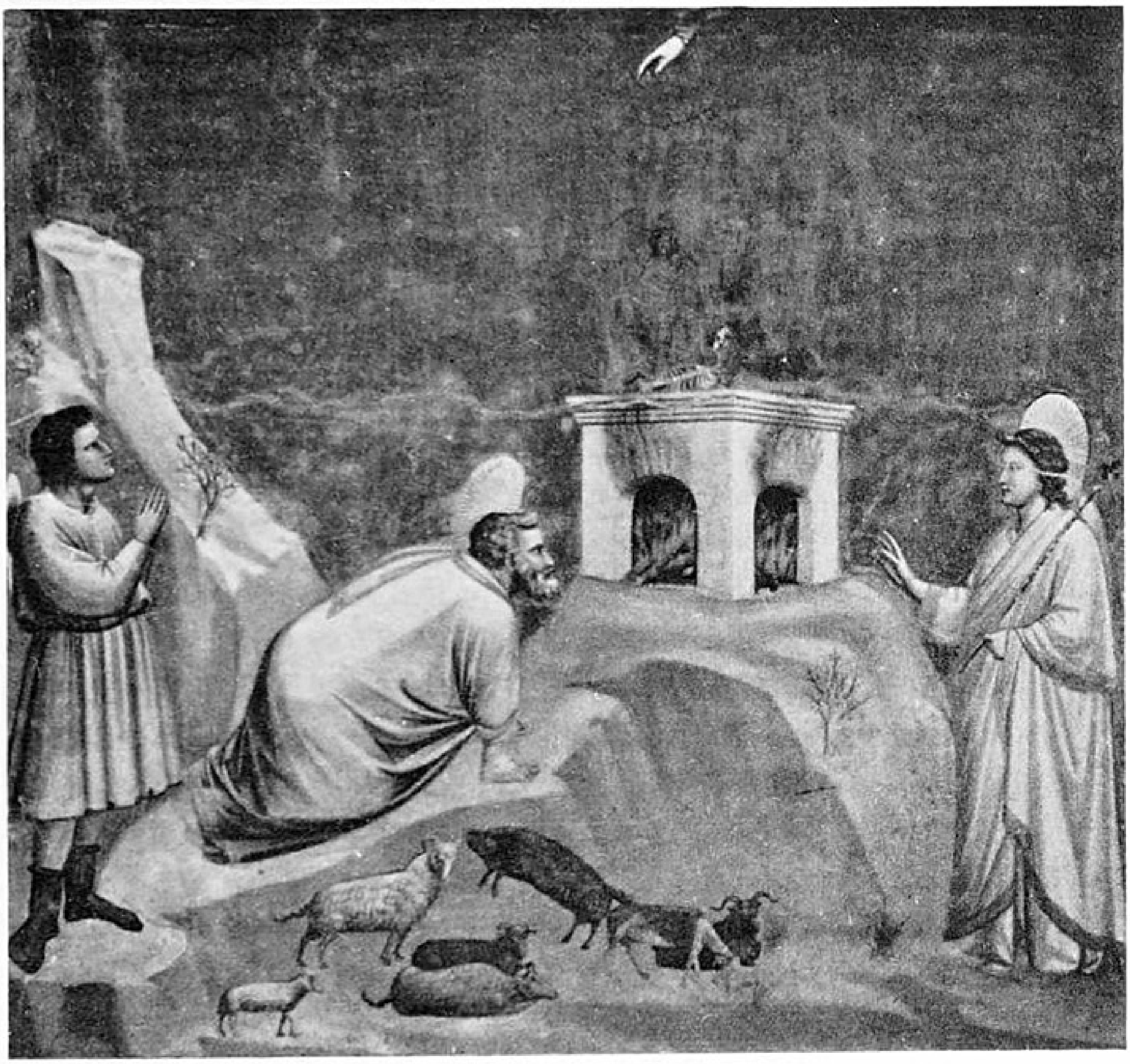


Fig. 23. The Annunciation to Joachim. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

through the little square window an angel flies into the room. Under a porch, outside the house the maid on one knee is seen spinning, but her look betrays the fact that she is very well aware that something unusual is happening behind the door. The upper triangular part of the facade is decorated with a bust of Our Lord in a shield supported by two angels whose antique aspect is very noticeable. The kneeling St. Anna is the most important figure of this simple composition; it is perhaps the first time that Giotto has represented this type of broad and sculptural woman, so frequent in his later works.

(4) This scene shows us the angel announcing the glad tidings to Joachim in a landscape very similar to that of the second fresco (fig. 23). Before an altar, on which a sacrifice to God is burning, Joachim humbly kneels, looking at the same time towards the angel; behind him a young shepherd with hands clasped in prayer looks religiously upward at the hand of God which appears in the heavens. Some animals, again badly designed and out of proportion are depicted in the foreground. Although the attitude of the angel is solemn and impressive, that of Joachim is rather clumsy and on the whole this picture cannot be classed amongst the best of the Scrovegni chapel.

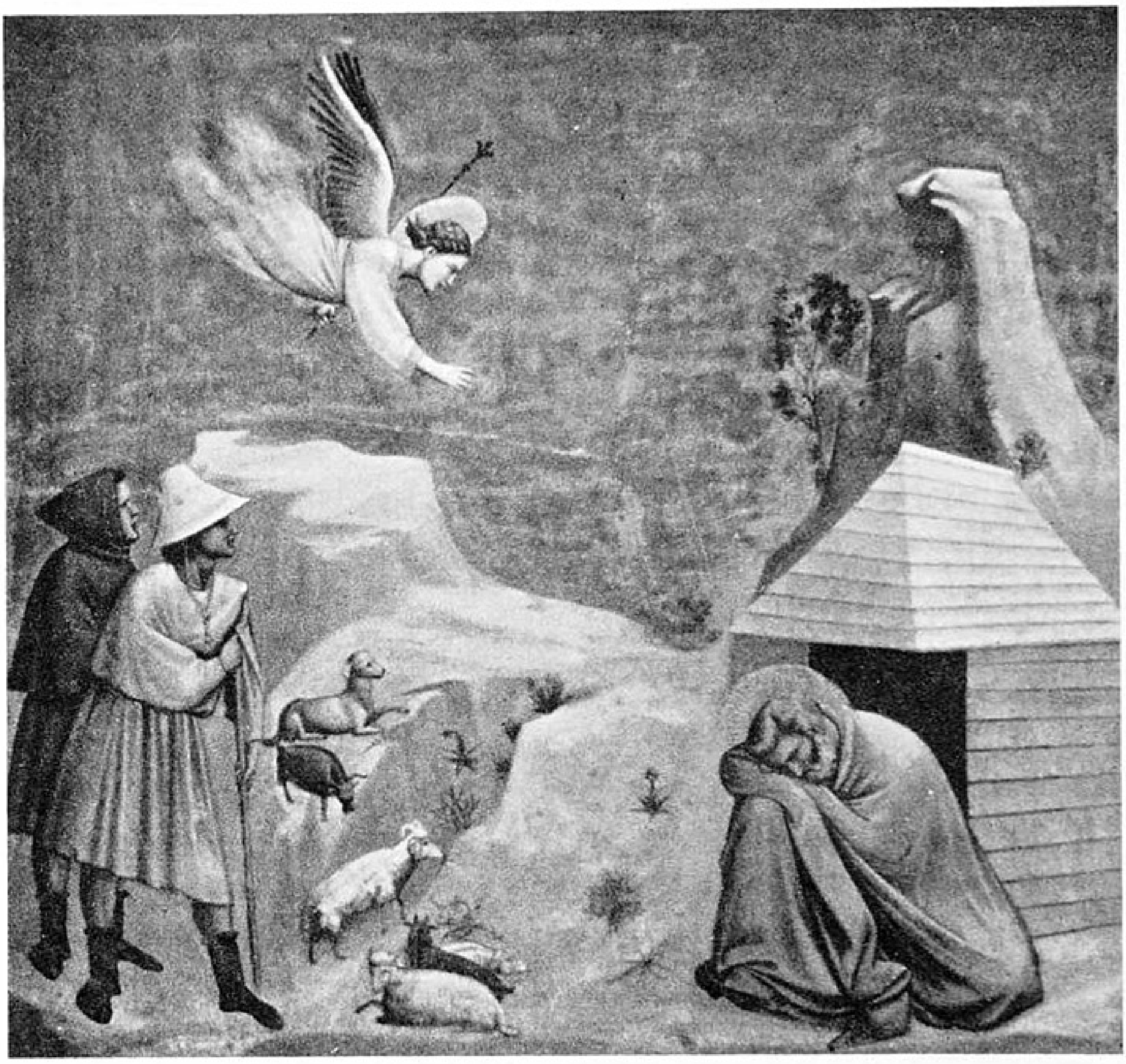


Fig. 24. The Angel tells Joachim to return home. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

(5) The figures and composition of Joachim's dream are in every way superior (fig. 24). Except for the trees which are here very insignificant, the rocky background, even including the little hut, is almost identical with the one of the second fresco. Before the shelter on the right, Joachim, well wrapped in his cloak, is seated on the ground asleep, resting his head on his knee. Opposite on the left of the scene stand two very young shepherds, one with his head covered by the hood of his coat, the other wearing a hat; the former looks in surprise at the angel who appears in the sky to tell Joachim in his dream to return to Jerusalem. The four figures of this sober composition are impressive in their natural simplicity; the attitude of Joachim is well observed, the shepherds, whose build as well as faces betray their youth, are very handsome, while the flying angel makes a graceful figure; even the sheep and dog grazing and lying on the ground, although still too small, have greatly improved and are not at all rigid (¹).

(6) The meeting at the Golden Gate is one of the best of these frescoes (figs. 25 and 26). The background is formed by a large gateway through which five women — the foremost being the servant Judith — follow behind St. Anna as she greets and embraces her husband on the bridge; Joachim has come from the opposite direction and is followed by a young shepherd, who, with his hood over his head, a stick on his shoulder and a basket in his hand, is a figure frequently repeated by followers of Giotto in illustrations of this scene. An indescribable tenderness is expressed by the two future parents of the Holy Virgin, who kiss each other not only with affection but also with much gravity

---

(¹) These paintings certainly point to the Pseudo-Matthew as their inspiration, although much of it is also to be found in the Golden Legend. It is the latter as well as the Pseudo-Matthew which relates the event depicted on the first fresco, how the High Priest in indignation repulses Joachim from the altar. The second scene also corresponds with the Pseudo-Matthew and the Golden Legend both of which relate that Joachim joins his shepherds, whereas the Proto-gospel of St. James says he goes into the desert. The Pseudo-Matthew alone tells of the angel assisting at Joachim's sacrifice and of his dream by which he understands he must return home. For the rest I refer to the remarks made when dealing with the scenes of Joachim and Anna on the 13th century panel in the Museum of Pisa, v. Vol. I, p 286.

which the consciousness of the glad tidings has produced in them. St. Anna holds her husband with one hand round his head as she gently caresses his cheek with the other, while he protectingly grasps her around the shoulders. Of the women present at this meeting, the smiling Judith shows her great satisfaction, the two immediately behind her are also obviously enthusiastic over the happy event but the woman next Judith seems to cover her face with her veil in order not to witness the manifestation of tenderness which takes place before her. St. Anna's dress is threaded with gold, the only instance of this detail in the whole series.

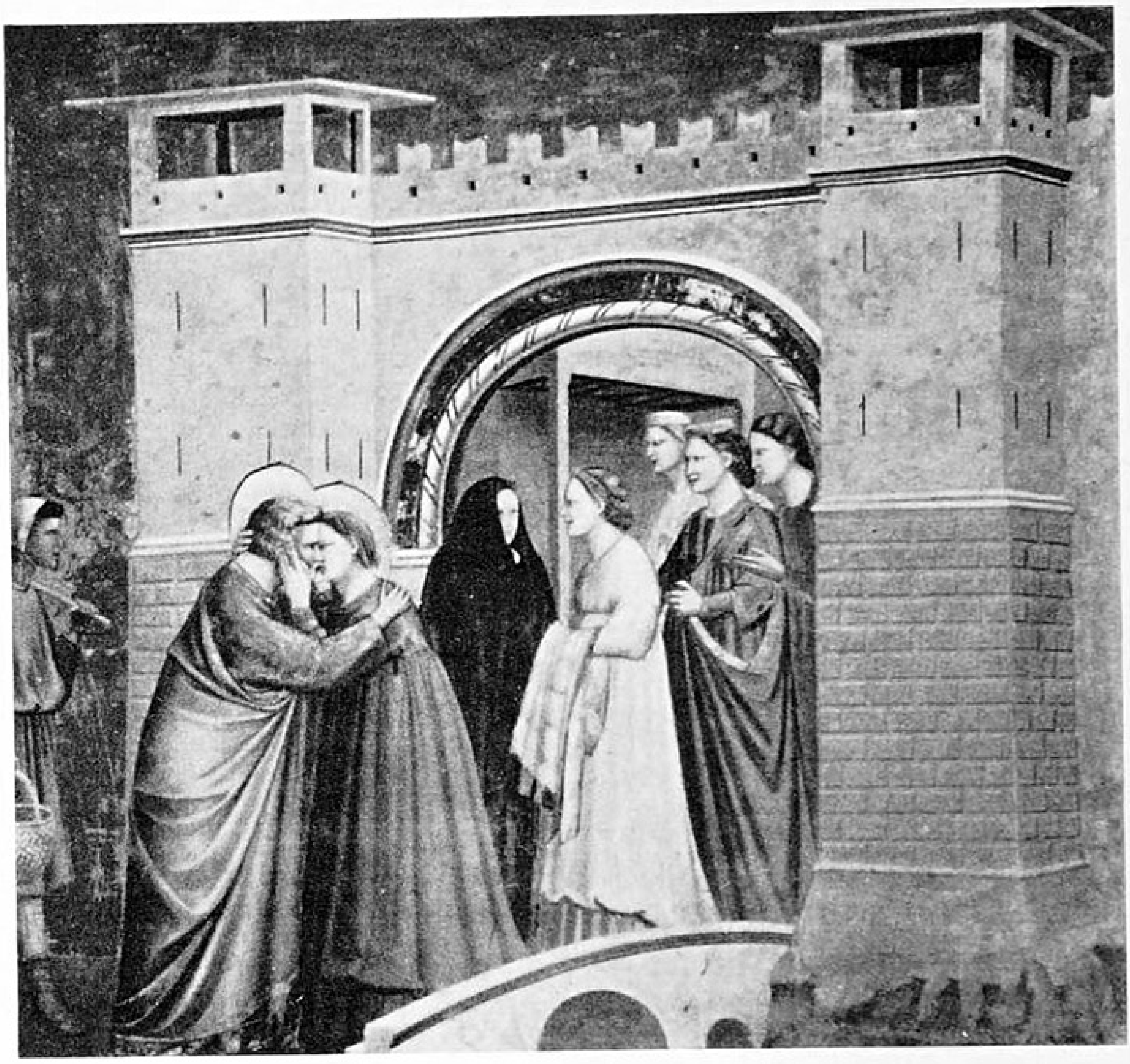


Fig. 25. The Meeting at the Golden Gate. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

(7) The Nativity of the Virgin (fig. 27) brings us back to the room in which the annunciation to St. Anna occurred, only now with the variation that the bed occupies practically the whole room, all other furniture has disappeared; the window is clearly

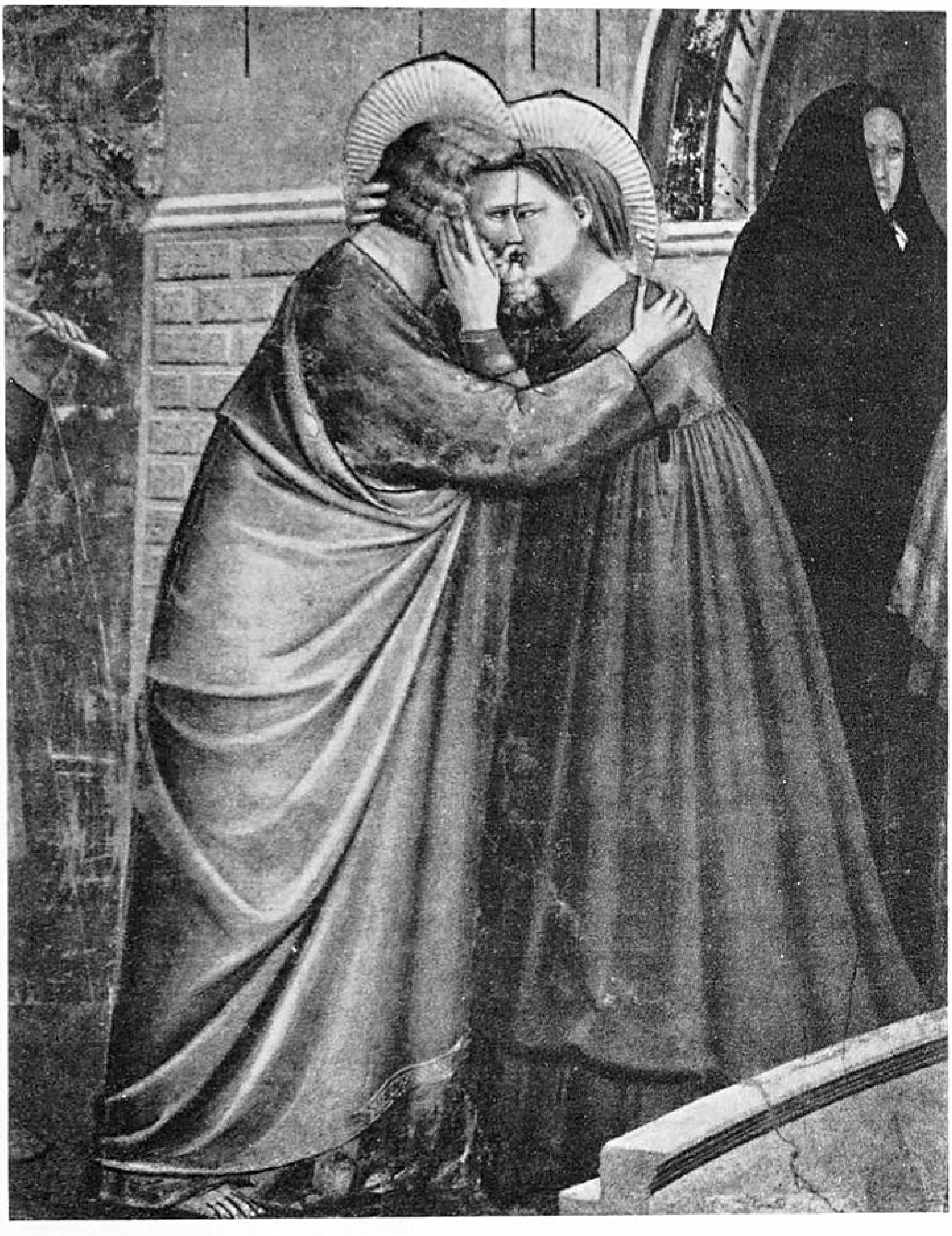


Fig. 26. Detail of fig. 25.

Photo Alinari.

seen and appears smaller than might have been supposed; curtain-rods attached to the ceiling are seen around the bed but the curtain has been drawn to one side, revealing St. Anna sitting up in bed and stretching out her arms in the act of taking the swathed infant from a very beautiful serious woman behind whom another stands in religious veneration. A female figure is seen in the porch handing to the anxious servant in the doorway, a gift for St. Anna. At the side of the bed a midwife seated on the floor holds the child who has evidently just been bathed, another is seen folding up a cloth which probably is to be kept for the next occasion. The expression on the face of the happy mother is one of Giotto's great achievements.

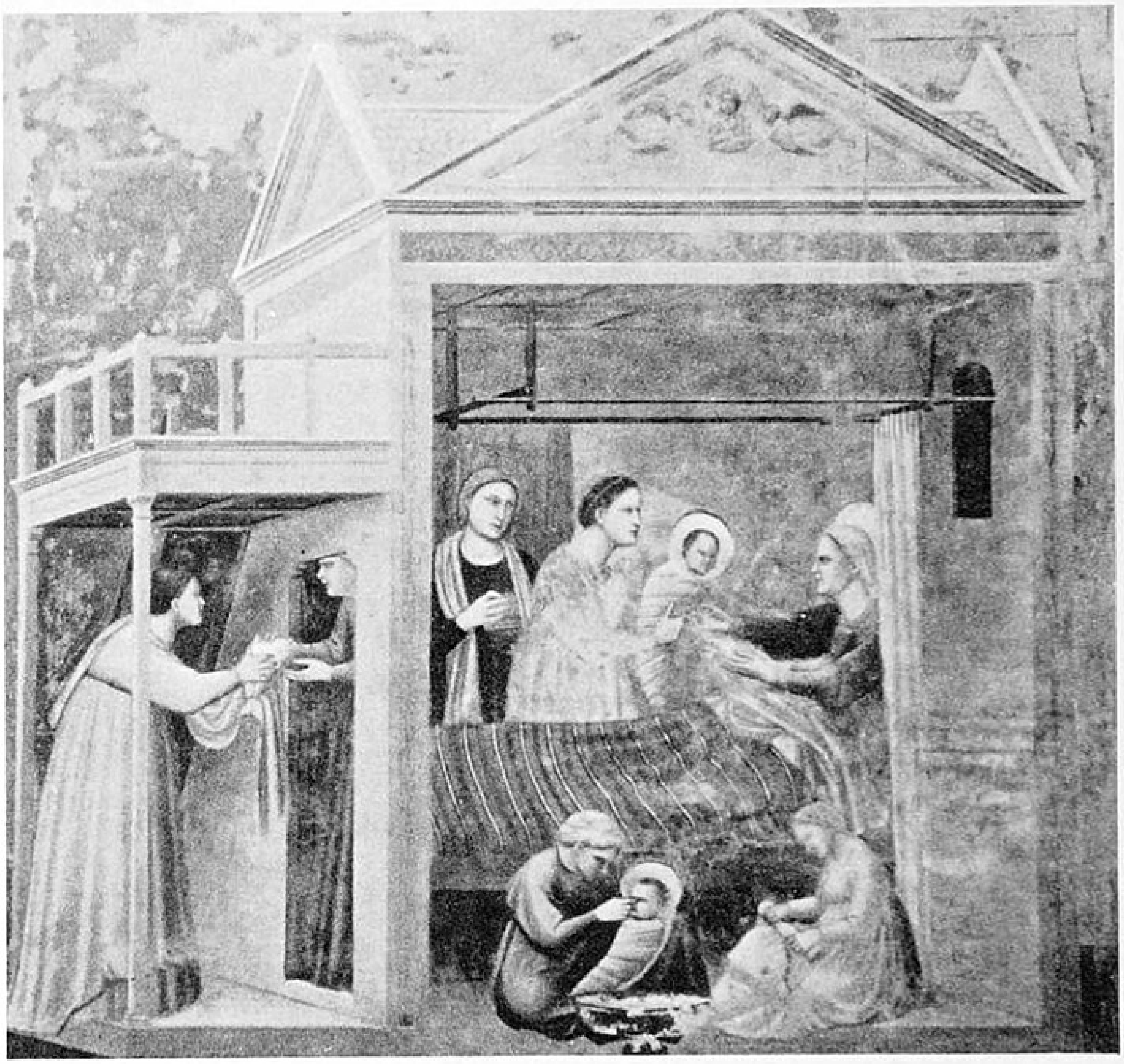


Fig. 27. The Birth of the Virgin. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

(8). The Presentation of the Child Virgin in the Temple is depicted before a complicated and incomprehensible building (fig. 28). Ten steps lead up to it from the ground; at the top of these the young Mary, tenderly supported by her mother from behind, is received by a venerable priest with outstretched hands. She holds her arms crossed over her chest and looks more like one of Giotto's sculptural female figures in miniature than a child of

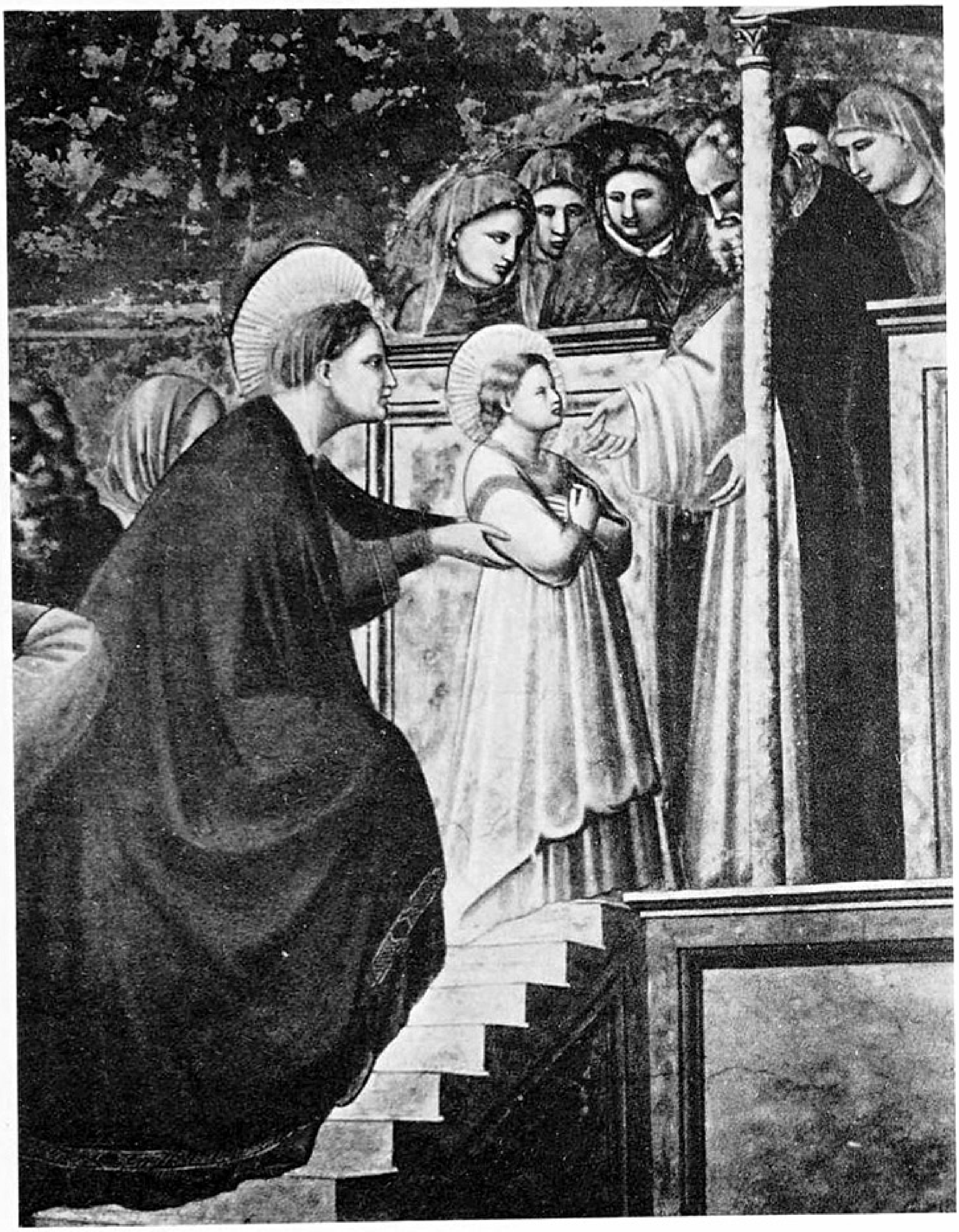


Fig. 28. Detail of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

three years old. Behind the priest we see the future companions of the Virgin Mary; at the foot of the steps behind St. Anna stands Joachim, looking into the eyes of an old man with long curly hair and beard, while a male servant, carrying the offerings in a covered basket which Mary is to present to the altar, begins to mount the steps. In the right-hand corner two men stand in conversation, one is seen from behind but his face is visible as he turns his head to the right towards his friend, pointing at the same time in the opposite direction at the event which they both witness. The details in this fresco which are particularly remarkable are the well expressed care with which Anna supports her little daughter, the old priest's gesture of kindly reception, and the attitude of the servant who is bent under the weight of his load (1). Some figures, like those seen near the priest, point to the assistance of pupils.

When the future mother of the Lord was twelve years old, her marriage with Joseph was decided in a miraculous manner. All the eligible men, each bringing with him a rod, were called to the temple, the rods were taken by the high priest, placed on the altar and prayed over, after which they were redistributed amongst the men and from the last which was given to Joseph a dove appeared and flew over his head thus designating him as the bridegroom of the Virgin Mary. This legend is depicted by Giotto in two pictures, the first (9) shows us the priest in a round sacerdotal cap standing behind the altar and receiving the rods from the men, who form a large regular group on the left and come slowly forward, one by one, to present their rods. The variety of expressions seen on the faces is the most interesting point in this group, which is depicted, as in the next two paintings, in the ancient method, those behind being only indicated by the outline of a portion of their heads above the front row of figures. Joseph, much older than the other aspirants, seems to want to remain in the background, for we see him as an old bearded man with the saint's halo behind the first row of handsome youths, opposite whom to the right of the scene, another old man, a priest, stands before the altar (2).

---

(1) Here again it is clear that Giotto's representation corresponds to the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew. It is true that also the Golden Legend mentions that Mary was brought to the temple with offerings, that she climbed the steps to the altar (the text mentions fifteen steps while here there are only ten) but only the Pseudo-Matthew relates that the priests (the two men to the right) expressed great admiration.

(2) The following details which we find in these frescoes are mentioned in the Pseudo-Matthew: Joseph is much older than the other candidates who are all very young, he seems to hide behind the others and incense is seen on the altar.

(10) In the next scene are represented the priests and candidates before the altar praying for some sign which will make known the chosen one (fig. 29). The architectural altar in the background is the same as in the previous scene, only now the rods are nicely arranged on it, and placed between two censers.

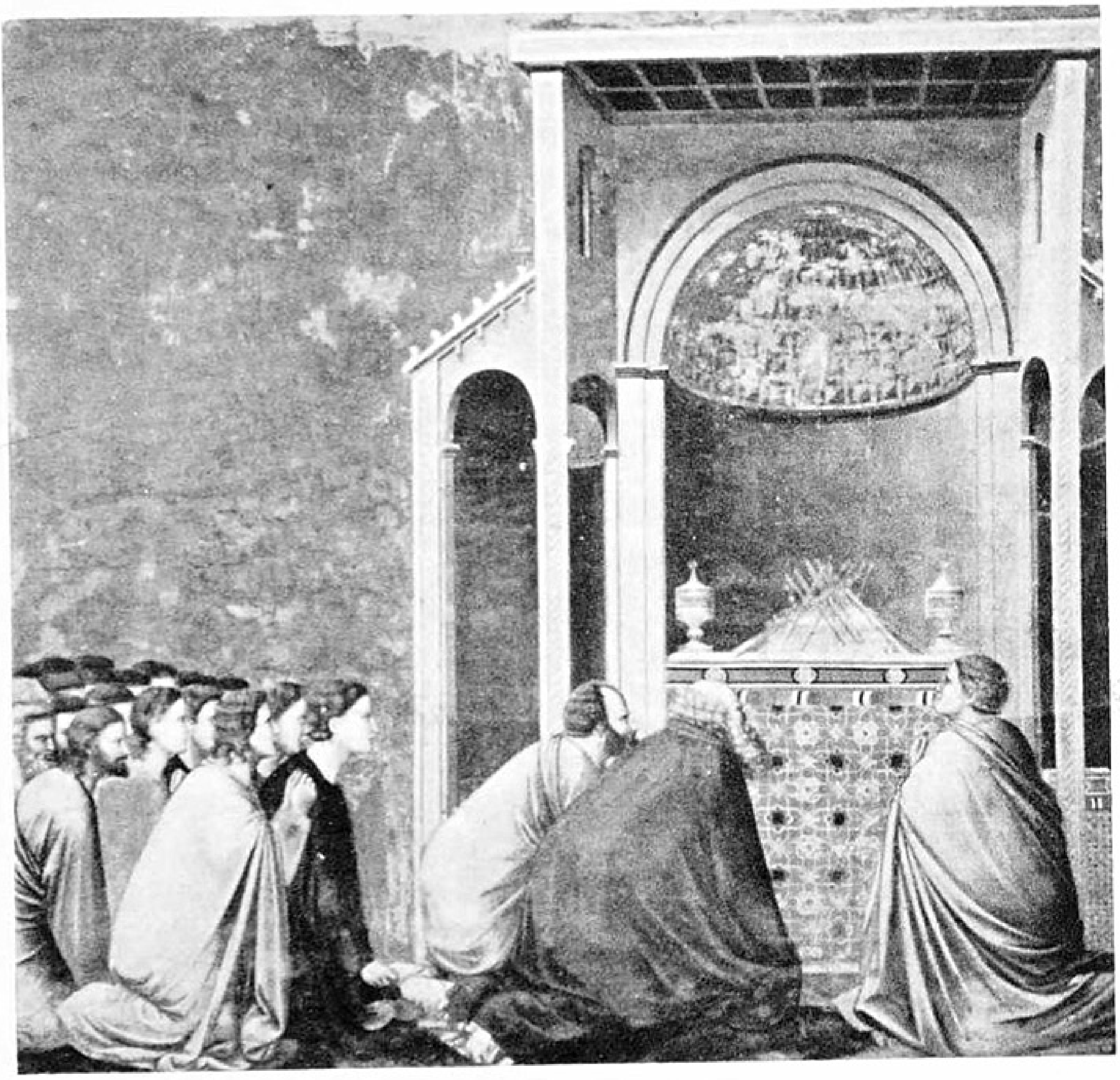


Fig. 29. Waiting the miraculous sign which is to indicate the Virgin's husband. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

In front of the altar are the two priests kneeling with their hands on the ground in an attitude very similar to Joachim's when he makes his sacrifice. The others kneel in a more upright position, the group is still in the left corner with Joseph again easily recognisable hiding at the back, but the other faces seem somewhat changed. The youth, who, before was in the act of handing his rod to the priest, is now seen kneeling on the right, probably only to fill up the empty space for which reason Giotto also likely placed the second priest in the previous fresco. The young men in prayer make a very harmonious and beautiful group.

(11) The scene has not changed, for the betrothal ceremony seems to take place immediately after the miracle; Joseph, still holding his blossoming rod on which the bird is perched, has been brought forward and is assisted by the priest in placing the ring on the finger of the young Virgin who, in her maidenly shyness, does not dare look at her future husband but fixes her eyes on the ground; she is followed by three of her companions from the temple beside whom stands the second priest (fig. 30). Behind the timid Joseph are the rejected suitors, one, more to the front lifts his hand in a gesture of surprise that this elderly man should be chosen as the life companion of the young Mary, another looks dejectedly on the ground while a third explains his disappointment to one of his neighbours; of the others little is to be seen but the tops of their heads. The attitudes of the women behind the Virgin Mary, especially the limp position of their hands are far from graceful (1).

(12) I cannot agree with the majority of my predecessors in calling the next picture with certainty "the bridal procession of Mary" or "Mary going to the house of Joseph". The musicians who stand at the head of the procession certainly give to it a very festive air, but the group of the Virgin Mary, walking alone behind two grave old men and followed by seven virgins does not look like a wedding procession but sooner seems to represent Mary's return to the home of her parents while Joseph goes to Bethlehem to make preparations for their wedding. In any case it would be illogical to depict the marriage of the Virgin before the Annunciation which is the following scene and which took place during the betrothal and before the wedding. The Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew mentions that Mary, followed by five virgins, goes to the house of Joseph, who leaves her there going

---

(1) The flowering rod and the bird, descended from heaven, perched on it, make it obvious that here Giotto's source was the Golden Legend, for the Apocryph Gospel only mentions a dove as a sign that Joseph was the chosen one. It is an interesting proof that the artist in his desire to make the series as complete a narrative as possible, drew his facts from different sources. It may be, however, that Giotto followed here existing iconographical types.

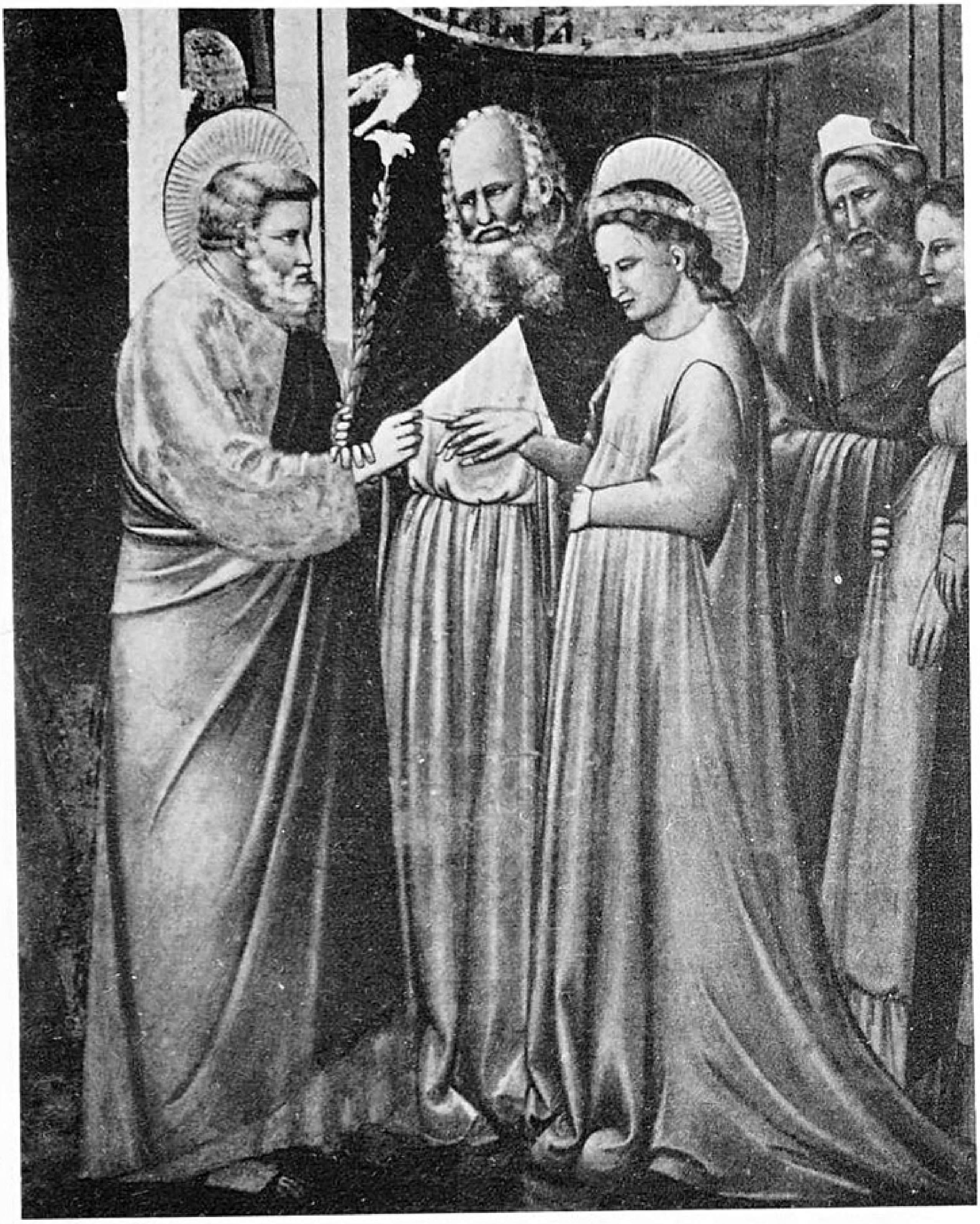


Fig. 30. Detail of the Betrothal ceremony. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

himself to work at some buildings; but to me it seems more likely that this fresco depicts, according to the Golden Legend, the Virgin's return to the house of her parents, for the next event mentioned in this text and represented in this series is the Annunciation. The house towards which the little group proceeds is partly visible on the right, a large spreading plant appears to grow in one of the window balconies. The musicians, two of

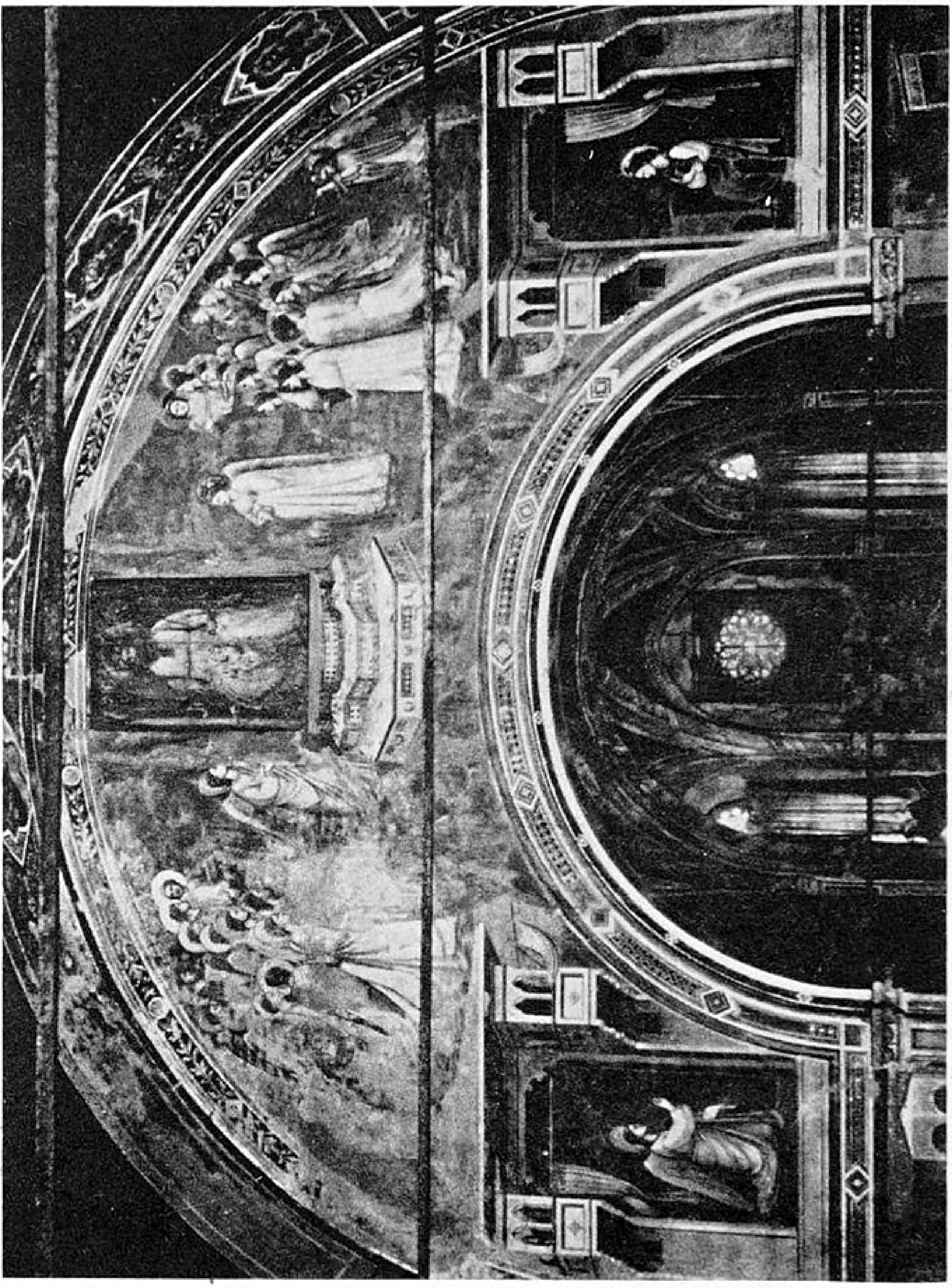


Fig. 31. The Annunciation. Arena Chapel, Padua.

[Photo Alinari.

whom blow trumpets while the third plays the viola, have stopped before the building. The figures of this somewhat damaged fresco are particularly dignified and stately, many of the virgins walking with the graceful majesty of young queens.

(13) The Annunciation (figs. 31 and 32), is depicted on the apsidal arch, the angel to the left the Madonna to the right. Although

the two figures are separated from each other, they are represented against an almost identical background and although each compartment is in itself complete no doubt Giotto's wish was to indicate to the spectator that the Virgin and the angel Gabriel were in one room, a room which is revealed to us by the drawing aside of a curtain — perhaps the remains of a very old Byzantine iconographical detail — which is knotted to a pillar at one side.

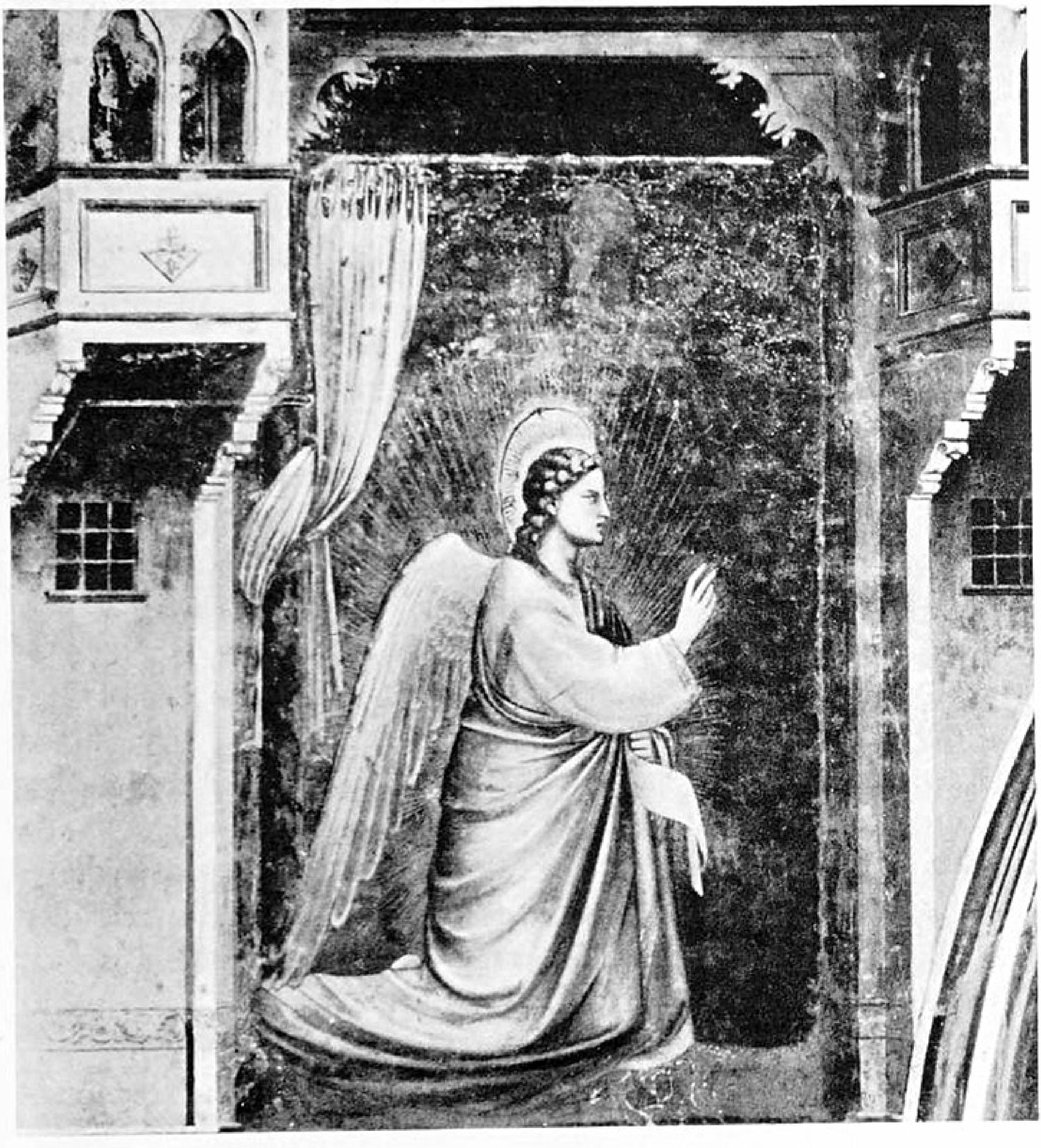


Fig. 32. Detail of fig. 31.

Photo Alinari.

The lateral parts are formed by the walls of a house, with a balcony on either side and a small window below, the roof is quite flat. There is no doubt that this is the same house as on the previous fresco for the balcony partly visible there resembles the balconies of this scene. Giotto therefore illustrates the tale as told by the Golden Legend, for this is again the house of the Virgin's parents and it was there, according to that text, that the Annunciation occurred (1). The room of the Virgin contains a table, the only detail different from the room where the angel is seen, both figures are kneeling, and are of great beauty although entirely motionless. The angel is of the antique type, his clothes falling in broad and sculptural folds ; he lifts one hand towards the Virgin, grasping his toga with the other in which he also carries an unrolled scroll. The Virgin's appearance approaches in type an Italian woman, more than any of Giotto's figures have done up until now, a type which will still, even nowadays, be found in Rome. She is dressed with taste and great care, her hair is plaited and neatly wound round her head, her expression is not frightened but somewhat preoccupied and puzzled. She kneels on one knee, her arms folded over her chest, a book in her hand, while rays of light descend upon her from above. The hands and arms — perhaps repainted — are badly designed and make a weak point in this otherwise beautiful figure.

Above these two figures Giotto has executed a scene of God the Father, charging the archangel Gabriel to bring the tidings to the Madonna (2). The Eternal, robed in white, is depicted seated on a throne up to which lead three steps. At either side stands an archangel a little behind whom we see a group of thirteen angelic figures, all young and beautiful, arranged without rigidity and obviously conversing together. At either extremity is a little celestial musician. Unfortunately the whole of the left side of this fresco is in a very bad state of conservation.

(14) The Visitation depicts the Virgin followed by two companions being received by Elizabeth before her house of which

---

(1) This house, however, might also have been Joseph's, but the fact that the Virgin is seen praying points to the Golden Legend, for the Pseudo-Matthew says she was spinning. If, therefore, Giotto here follows the former of the two texts and, if, as we suppose from their resemblance, the houses of the two scenes are the same, then he had also followed this version for the previous fresco which consequently must represent the Virgin returning to the house of her parents.

(2) This part is of Byzantine origin, *van Marle*, Recherches sur l'Iconographie, p. 5.

only a prettily decorated portico is visible; at the side of it stands the servant of Elizabeth. From the attitude and expressions of the two future mothers it is obvious that the painter was inspired

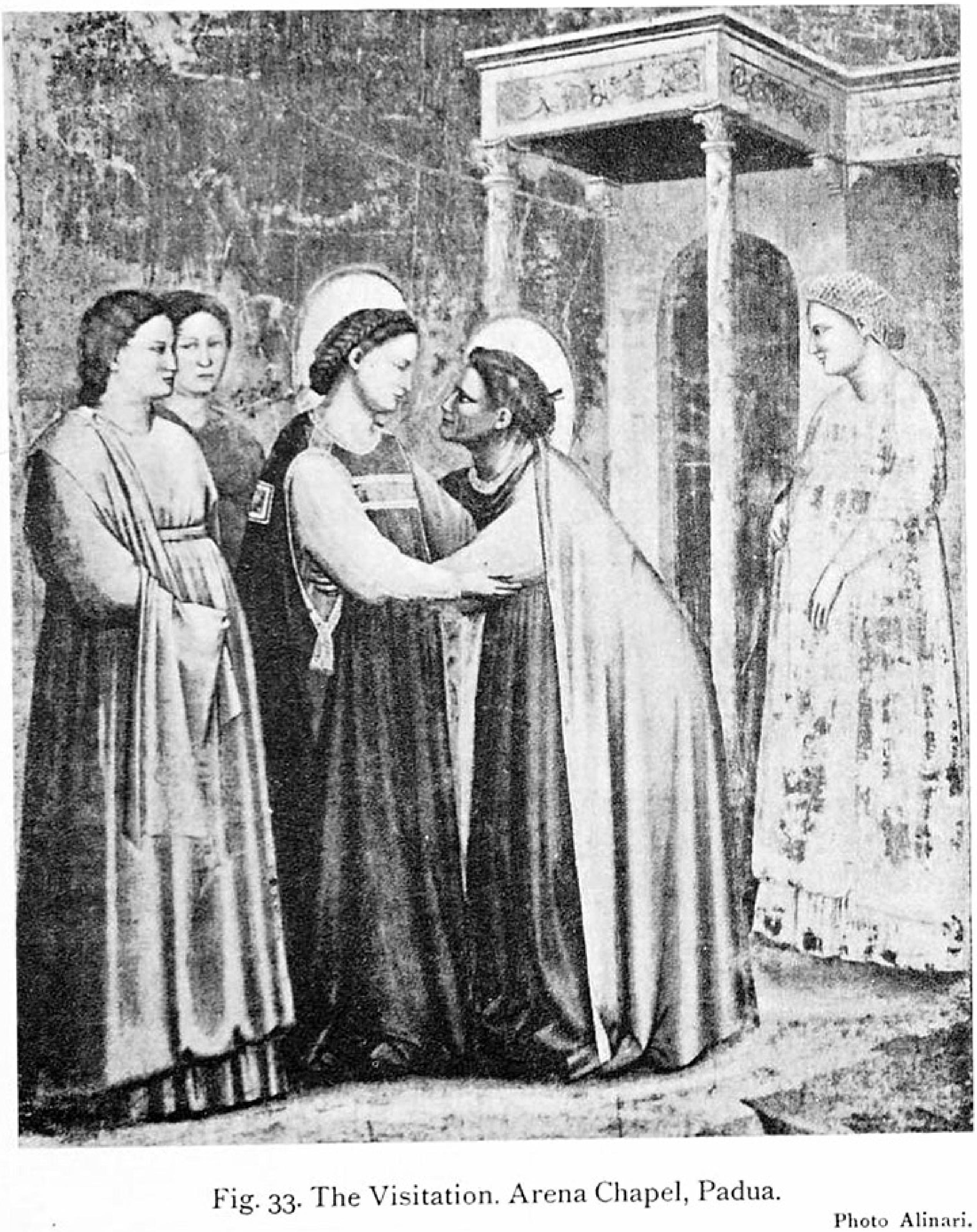


Fig. 33. The Visitation. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

by the Gospel of St. Luke where in Chap. I, v. 43 we find "and whence is this to me that the mother of my Lord, should come to me" (fig. 33). The look in the wrinkled face of the old and bent Elizabeth is striking and impressive, while the Virgin, wearing the same handsome dress as in the Annunciation but now more clearly seen, appears to be already aware of the important task for which she has been chosen and is therefore somewhat condescending. Her two young companions, with calm and peaceful features, stand close behind her, the one nearer the spectator has, according to a very old tradition, her hand covered. The attitude of Elizabeth's servant is ungraceful, the position of her hands reminding us of that of one of the virgins present at the Betrothal. As on the previous fresco the hand and arm of the Madonna are rather clumsy but as usual the figures of this scene are of statuesque build with their draperies falling in broad and well arranged folds.

(15) The Nativity of the Lord takes place under an open shelter (¹) consisting only of a roof supported by four poles; underneath, the Virgin half raises herself on her couch as she turns to one side to place, with the help of a woman whose head and arm are alone visible, the new born Child in the manger, beside which stand the ass and the ox, again not entirely seen. Before the couch, Joseph sits on the ground asleep, with his head to one side resting on his hand; near him we see a goat and a small flock of sheep belonging to the two shepherds, who are depicted one with his back to the spectator, the other in profile, listening to the news which one of the five angels on the roof of the hut, announces to them. The principal and most beautiful figure is that of the Virgin whose attitude is very natural and graceful; the isolated Joseph is less good, while the two shepherds, although well designed, are, on hearing the glad tidings somewhat phlegmatic. Of the five pretty angels three are represented in an almost identical attitude; the ass and the ox are very life-like and the sheep and goat show an improvement on those of previous frescoes. Although much of the rocky background and the figure of the Virgin are greatly damaged, the ensemble is very pleasing and the composition excellent.

(16) The Adoration of the Magi is represented as occurring in

---

(¹) In this Giotto has not followed the text of the Pseudo-Matthew which mentions the Nativity as taking place in a grotto, but rather took his ideas from western iconographical tradition, the outcome of illustrations of the Gospel of St. Luke, *van Marle*, Recherches sur l'Iconographie, p. 9.

the same site as the Nativity (¹), only the shelter is seen from another aspect, and is now placed on the right of the scene. Under it the Virgin, seated on an invisible chair and resting her feet on a stool, holds the Child on the edge of her knee; she wears the same dress as in the Annunciation and Visitation, but the white veil which covers her head falls and hides her shoulders (fig. 34). Before them the oldest of the Magi kneels and kisses the feet of the swathed Child; he has removed his crown which is seen lying on the ground beside him, behind him the two other wise men, one very young, the other middle-aged and bearded, stand looking on, they are both crowned and carry their offerings in their hands. Near them a young servant holds a camel, over the neck of which the head of a second is visible. The Virgin is attended on the left by a beautiful young angel carrying in his hands a ciborium, probably the gift of the kneeling Magus; behind the Madonna a small part of a nimbussed head is seen, while on her right stands Joseph with his head piously bent as if in prayer. The young servant guarding the camel is well designed, and the perspective of his upturned face particularly good (²). Looking at this scene one breathes the very religious atmosphere in which the inspired artist has conceived the event. The background, as in the previous and the two following, is badly damaged.

(17) The Presentation in the Temple is depicted in a very simple composition (figs. 35 and 36). The Saviour is seen in the arms of the venerable Simeon whose beautiful head is typical of Giotto;

---

(¹) In this representation Giotto has entirely discarded the text of the Pseudo-Matthew which places the Adoration of the Magi two years later and consequently not in the same place. The painter may have followed the Gospel of St. Matthew, II, v. 1 et seq. Pseudo-Bonaventura specially mentions that the holy Mother held the Child on her knee, that the Magi kissed His feet and that they were kings, whereas the Gospel only speaks of wise men: however the latest investigations have shown that Pseudo-Bonaventura's text dates from the first of half of the 14th century, so that the thories of his great influence on earlier representations can no longer be admitted; while a contrary influence seems likely.

(²) It is remarkable how accurate Giotto's observation is when depicting people handling animals; here in this cameldriver we find an attitude frequently seen in stableboys when in difficulty with a horse. Perhaps Giotto's youth in the country accounts for this accuracy.

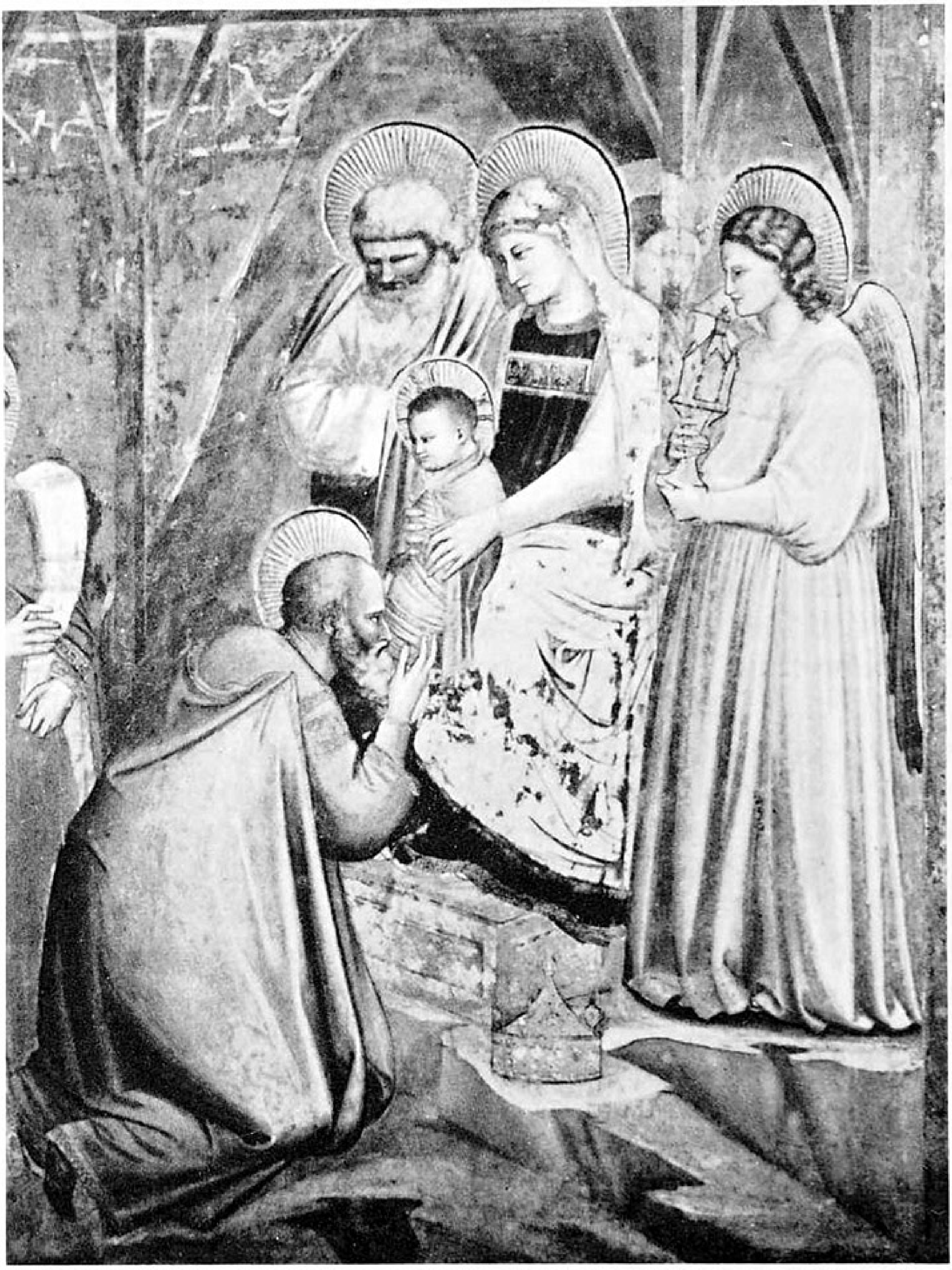


Fig. 34. Detail of the Adoration of the Magi. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

behind him stands the prophetess indicating with one hand the Child and holding in the other an unrolled scroll with an inscription. Over her head an angel flies downwards in the direction of the central group pointing towards the little well-designed figure of the Infant Christ, evidently somewhat afraid of the old priest for He stretches out His arms to His mother, who likewise with arms outstretched seems anxious to take Him back (¹). Behind the Virgin we see Joseph carrying in his hands two pigeons, and the handsome figure of a young female attendant. The folds of the dress of the Madonna and the garments of the other two figures on the left, are very pronounced, even somewhat hard. The design of the mosaic on the altar is the same as that which adorns the altar in the two scenes where the young men bring their rods to the temple, and where they pray over them.

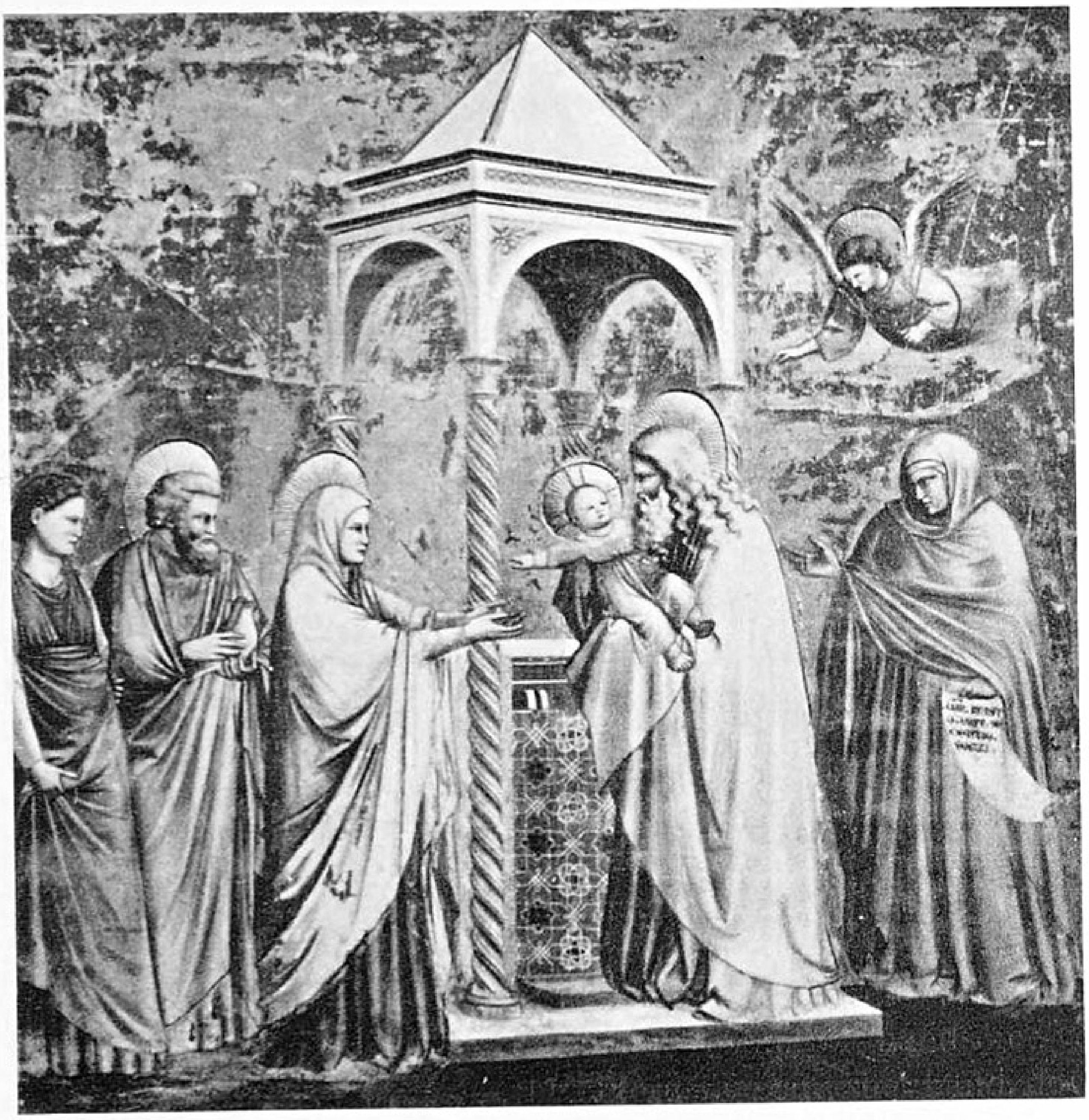


Fig. 35. The Presentation in the Temple. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) This mutual desire of Mother and Child is also expressed in Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditations.

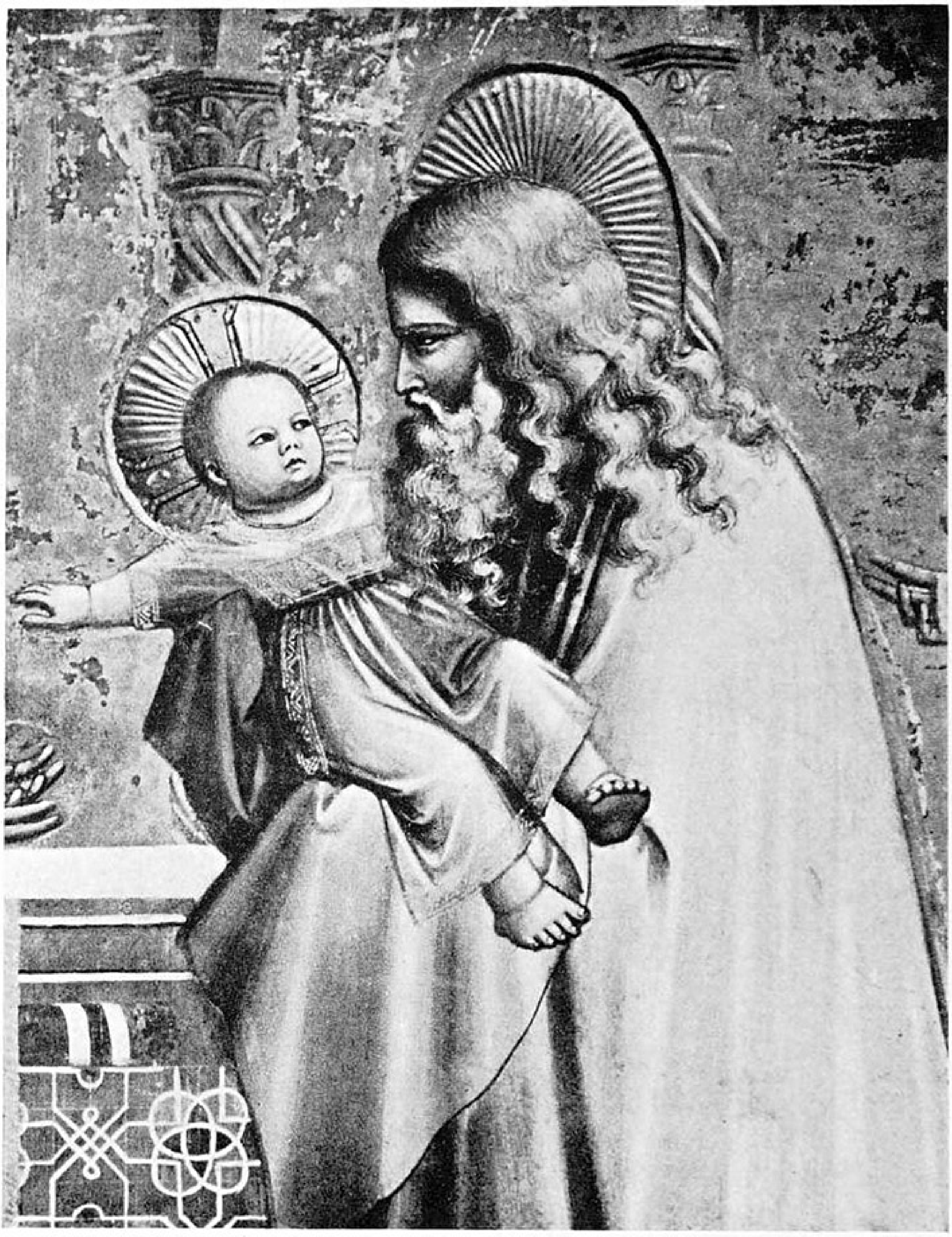


Fig. 36. Detail of fig. 35.

Photo Alinari.

(18) The Flight into Egypt shows us the Holy Family escorted by three young men and one young girl (¹) against a rocky background bare but for a few scattered trees, and watched over by an angel who appears in the air (fig. 37). Joseph at the head of the group is very realistic; marching forward with his stick over

---

(¹) Pseudo-Matthew.

his shoulder and a basket in his hand he looks back at the Virgin and Child with an expression full of tender love. Close behind him follows one of the young companions leading the ass which is here stronger and of a lighter colour than before and is in an attitude very true to nature. The Virgin is seated in an upright position on the donkey; her stern and sad features seem to convey to us the fact that her thoughts dwell upon the sufferings which the little Babe she holds in her arms will have to undergo. The Infant is well designed and appears gay and lively.

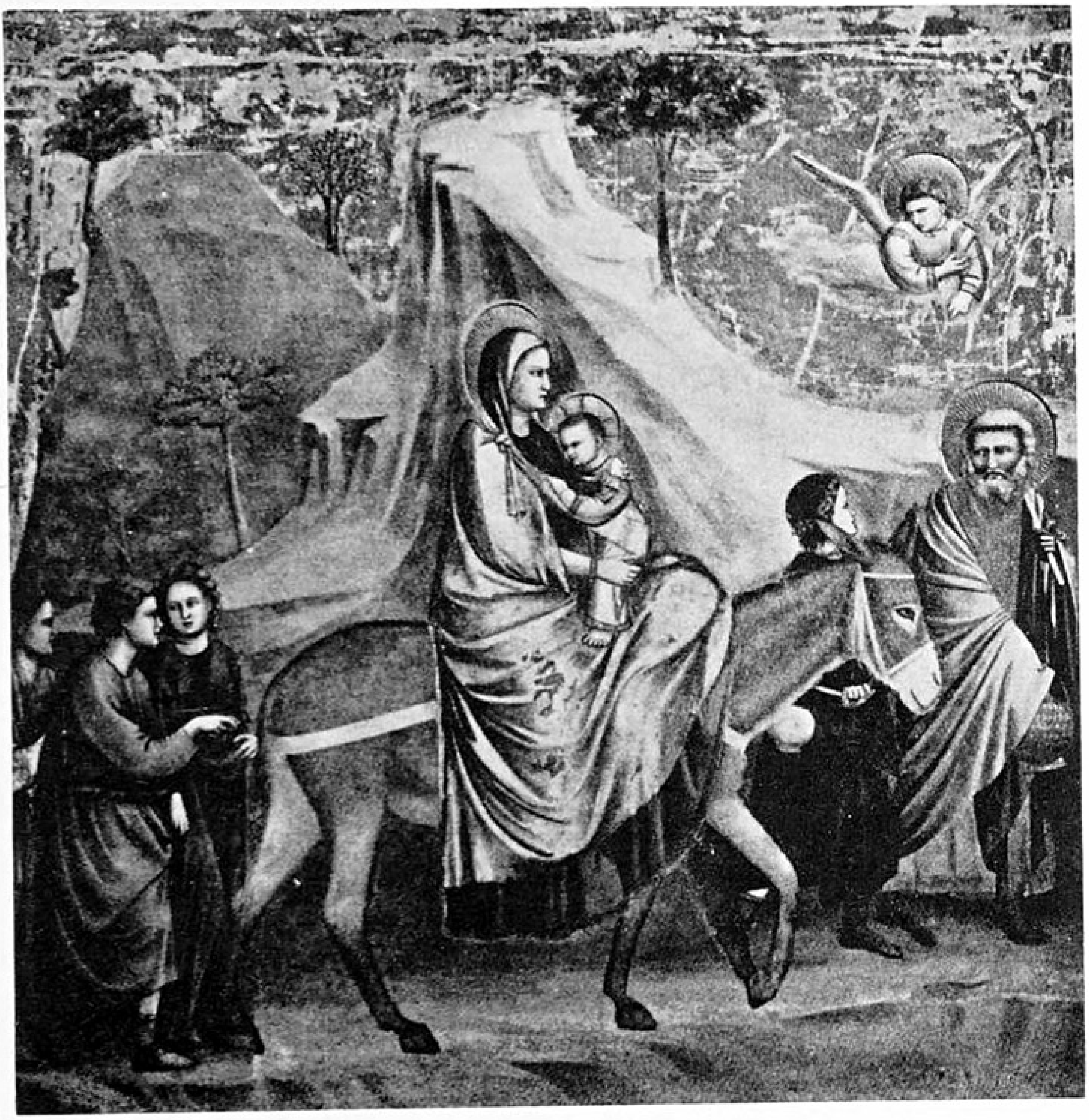


Fig. 37. The Flight into Egypt. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

Of the three young people who follow in the rear of the little procession, two very handsome ones are holding an aminated conversation; again the forward movement is well depicted. As it was found on some of the previous scenes, here again the folds of Joseph's cloak are somewhat wooden.

(19) The Massacre of the Innocents has not been depicted by Giotto in as violent a scene as might be expected, considering the subject (figs. 38 and 39) (¹). In the background we see to the

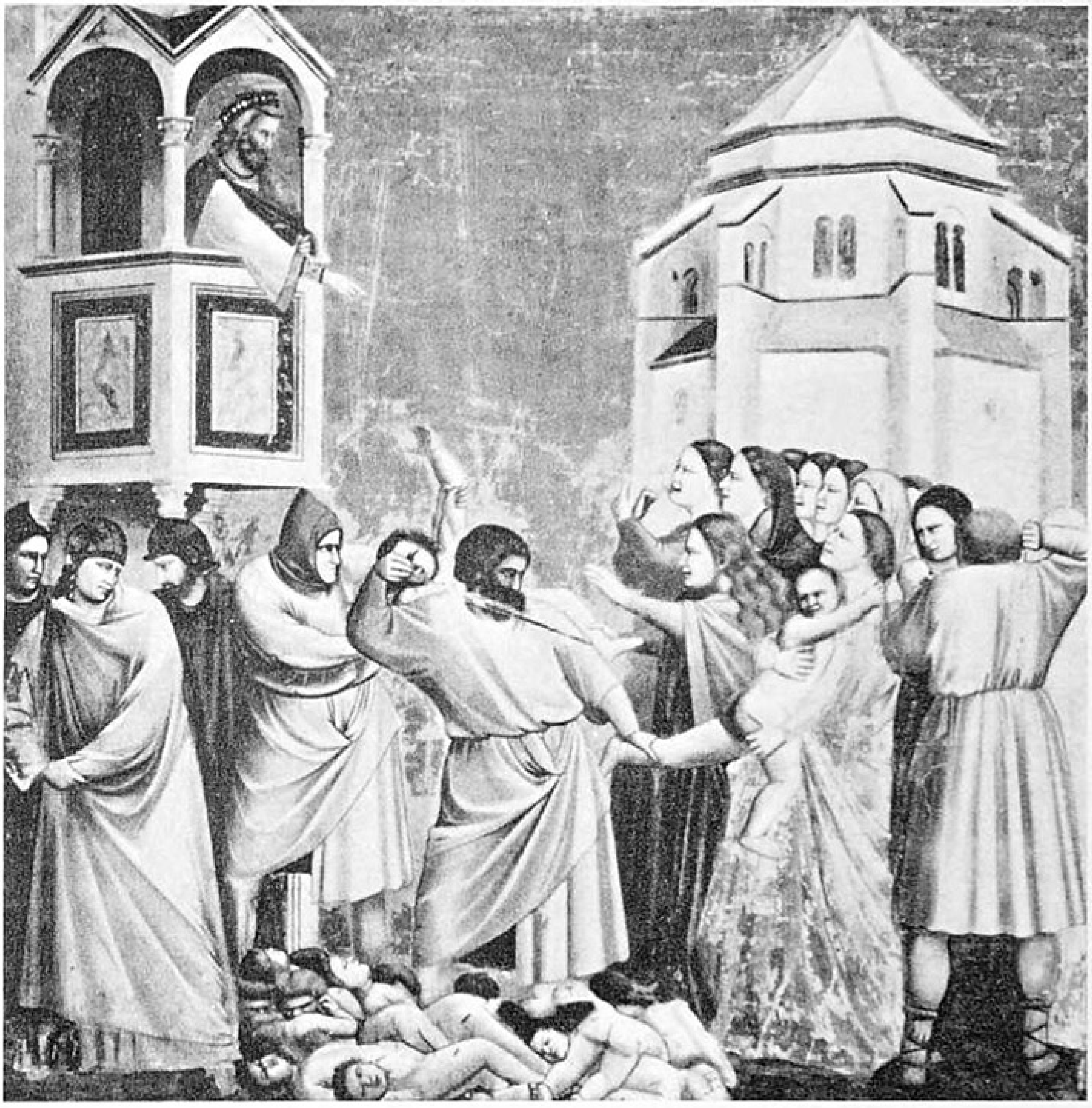


Fig. 38. The Massacre of the Innocents. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) The texts which Giotto might have followed, give no description of the massacre but only mention the bare facts. The size of the children he represents might indicate that he illustrated the passage of the Golden Legend which states that the bones, kept as relics of the Innocents, prove that the slaughtered children were older than two years, but the blessed author adds that at the time of this terrible event human beings were perhaps much bigger than at his time.

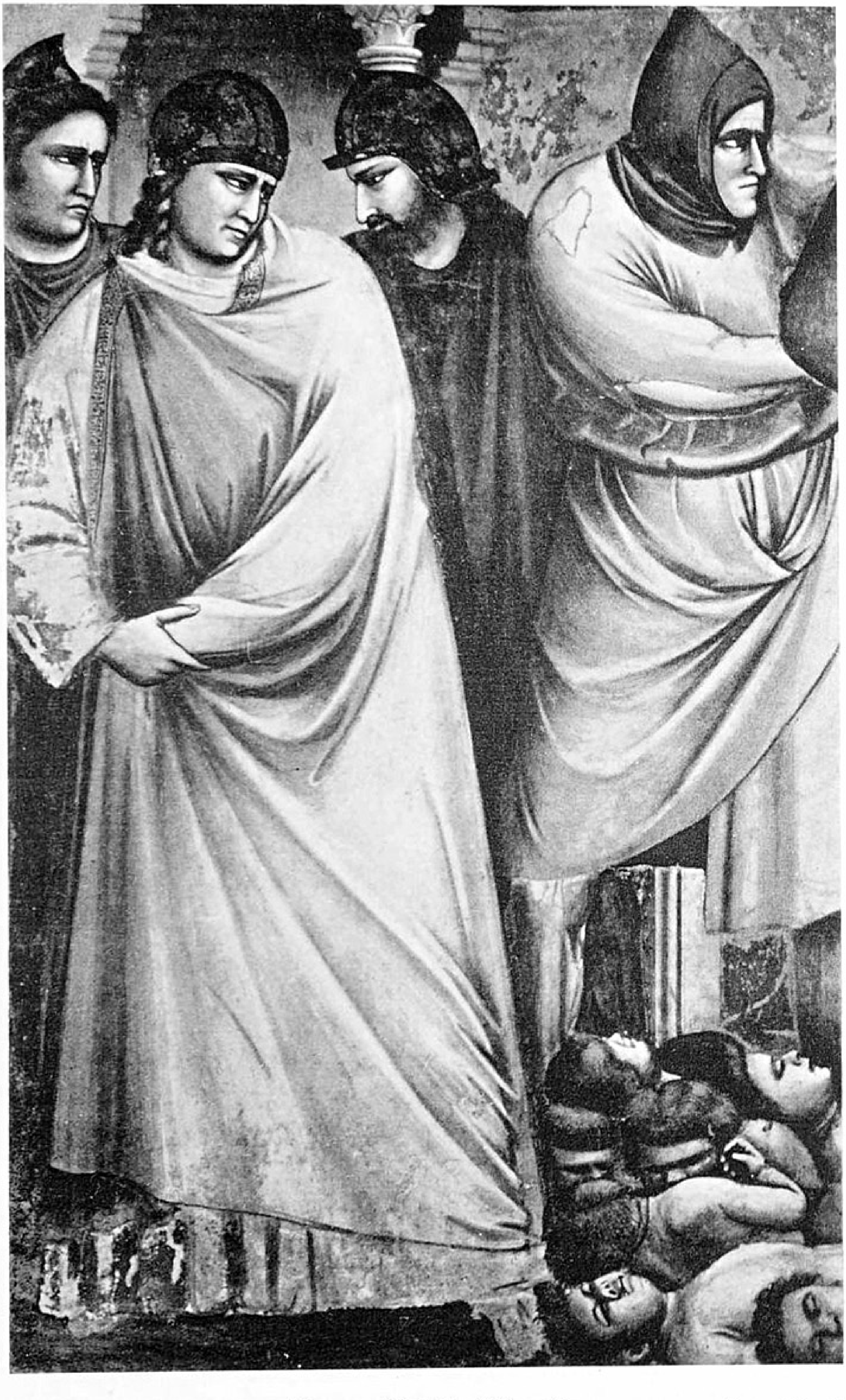


Fig. 39. Detail of fig. 38. Photo Alinari.

right the apse of a church and to the left a balcony in which stands an old man who appears to direct the soldiers in their awful task; only three of the slaughterers are depicted, one holding by the arm in mid-air a child, which he has just snatched from the desperate mother who still clings to one little foot, a second dragging by its leg a child from its mother who in agony clasps it to her breast as she sees the uplifted sword of the soldier ready to strike her son, while to the right of the scene, the third executioner, a heavy figure without movement is seen from the back with his arm upraised about to kill another infant who is still in his mother's arms. In the centre of the foreground lies a heap of little naked children, already massacred, while to the left are three men who do not take an active part in the proceedings; two of them, who are about to leave seem to look back reproachfully at the scene. These and the two more central soldiers are the best figures in this fresco whose composition is otherwise not very good, especially the packed group of waiting mothers who for the greater part stand perfectly still, one or two only actively manifesting their despair. The whole work, like the painting at Assisi of St. Francis renouncing his father, shows that scenes of violence were not one of Giotto's strongest points.

(20) Unhappily the fresco of the twelve year old Jesus teaching in the temple is badly damaged. Within a Roman vaulted building the priests — ten in number — are seated on either side of the young teacher, whose features are very noble and beautiful, gesticulating as he preaches to his attentive listeners amongst whom there are also some striking faces. The holy parents on the left, evidently just arrived, stretch out their hands towards the Child they were in search of. The priests on the right are motionless and rigid forming a very stiff little row, those to the left however are less monotonous and are much more free and natural in their attitudes.

(21) It is difficult to understand why the wedding feast at Canaan (fig. 40) should be represented before the Baptism of Christ, all the texts unanimously placing them in the inverse order. The event occurs in a simply but tastefully decorated room, the lower part of the walls is lined with wood, above which is a narrow ornamental frieze while still higher is a balcony on the balustrade of which are some little vases and ornaments. Seated at the table

are six figures, one more than is mentioned in the text; the Virgin and the newly made husband and wife face the spectator while on the left side are an old Apostle, a young man and Christ. Two women servants are busy at the table, a third pours water into the six earthen vessels behind which stand the steward and a man servant. Giotto has depicted several events on this one scene, the Lord giving instructions, the servant pouring out water, and the steward, in whose enormous figure Giotto has allowed himself a little humour, tasting and giving the following verdict on the wine which Christ had so miraculously provided "Every man at first setteth forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse, But thou hast kept the good wine until now". The fat man depicted by Giotto is exactly the sort

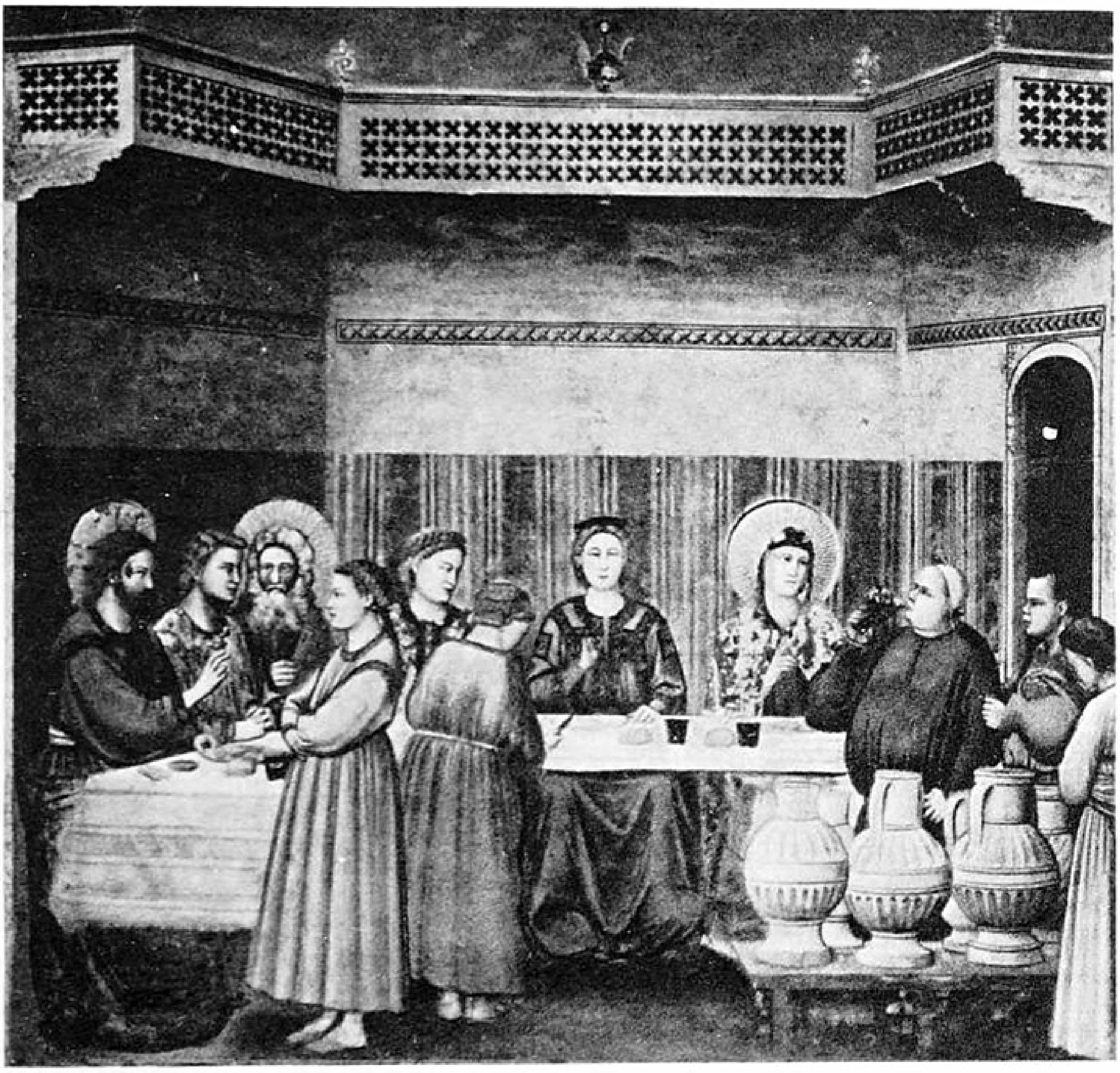


Fig. 40. The Wedding at Canaan. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

of person from whom one might expect this greedy appreciation, he is evidently a connoisseur and by no means indifferent to what he drinks; one can imagine his agreeable surprise at finding no decline — as his experience led him to expect — in the quality of the wine as the meal draws to a close. Beside the somewhat melancholy Virgin, the modest bride, the refined bridegroom, the venerable Apostle, the handsome youth and the impressive features of our Lord, the fat steward seems coarse and vulgar, so too the servant standing behind him (¹).

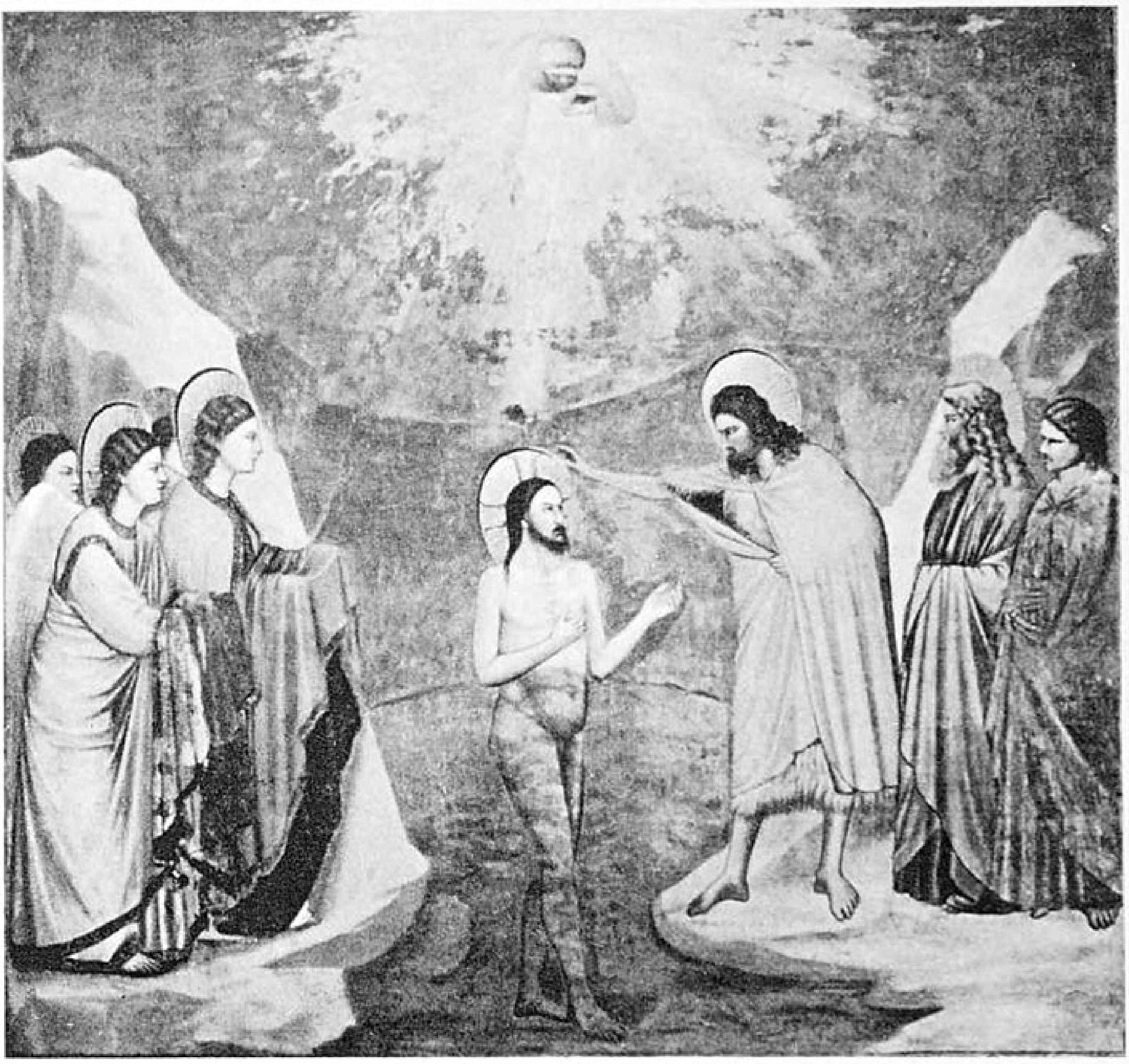


Fig. 41. The Baptism of Our Lord. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) This event is related in the Gospel as well as in Bonaventura, and Giotto's representation shows striking resemblance with both, for only in the former is the number of earthenware pots mentioned, and only in the latter the facts that the Lord sat at the lowest part of the table and that a servant came to take his orders.

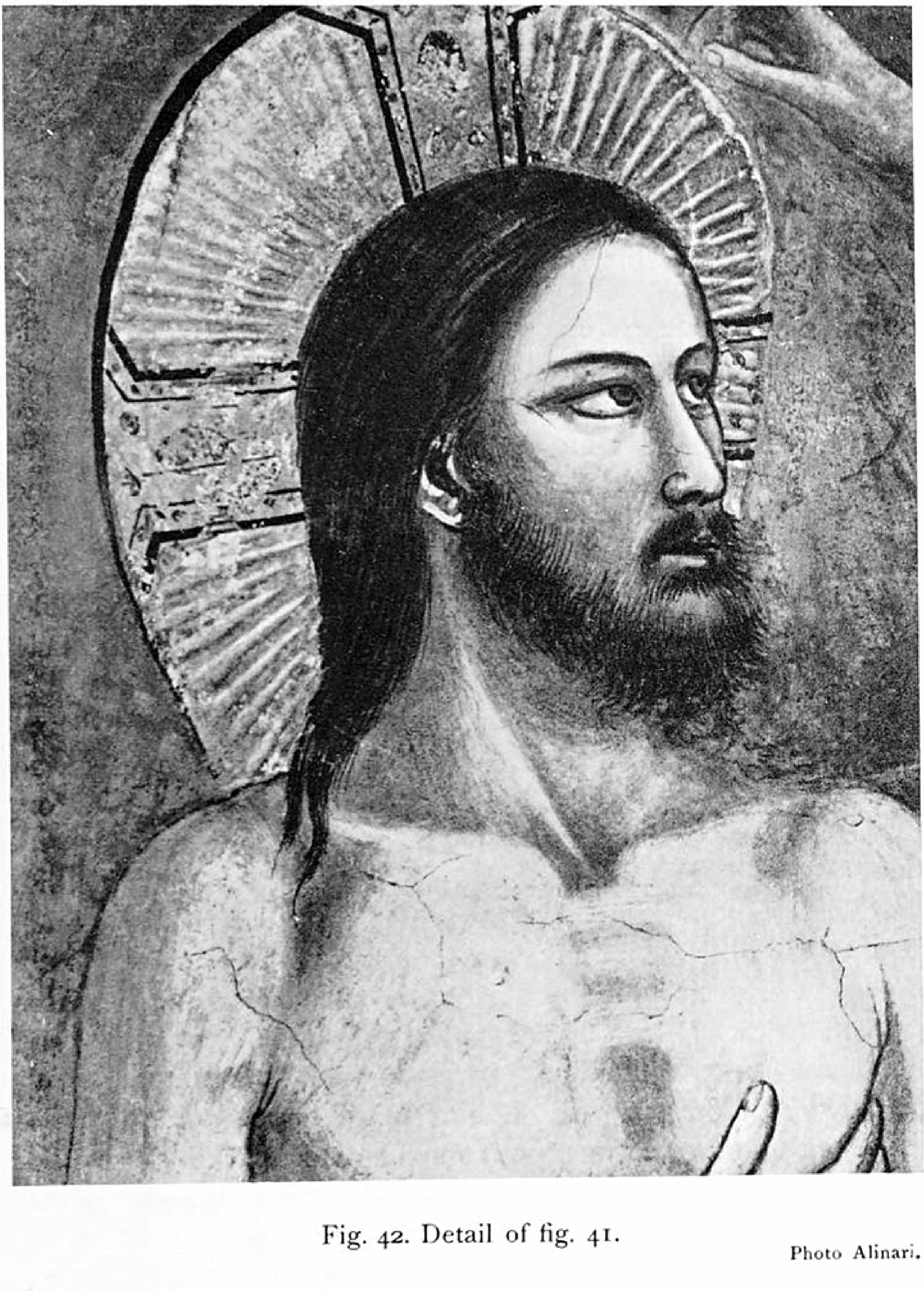


Fig. 42. Detail of fig. 41.

Photo Alinari.

(22) In the Baptism (figs. 41 and 42), our Lord is depicted completely nude (¹), a detail frequently found up until the 13th century but rare after Giotto. He stands up to his waist in the

---

(¹) Giotto's illustration corresponds to the phrase in Bonaventura, ". . . . behold how the Lord in majesty humbly unclothes".

water, with hands slightly uplifted as if in argument, perhaps indicating that the moment here represented is when the Saviour in answer to St. John's hesitation says to him "suffer it to be so now" (1). His expression as He looks at the Baptist is very grave and penetrating but without any severity. The immersion has evidently already taken place, and Giotto does not omit to make this clear, for the obviously wet hair is here seen clinging to the head of Christ in quite a different manner from the hair in any of the other representations. The anatomical development of the chest is perfectly designed without any exaggeration of relief. St. John who stands on the right bank, stretches one hand over the Lord's head, grasping in the other the garment which covers his camel's-hair cloak; behind him are an old bearded Apostle and a youth looking religiously on. On the left bank are two lovely angels slightly bending forward holding the clothes of our Lord over their arms; the heads of two other angels are partly visible. According to the Gospel, the heavens above the Lord should burst open and the Holy Gost appear in the form of a dove; but Giotto has depicted a human figure holding a book and pointing downwards at the Lord. High rocks are seen on the right and left of the river in which, following the old Christian tradition, some fish are swimming.

(23) In the representation of the Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 43) we see in the right corner two men removing the slab which has covered the tomb, behind them the swathed and ghostly figure of Lazarus stands erect between two men, one of whom turned towards Christ seems to question him with his eyes, while the other is completely enveloped in his cloak, only revealing his eyes and forehead. Behind this group, another figure is depicted holding his nose with one hand and uplifting the other as if in horror. Opposite these is the calm, majestic figure of the Lord blessing with one hand the resurrected man at whom his piercing gaze is directed; immediately behind him we see a young Apostle over whose shoulder an old bearded one is partly visible while beyond these two, the tops of the heads of many others are depicted. Prostrating at the feet of Christ are Martha and Mary in identical attitudes; the adoring expression in the nearer of the

---

(1) St. Matthew, Chap. III, v. 14—15.

two — the other being almost entirely hidden behind her — is very beautiful. The amazement of the group of spectators, seen between the Lord and Lazarus, is excellently expressed, they betray their surprise in wild gestures, but only the foremost figure is entirely visible and the look on his face is of one who

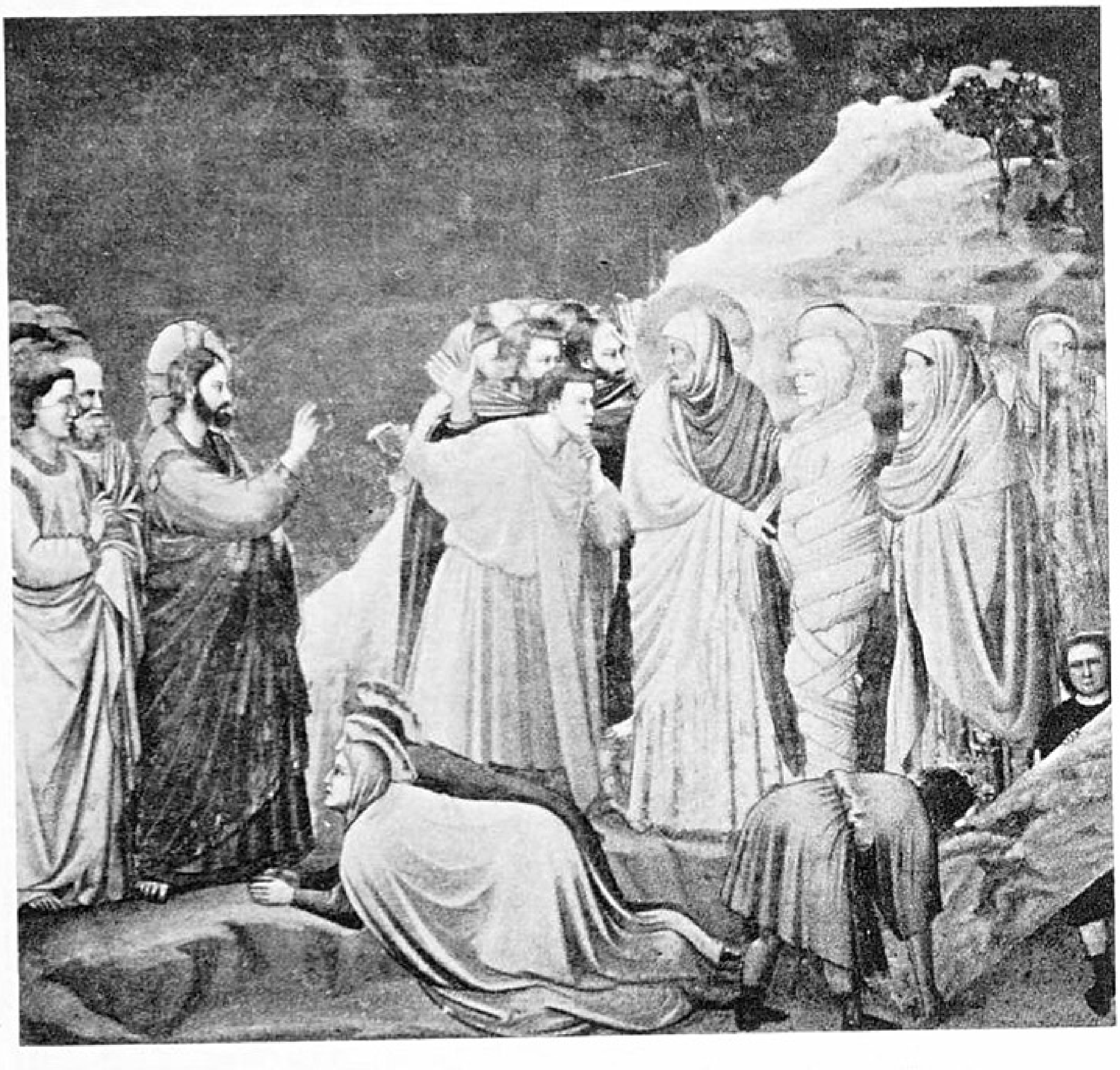


Fig. 43. The Resurrection of Lazarus. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

cannot believe his own eyes. Some very natural trees grow on the hill in the background to the right. The whole scene is full of life and activity, and very well composed, but the two sisters still imploring at the feet of the Lord when Lazarus is already raised, forms here an illogical synchronism.

(24) In the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem we find to the right, between two towers, the gate of the city through which streams a crowd of people to welcome the approaching Saviour; amongst

them will be noticed a somewhat aged mother in whose face one can read the intention she has of asking the Lord to bless the child she carries in her arms; "the two Pharisees amongst the multitude" mentioned by St. Luke, Chap. XIX, v. 39, are also depicted (figs. 44 and 45). Four boys form the first row of this group, one waves a branch in the air, another holds his cloak on the ground as the ass walks over it — Sig. Venturi rightly remarks how well Giotto has expressed his childish intention of pulling away his coat again as soon as the donkey has passed — while a third is in the act of pulling his coat off, over his head, probably to follow the example of his companion. The donkey is almost identical with the one depicted on the fresco of the Flight into Egypt; one can just distinguish the head of a young ass which

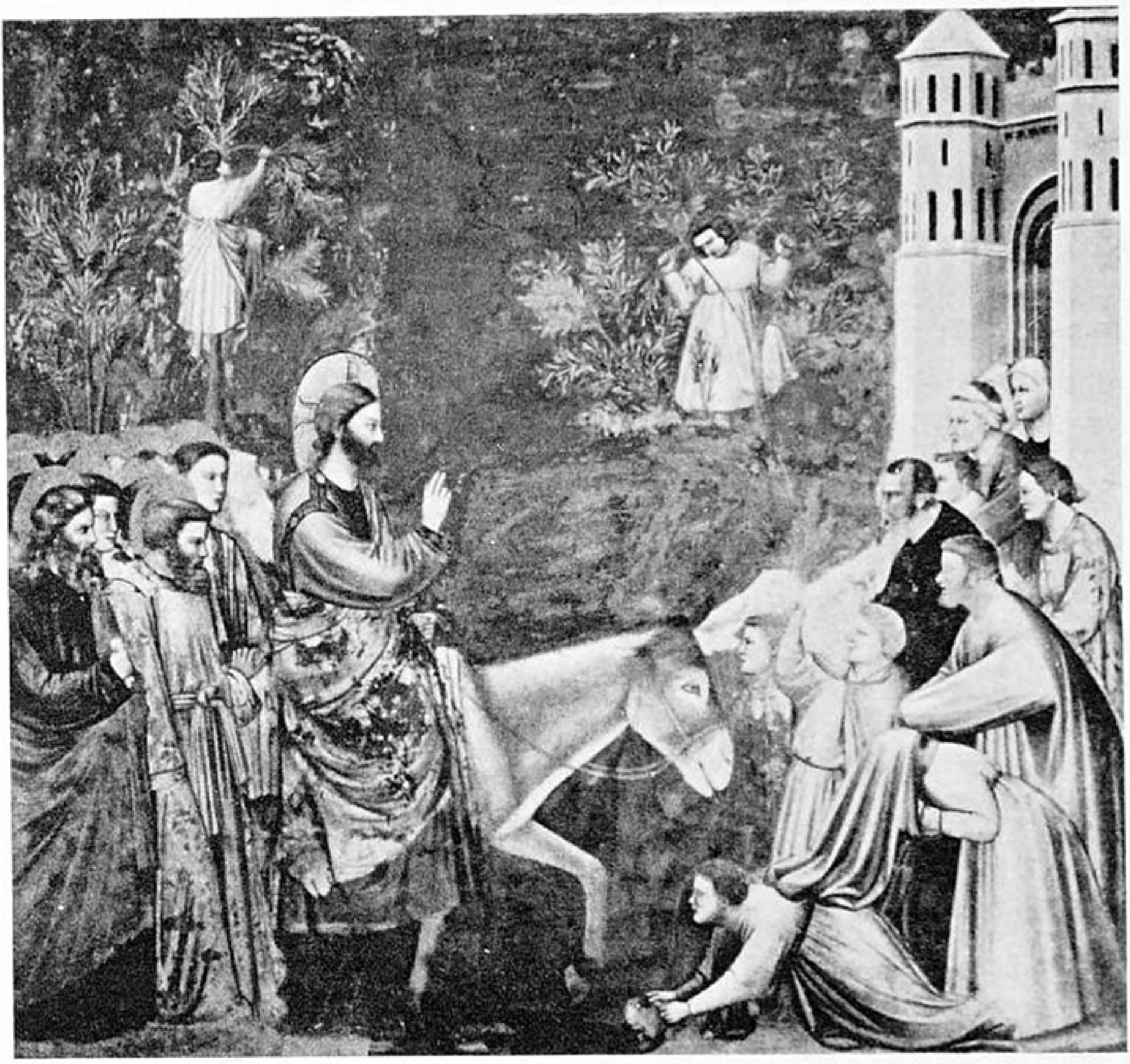


Fig. 44. The Entry into Jerusalem. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

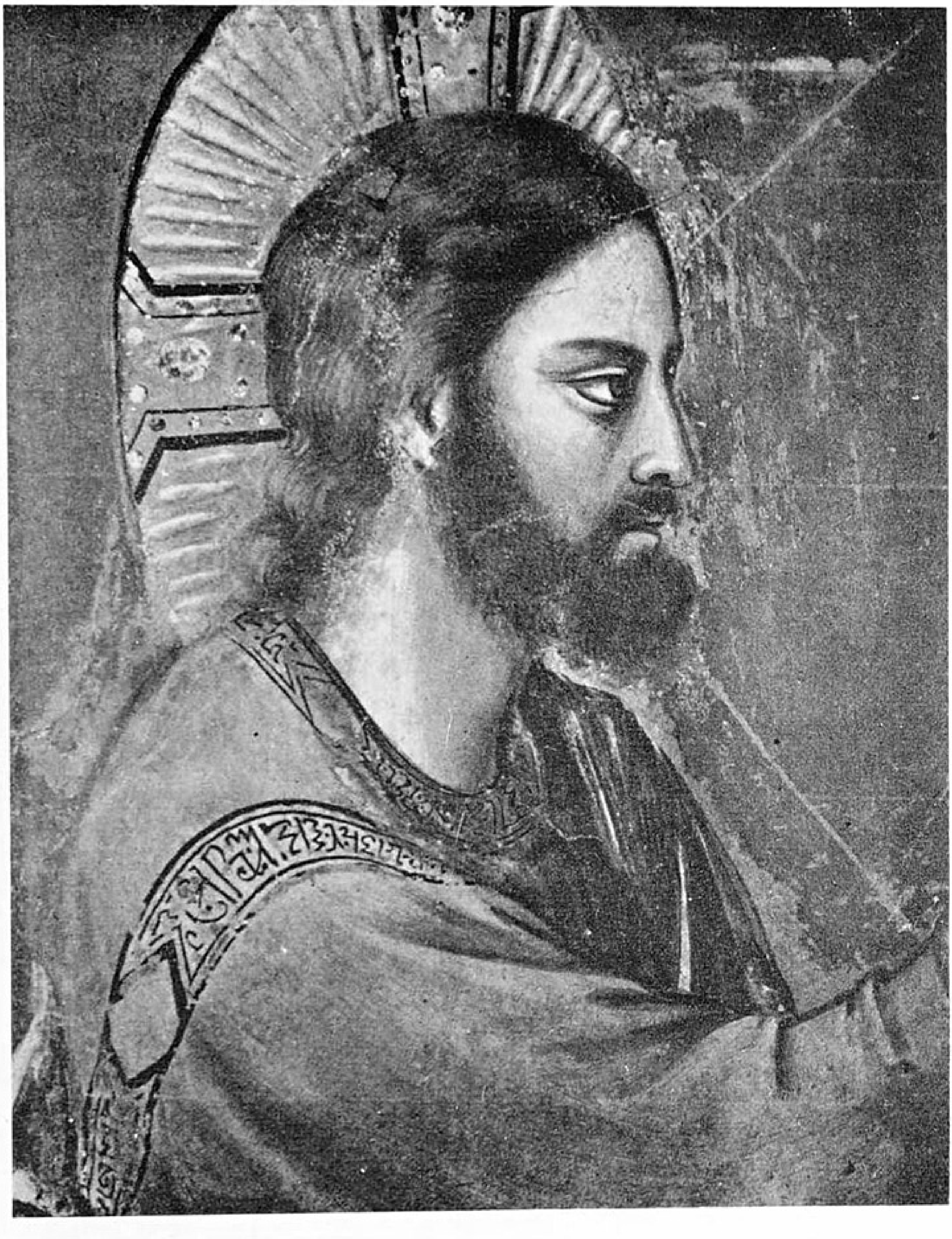


Fig. 45. Detail of fig. 44.

Photo Alinari.

follows closely behind. The features of the Lord as He lifts one hand to bless the welcoming mob, are perhaps the most noble and beautiful of all the figures of this series; His expression is sad and pensive but He does not weep as the Gospels say He should. The Apostles following behind are gathered into a rather crushed little group, four faces only being visible, the others indicated by portions of nimbi. In the background two boys are seen climbing on trees, one evidently to get a good view, the other to gather branches to strew in the pathway of the Lord, a detail mentioned in the texts.

(25) In the fresco of Christ driving the money-changers from the temple it is clear from one detail that Giotto has followed the Gospel according to St. John who mentions that the buyers and sellers are driven out by means of "a scourge of little cords" (figs. 46 and 47). However the Evangelist places this event at the beginning of Christ's public life, shortly after His first arrival in Jerusalem, from which one might suppose it to have occurred twice as, for example, Bonaventura clearly indicates. If this be so Giotto has placed the detail of the cords at

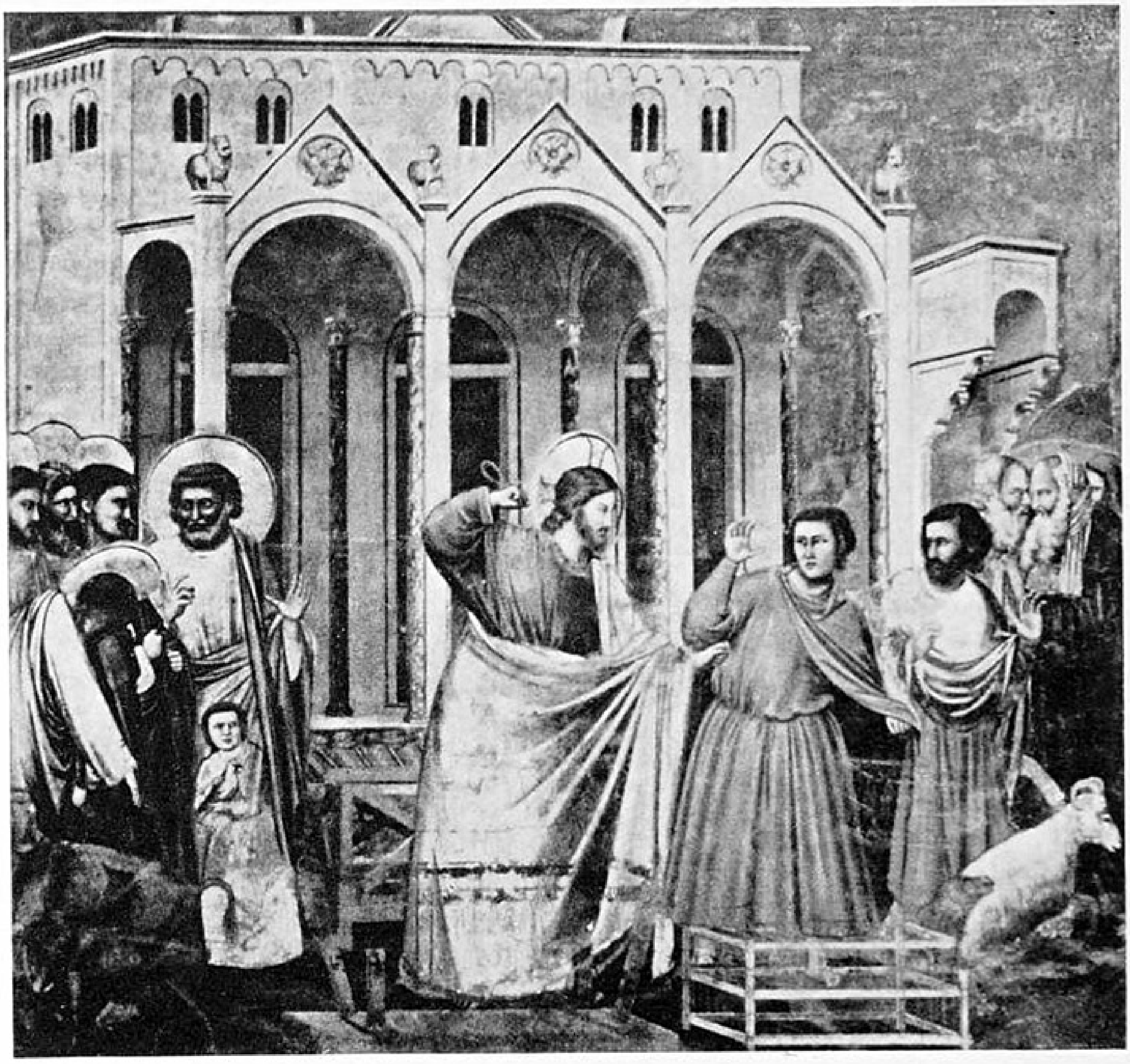


Fig. 46. Christ chasing the merchants from the Temple. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

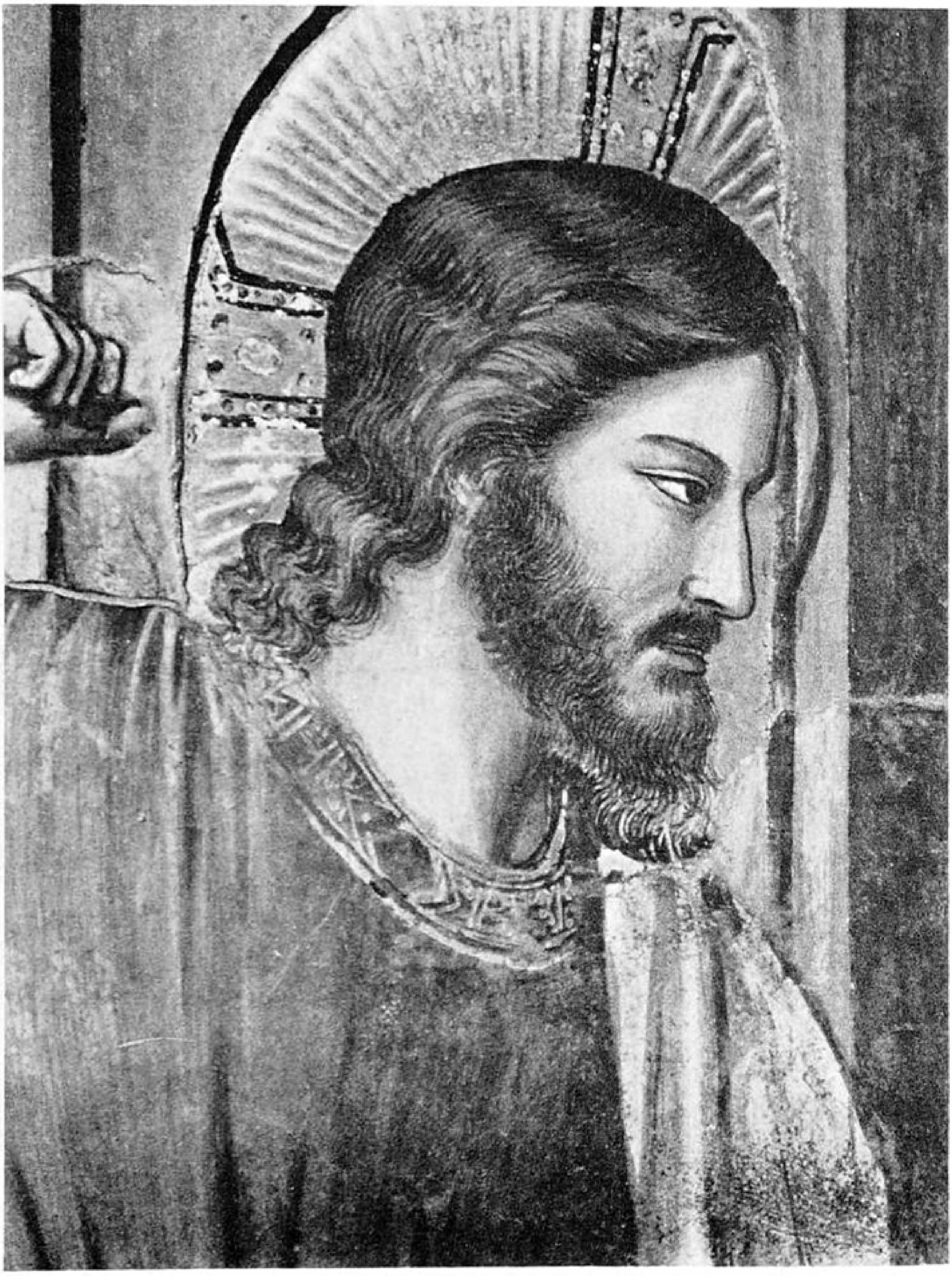


Fig. 47. Detail of fig. 46.

Photo Alinari.

the wrong moment. The proceedings take place in front of the temple which is a handsome early Italian Gothic building, more resembling a palace to which a pulpit and a large portico have been added, the pillars of the latter are ornamented with four sculptured animals, two lions and two horses. Christ forms the central figure of the scene and though His right hand holding the cords is uplifted against a young merchant before Him towards whom His left hand is stretched out, His movements are not violent and His figure has lost none of its majesty; His expression is one of contempt and anger, with eyes somewhat closed and mouth slightly open; there is no trace of excitement or agitation in this figure which retains the great nobility of the other representations. The young man who is the cause of the Lord's indignation lifts one hand to defend himself against the blow, he appears more sad than afraid; near him stands a bearded man with both hands raised as if in perplexity. Behind, two old priests are depicted whispering to each other, evidently already plotting against Him Who, with so much authority, undermines their power; close to them part of another figure is visible. On the left are five Apostles, one of whom gesticulates in surprise while another in a charming movement, presses a little frightened child against his knee; a second child stands before them holding a bird. A ram is seen on the right jumping away in a very natural manner, the ox and the calf escaping on the left are much too small. Cages and a table which has been upset, lie on the floor. Although this fresco contains all the elements likely to produce a violent scene, violence itself is completely absent.

(26) The Last Supper takes place in a kind of open loggia with only two walls, the front and right side are open, the corner being supported by a slender column; the walls and roof are decorated (figs. 48 and 49). The thirteen are seated round a square table; the Lord, St. Peter and St. John at one end, the latter with eyes shut resting his handsome young head on Christ's breast, the others, five on either hand, down the sides of the table; those with their backs to the spectator are seated on one bench and, with the exception of one, have their heads turned so that their faces are partly visible; their nimbi are curiously placed before their faces. Giotto's dramatic talent has made him choose the moment when the Lord reveals to His disciples who, amongst them, will betray Him and represents to the letter St. Matthew, XXVI, v. 23 (St. Mark, XIV, v. 20) "he that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me", for we see that, simultaneously with Christ, the first on the right side places his hand in the bowl; at the same time the other disciples "left

off eating and looked with sorrow upon each other at length"(¹). The expressions of sad inquiry, inspired by the frightful doubt "is it I, Lord?" are most strikingly depicted on the different faces many of which are very impressive. In the variety of dress, draping and attitude, Giotto has masterfully avoided any monotony or rigidity in the rows of Apostles. The grave sad face of the Lord is not so beautiful as on the previous paintings, the projecting chin making it somewhat severe.

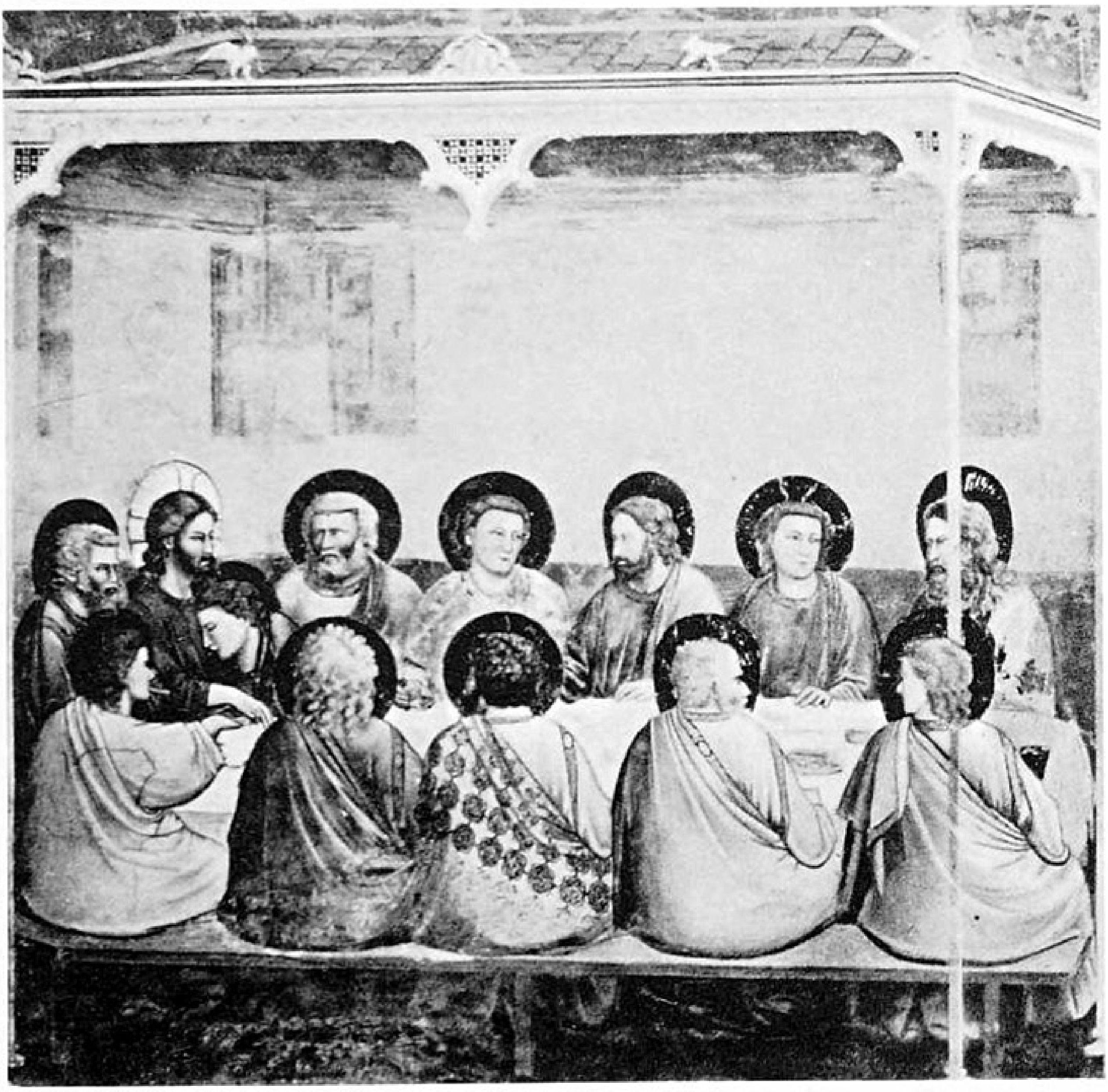


Fig. 48. The Last Supper. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) Giotto's representation corresponds with the Gospel and with the text of Bonaventura who mentions that "Judas the traitor continued still eating as if the word *betray* seemed in no manner to appertain to him".

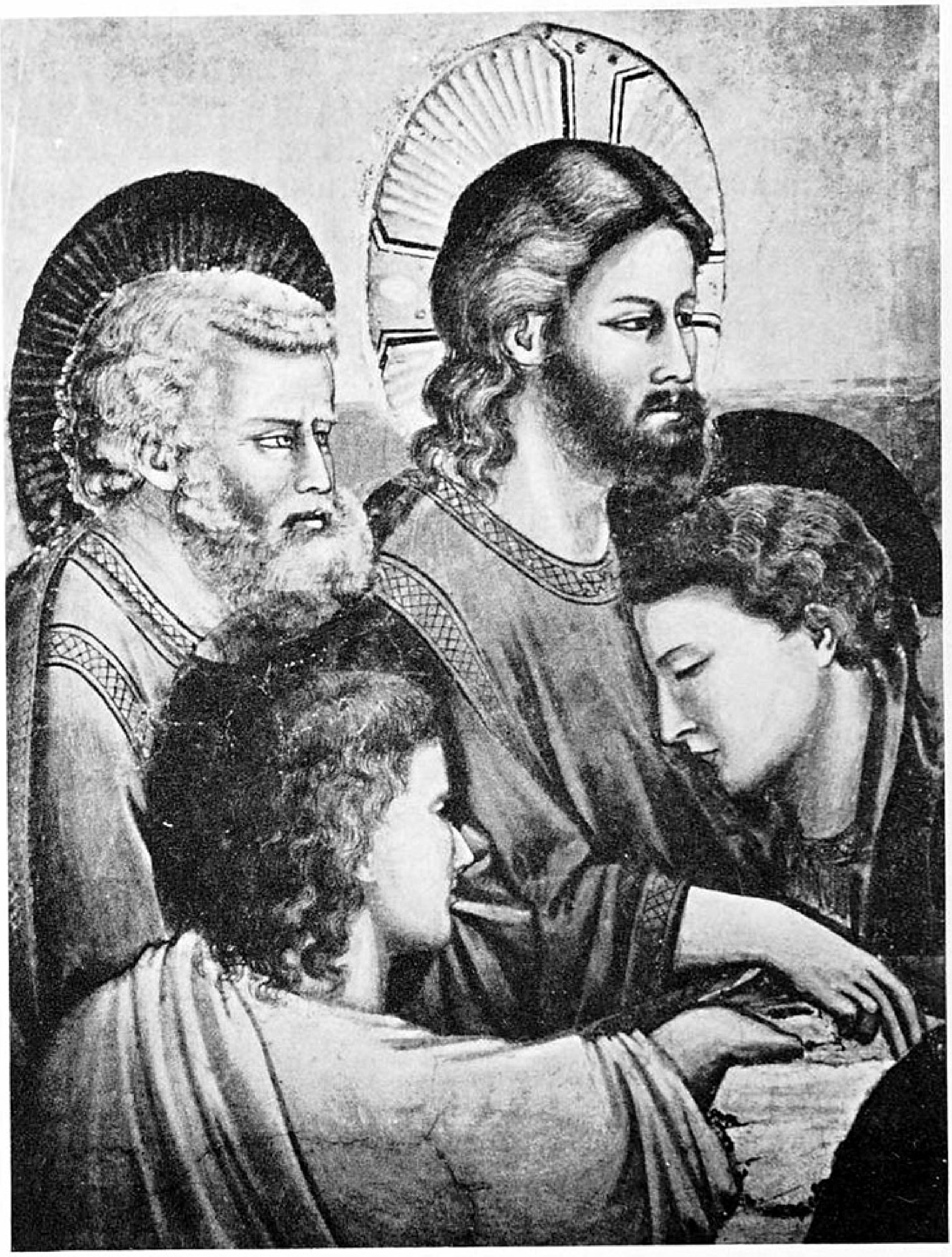


Fig. 49. Detail of fig. 48.

Photo Alinari.

(27) According to the Gospel of St. John, Chap. XIII, the Feet-washing takes place after the Last Supper, the Betrayal of Judas being mentioned between the two events; this order is followed by Giotto who has not omitted to depict in the scene of Judas conspiring with the high priests, the black figure of Satan urging

the traitor on in his evil, in illustration of the passage "the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray him" (fig. 50). The canopied altar in the background serves to indicate

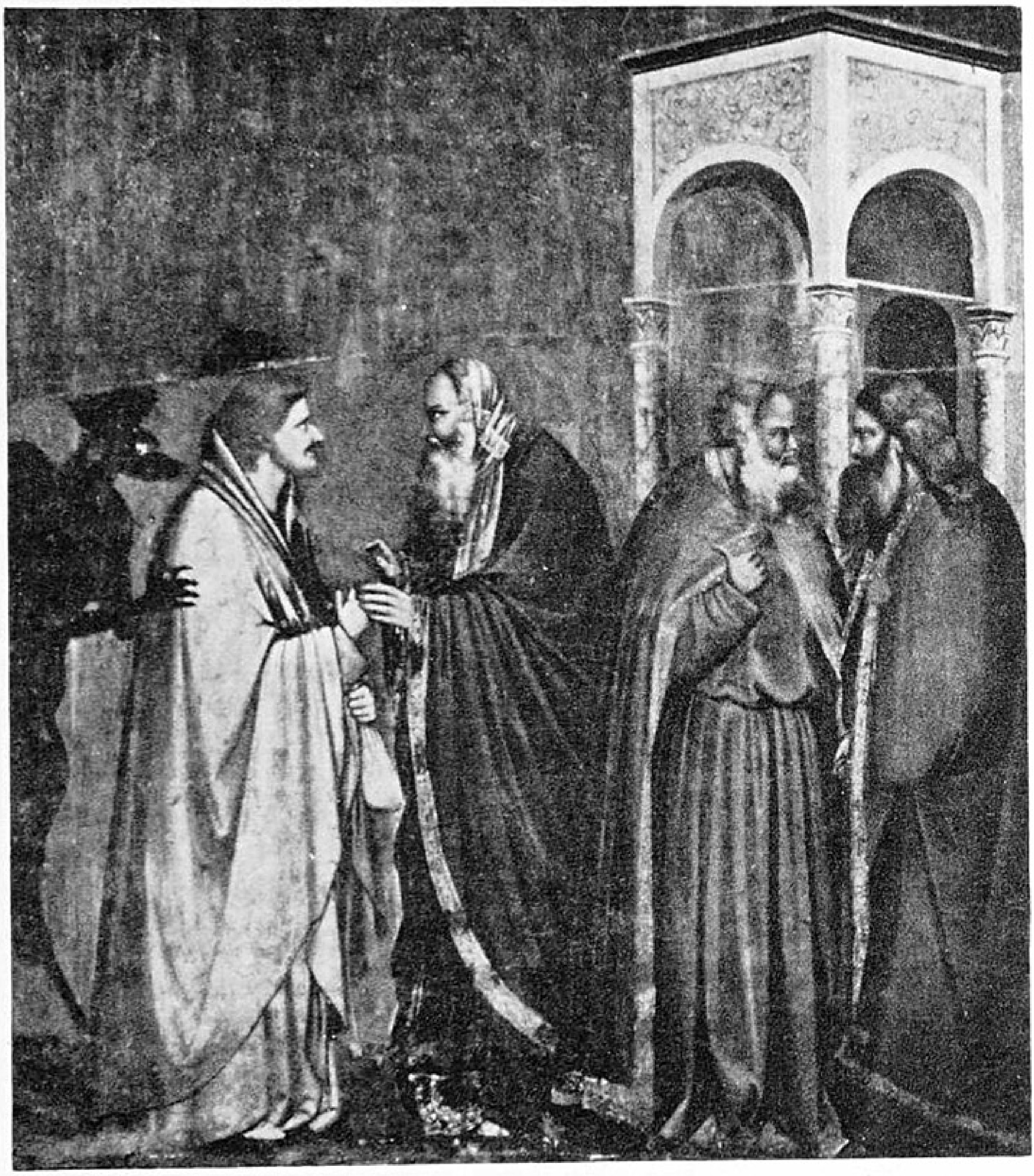


Fig. 50. Judas' pact. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

the site of the scene, which, although only composed of four figures, is one of Giotto's master-pieces. The expression of Judas, as he avariciously clasps the bag containing his Master's blood-money, clearly manifests his greed of gold; the old priest who appears to be giving his last instructions looks fixedly, at Judas as if to penetrate his innermost thoughts to find out if he can be

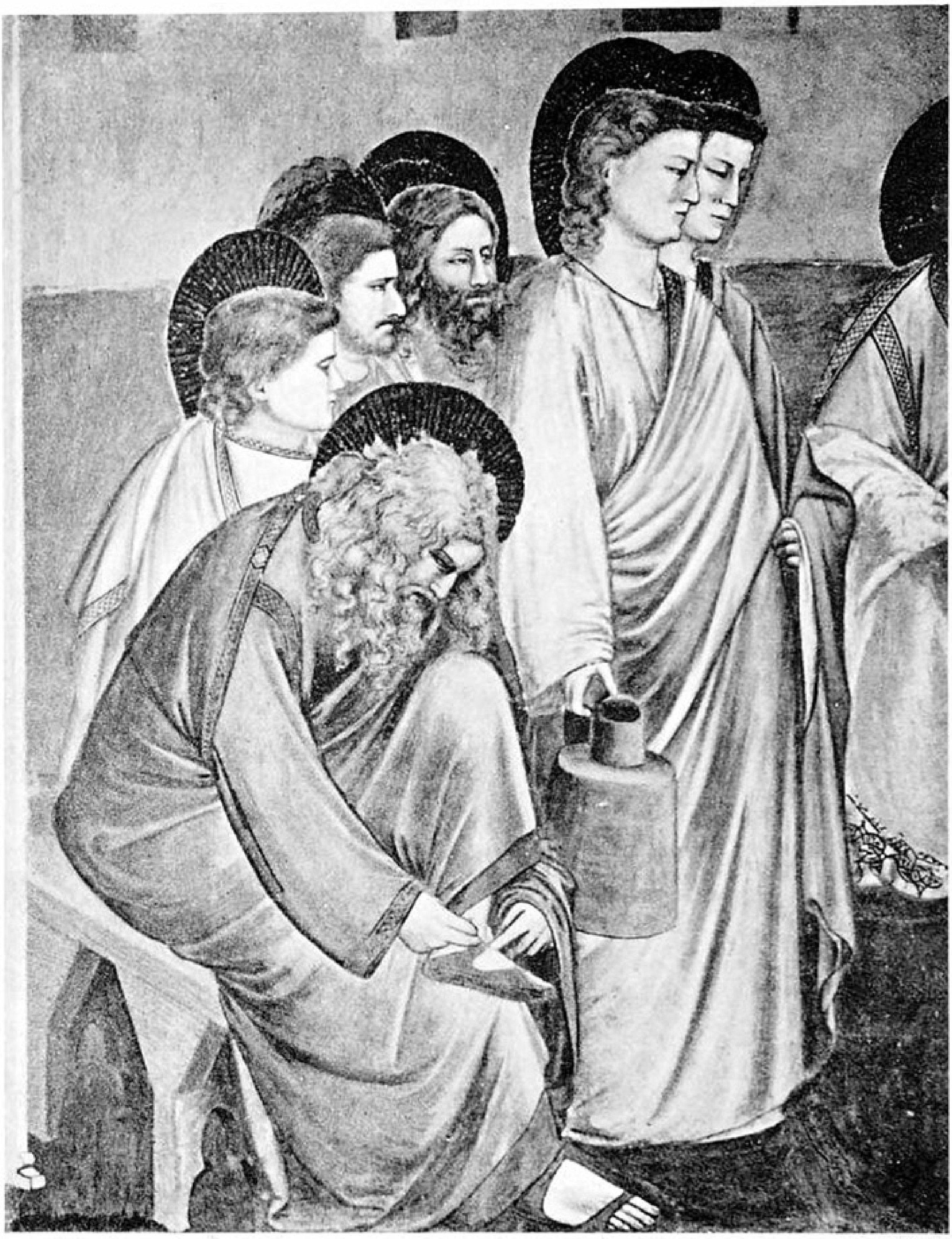


Fig. 51. Detail of the Feet-washing. Arena Chapel, Padua.

relied upon. Two other priests stand on one side in conversation, the nearer pointing over his shoulder at the traitor, apparently explaining to his companion the plans by which this unfaithful disciple is going to enable them to capture his Master. A comparison between these old bearded men and the venerable priest in the scenes of the Virgin's youth and Betrothal gives one an idea of the great power of psychological expression which Giotto possessed; a subtle indefinable difference in attitude and expression makes us at once aware of the two categories of priests, the good and the evil. It is the same with Judas, who in the next scene, although somewhat hidden, is easily recognisable; he is the only disciple to whom the artist has given a Jewish type, especially pronounced in the shape of his nose; his whole appearance does not compare favourably with that of the other disciples, which may be perhaps accounted for by the intense dislike of Jews in the Middle Ages. The figures of this scene are very statuesque and their garments hang in natural and well arranged folds.

(28) The Lord washing the feet of His disciples is seen to take place in the same room as the Last Supper, even the two birds on the roof have not changed position (fig. 51). Christ has not as the texts say taken off His clothes but has covered them from the waist downwards with a white cloth. Two young Apostles, one carrying a can of water, stand behind the Lord as He kneels before St. Peter whose foot He holds over a basin; the ten Apostles, are seated in a semi-circle, St. Peter being the last figure on the right; he looks displeased and one can imagine him saying. "Thou shalt never wash my feet" to which the Saviour, interrupted in His action, raises one hand in warning and replies "If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me". The others look concernedly on, the one opposite St. Peter is represented in a masterfully realistic attitude, taking off his sandals, another on the other side does the same. Three figures to the left very inferior to the others form a rigid little row and but for the appearance of Judas (¹) bearing such a striking resemblance to the previous representation, one might suppose these three disciples to be the work of an assistant.

(29) The Betrayal of Judas (figs. 52 and 53) is portrayed by Giotto in a much more violent scene than the texts describe it and although none of the attitudes betray violence, the artist has given the event the character of a fight with clubs and swords, as mentioned in the Gospels (²), being wielded over the heads of the mob, but it is not at all clear who form the different parties.

---

(¹) *Bonaventura*, Chap. LXI mentions Judas present at the Feet-washing.

(²) "Are ye come out as it were against a thief with swords and clubs?"

One or two carry lighted torches and a soldier is seen blowing a trumpet. On the left the Apostles seem to escape, only St. Peter remains and is depicted in the act of cutting off with a small dagger the ear of the soldier, Malchus, while a hooded man seen from behind grips him firmly by his cloak as if to prevent the act.

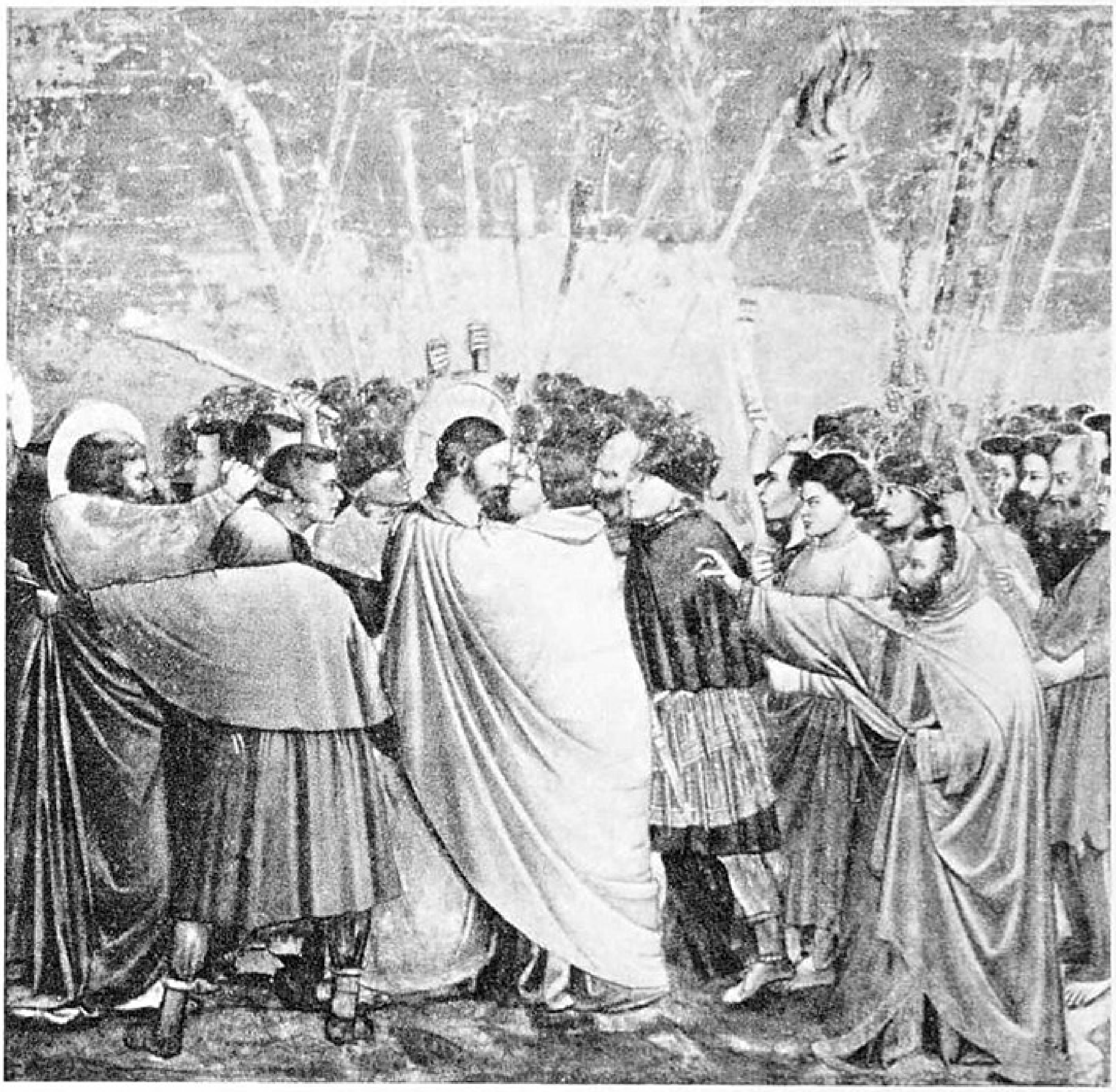


Fig. 52. The Betrayal of Judas. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

Most of the other figures on this side are indistinguishable being only represented in the background by outlines of the tops of their heads; on the right however many more are clearly visible as they approach the central figures; immediately behind Judas stands a Roman soldier who is accompanied and followed by a threatening mob amongst whom the priests are recognisable; an excellently draped figure of a man with a black beard, pointing

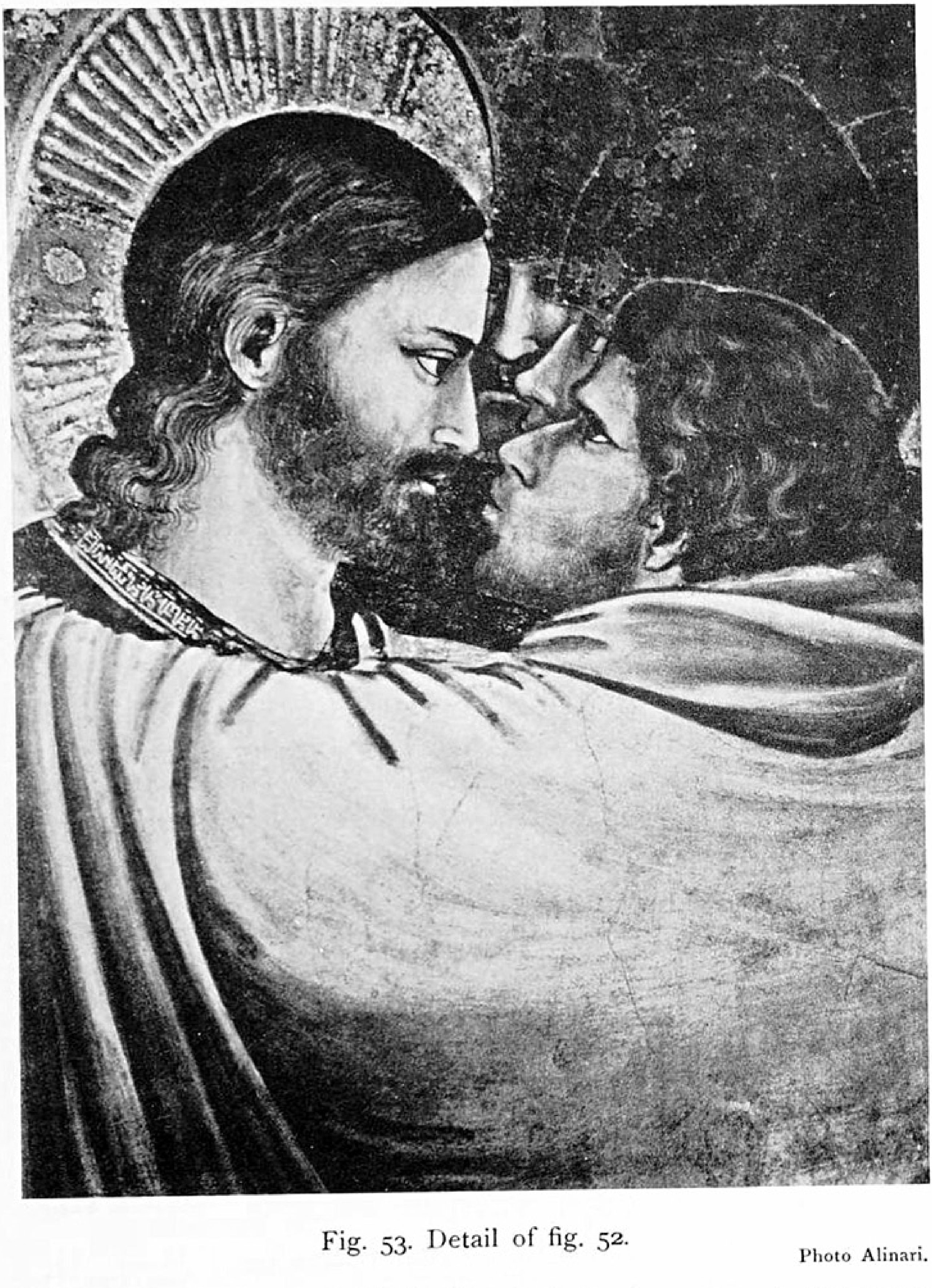


Fig. 53. Detail of fig. 52.

Photo Alinari.

with one hand towards Christ, is seen in the foreground. Amongst this agitated crowd the Lord and Judas appear extremely calm, the expression of the former shows clearly that He is well aware of the betrayal of His disciple whose very soul He seems to penetrate with His piercing eyes; His features are without reproach but manifest an unspeakable sadness; it is altogether one of the most touching faces which Christian art has ever produced, closely resembling in conception the Christ of the corresponding fresco in the Upper Church of Assisi which we attributed to a follower of Cimabue, but infinitely superior in execution; although the Saviour's lips are closed His whole face asks the question "Judas dost thou betray the Son of man with a kiss?" Most of His body is covered by the cloak of Judas who places one hand on His shoulder as he closely approaches his ugly frightened face to that of his Master to Whom he is about to give the kiss of betrayal (¹). The composition is not without its mistakes, the mob

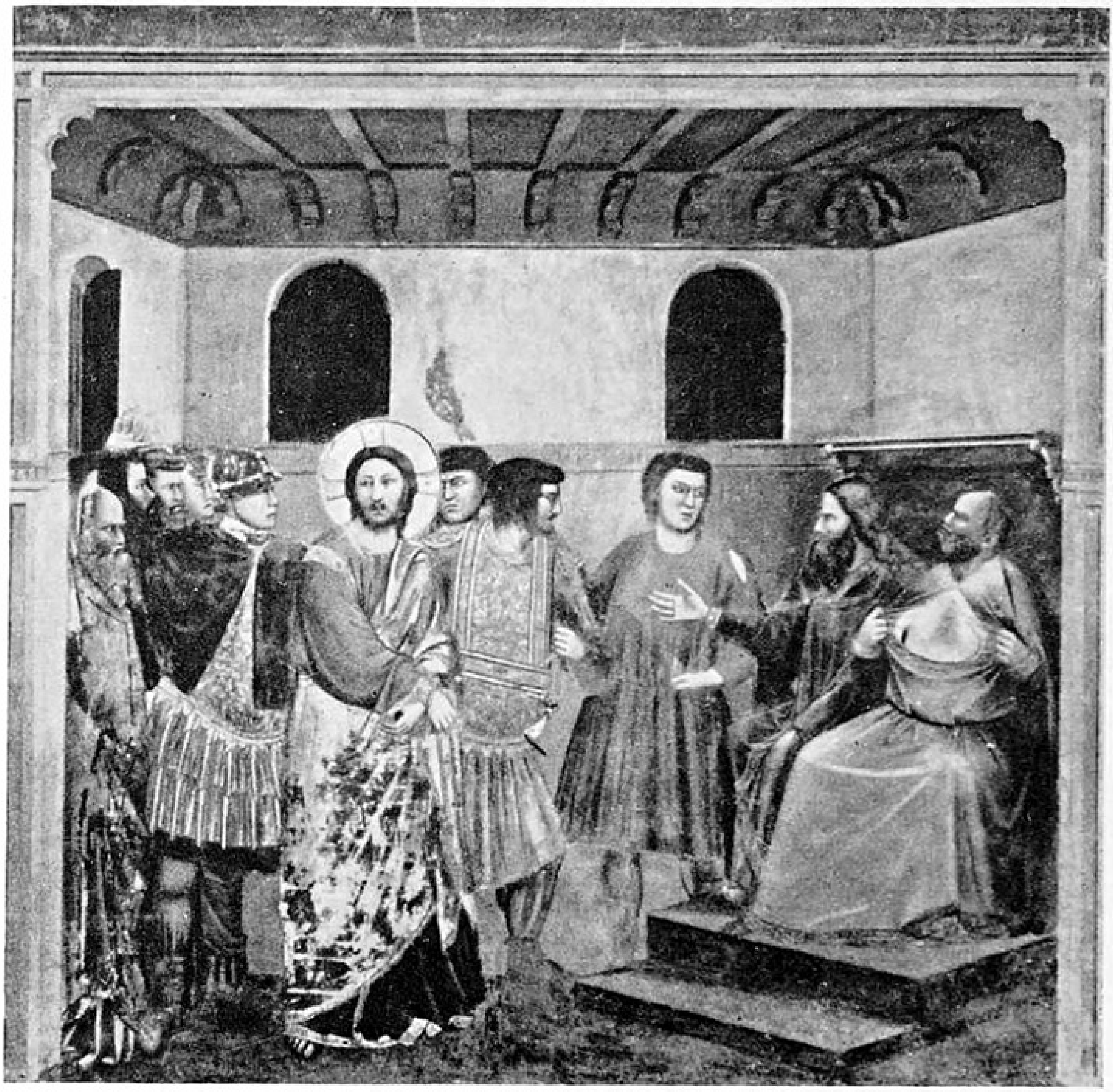
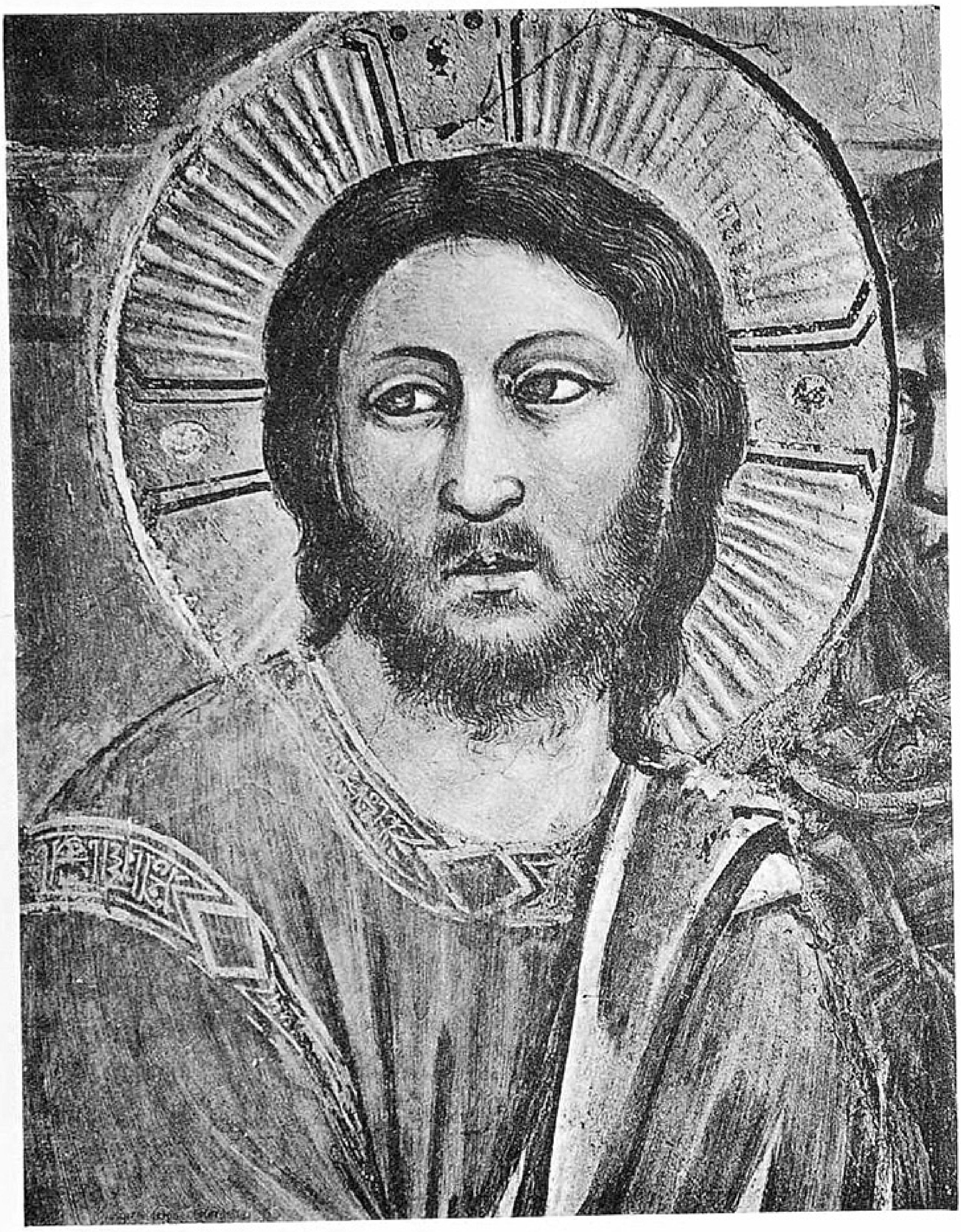


Fig. 54. The Lord before Caiaphas. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) In this scene and in no. 27 Judas has no halo but in nos. 26 and 28 where he is depicted with the other disciples he is like them nimbussed.



THE SAVIOUR

*From Giotto's scene of the Lord before Caiaphas in the Arena Chapel, Padua.*

*Photo Alinari.*

in the background whose heads are just seen in outline, being only depicted behind the figures of the foreground, makes the grouping rather rigid.

(30) The next fresco depicts the Lord brought before the high priest, Caiaphas (fig. 54 and plate I) who is seen seated in a room with a raftered ceiling; here again Giotto follows the Gospels very closely. The high priest is represented at the moment "he rent his garments saying: He hath blasphemed what further need have we of witness". The priest seated next to him, one of those we saw plotting with Judas, appears to argue with three younger men, possibly the false witnesses, one of whom in gorgeous attire and carrying a sword, must be a high Roman official, another more to the left wears a helmet and cape; besides these we see a figure lifting his hands above the heads of the others and an old

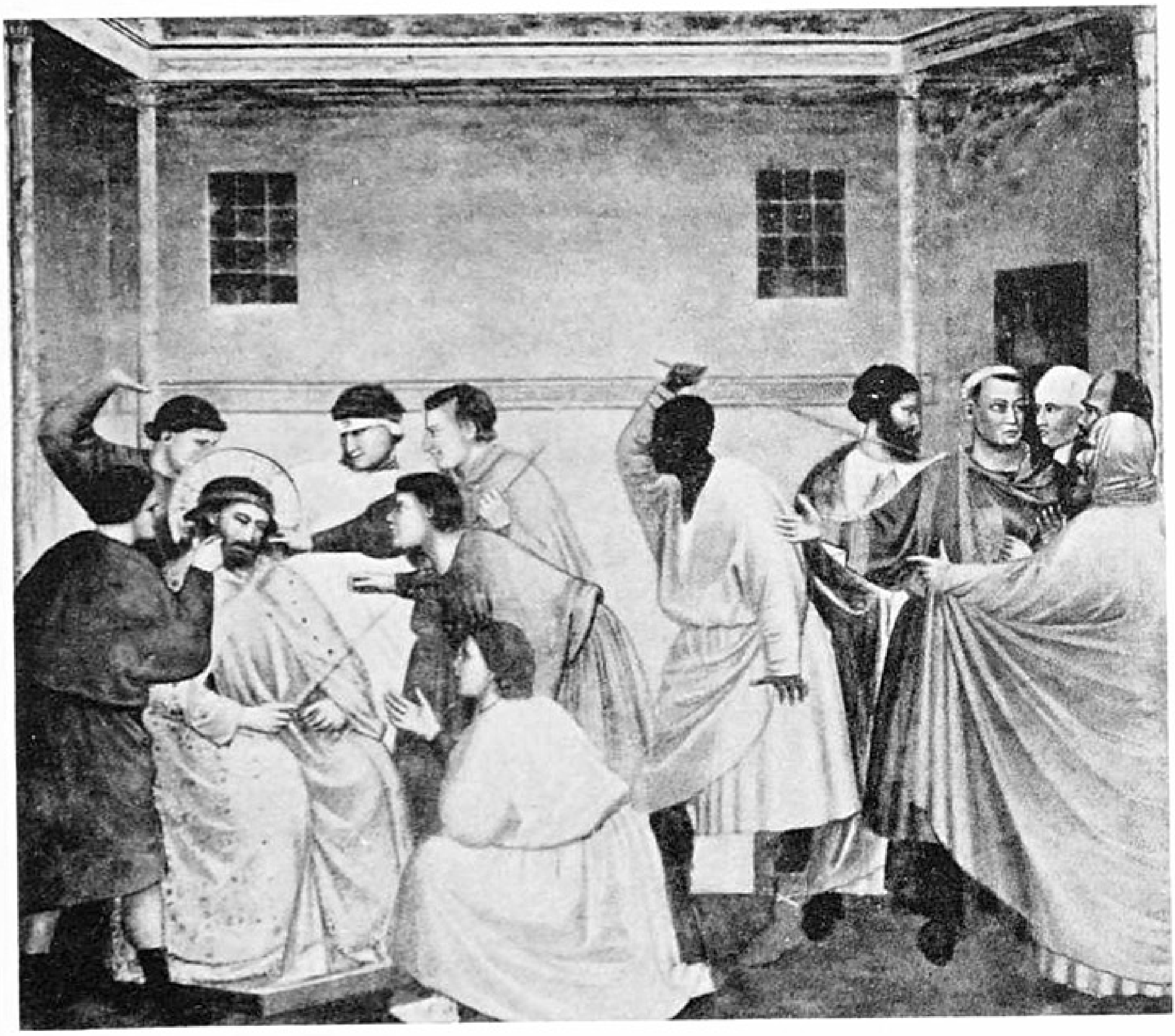


Fig. 55. The Lord illtreated by the servants. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

bearded priest looking furiously at the Lord Who stands handcuffed in the middle of the room, a calm but touchingly sad figure as if in illustration of the passage "he held his peace and answered nothing" rather than the reply of the Saviour which caused the high priest to manifest indignation so ostentatiously. The composition of this scene is better than that of the previous one, while the absolute tranquility of Christ makes the agitation of those around Him all the more obvious.

(31) Giotto, in his representation of the Lord illtreated by the servants, (figs. 55, 56 and 57) proves himself to be a true child of his times, for he has reproduced in all its details the text of the Gospel which tells us "and some began to spit on him and to cover his face and to buffet him and to say unto him: Prophesy! and the servants struck him with the palms of their hands", perhaps with more fidelity and imagination than with artistic discrimination. The Lord, clothed in a richly decorated garment and crowned with thorns, is surrounded by seven torturers, His eyes are almost closed, His features — especially His mouth — betray intense pain and suffering although still some of His previous dignity remains; of His tormentors one behind raises his hand to give Him a blow, another on the left strikes His face, a

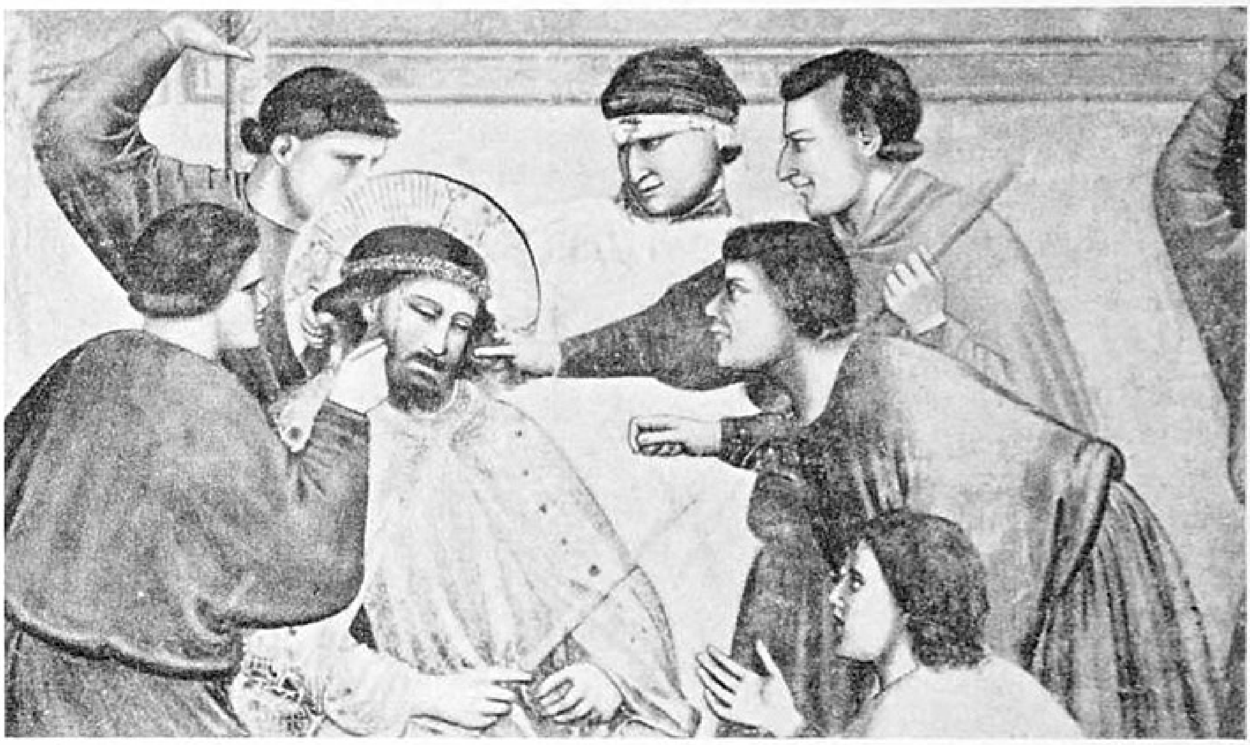


Fig. 56. Detail of fig. 55.

Photo Alinari.

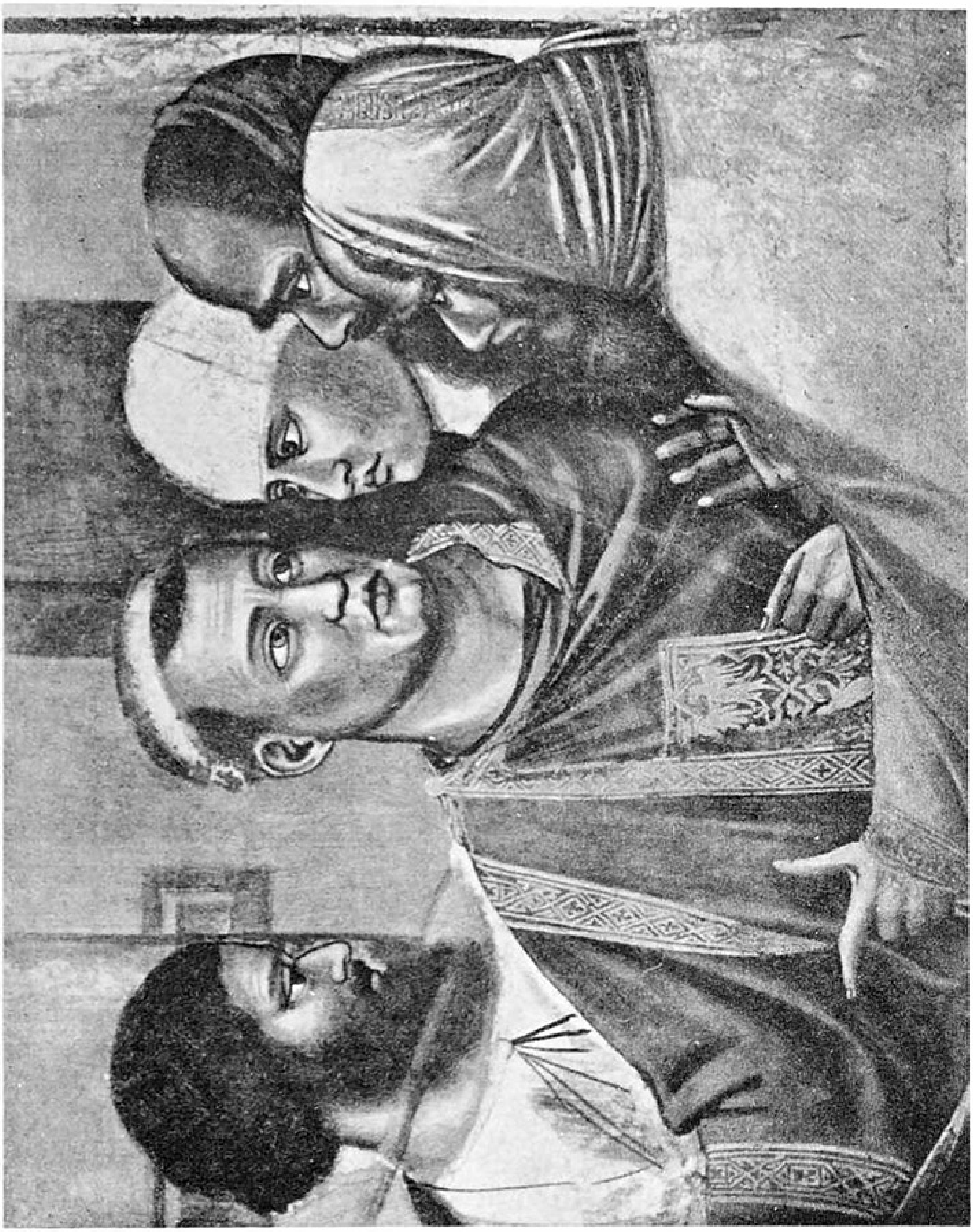


Fig. 57. Detail of fig. 55.

Photo Alinari.

third kneeling on the other side insults Him with words, probably asking Him to prophesy; one with a remarkably well depicted expression and formation of the mouth, is seen spitting in His face, a fifth pulls His hair as he places a rod in the hands of the Lord; another from behind passes his arm round Christ's neck in order to pull His beard, while the seventh, a negro, stands at some distance with a stick raised above his head, about to be brought down on the head of the victim. Of more artistic value than this somewhat vulgar though realistic group, are the five figures gathered together on the right of the scene, two Roman officials — one with an eagle embroidered on his cloak — apparently arguing with the three Jewish priests on the fate of their prisoner. The difference in type between the clean shaven Romans and the bearded priests is skilfully depicted, their gestures are very natural and their expressions most adequate; the one, most to the right, who stretches out his hand which holds his cloak, towards the group on the left, is excellently well designed.

(32) The Bearing of the Cross has been rather damaged; in the background is seen the gate of Jerusalem from whence the procession advances. A group of young men marches before the Lord Who, bent under the weight of the Cross, turns His calm and noble face in the direction of the Virgin; He is followed by a large crowd, most of whom however are almost completely concealed behind the few figures entirely visible, and only indicated by the outline of the tops of their heads; several carry spears which are seen over the heads of the mob. The Virgin, a sorrowful weeping figure in the left corner, gazes sadly at her Son.

(33) The Crucifixion has been depicted by the artist in a fine composition in which the beautiful figure of the dead Christ on the Cross hangs heavily by the arms, His head falling forward on His chest, the whole of great anatomical exactitude (figs. 58, 59 and 60). Above, ten graceful little angels fly around the Crucified, almost all making gestures of despair; one tears open his dress in anguish while three catch into receptacles the blood dripping from the wounds. Mary Magdalene kneeling religiously below the Cross, is about to kiss the feet of Christ. To the left the Virgin is supported by St. John on one side and a holy woman on the other, behind them other faces are visible. In the foreground to the right are depicted the three soldiers deciding the fate of Christ's cloak which one of them with a knife ready in his hand seems to want to divide. The faces of many people are seen behind, amongst them the Jewish priests are easily recognised; one nimbussed figure stretching his arms out towards the Crucified, is probably the centurion who at this moment proclaims his belief in the Lord.

(34) The mourning over the Lord's body with its numerous figures resembles in composition as well as in the attitudes of several of the personages, the one at Assisi which we attributed to Cavallini and a helper (figs. 61 and 62). The dead Christ lies in the foreground of the picture surrounded by five women, two of whom are seen from behind, one supporting the Lord's head; of the other three the Virgin with her arms round the shoulders of her Son gazes anxiously into His face, the second raises His hands while the third holds His feet in her lap, looking sorrowfully at the wounds. Behind this group St. John is represented in the centre, with wide spread arms bending forward to look with grief upon his crucified Master; behind him two male saints obviously suppress their sorrow as they, too, look towards the pitiful scene; while on the other side two women, followed by a scarcely visible

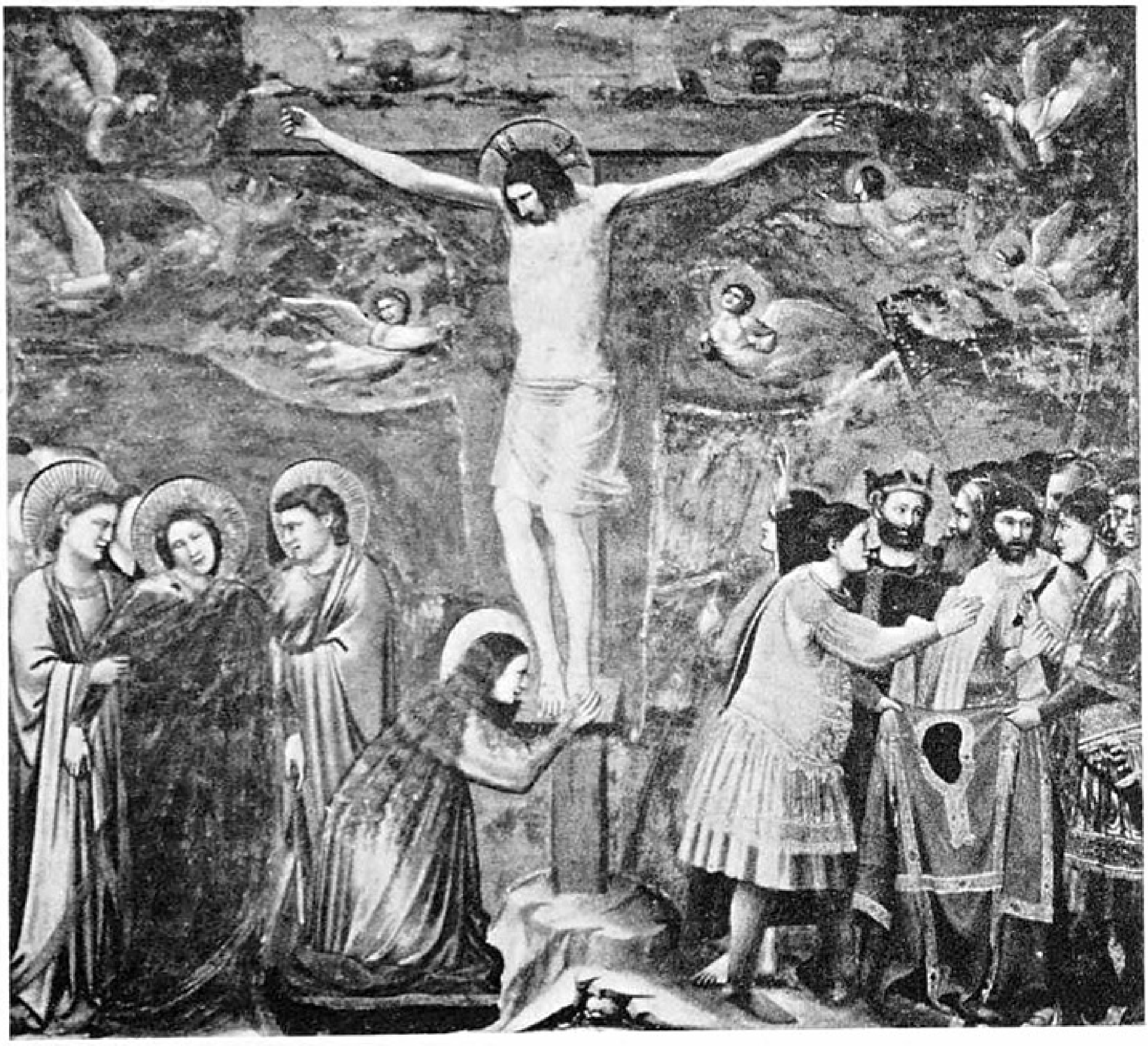


Fig. 58. The Crucifixion. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

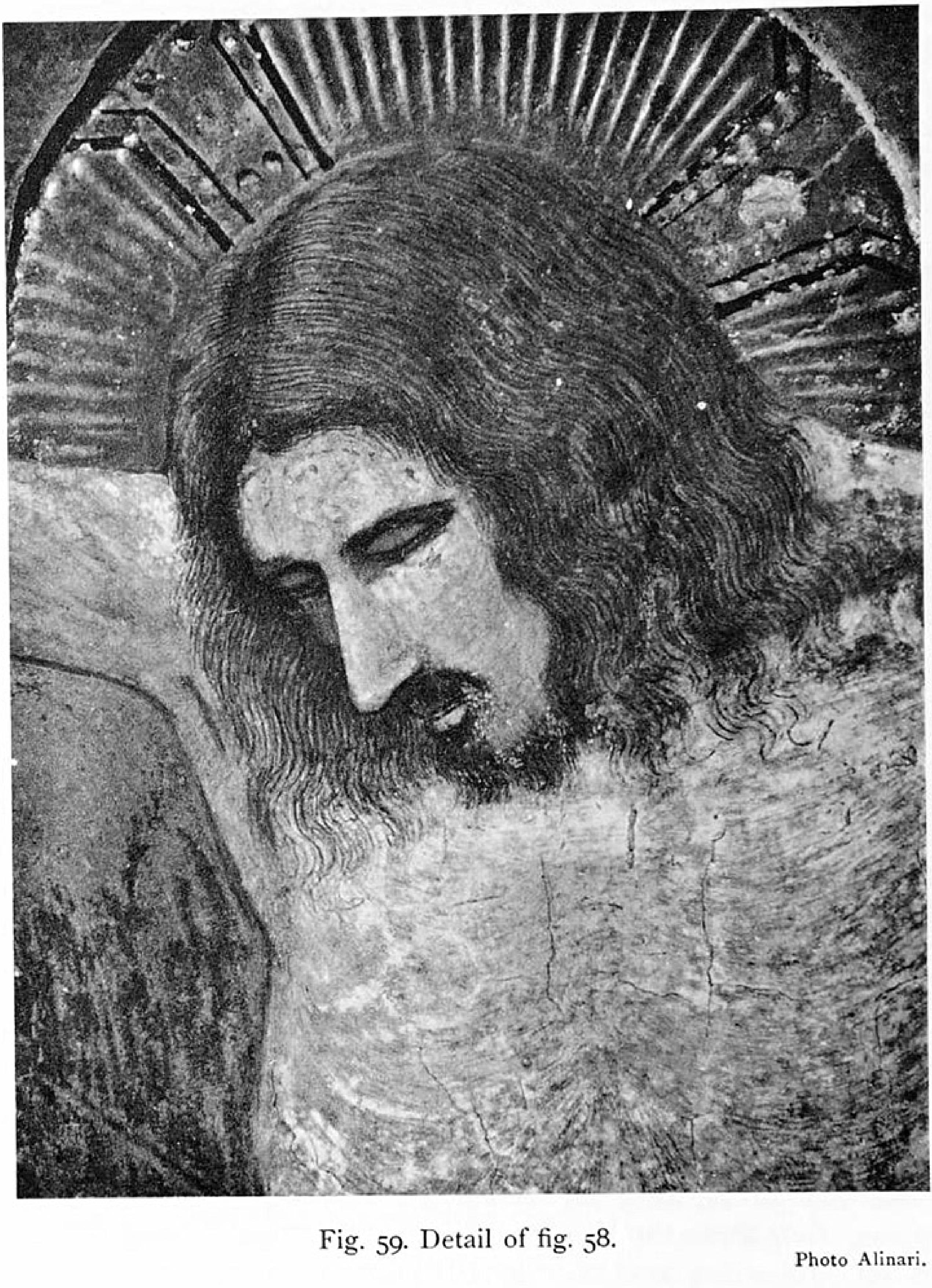


Fig. 59. Detail of fig. 58.

Photo Alinari.

crowd, approach the pathetic group, making gestures of distress. Ten little angelic figures fly in the air above, violently manifesting their despair. In the background a rock slopes upwards to the right near the top of which is seen a leafless tree. Although the composition of this fresco is harmonious, the painting is rather hard.

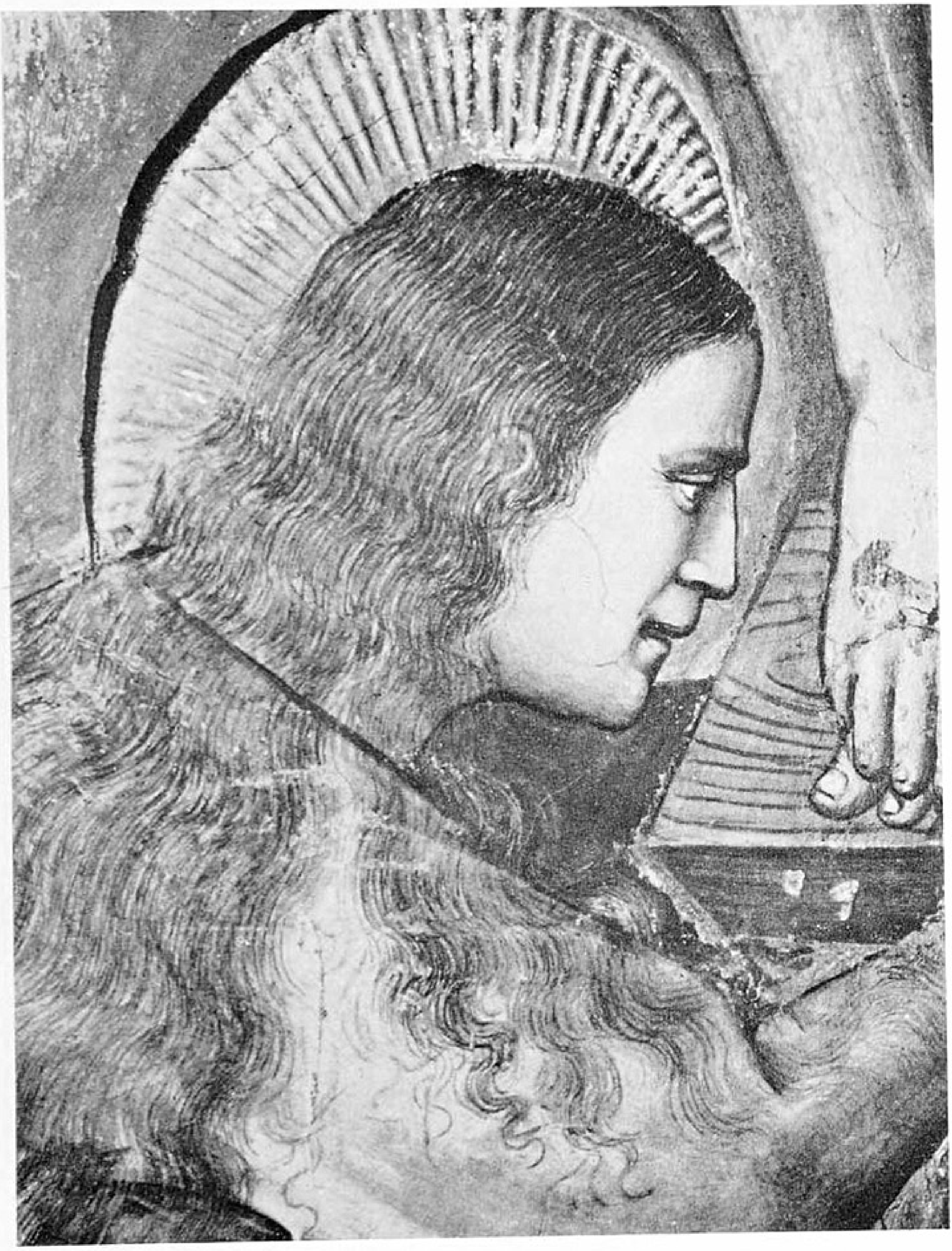


Fig. 60. Detail of fig. 58. Photo Alinari.

(35). The background of the fresco of the "Noli me tangere" (fig. 63) has been somewhat damaged; to the left against rocks we see the empty sepulchre, at either end of which is seated a charming angel, one pointing to the empty tomb which once contained the body of Christ; in front of it are five Roman soldiers sound asleep, three sitting up and two stretched on the ground, all fully dressed in their rich uniform. Quite near but with her back towards them kneels the beautiful figure of Mary Magdalene, her cloak falling in graceful folds to the ground; she stretches her somewhat wooden looking arms towards Christ Who, holding the banner of victory, seems to walk away looking kindly back at her but with a gesture of His hand forbidding her to touch Him.

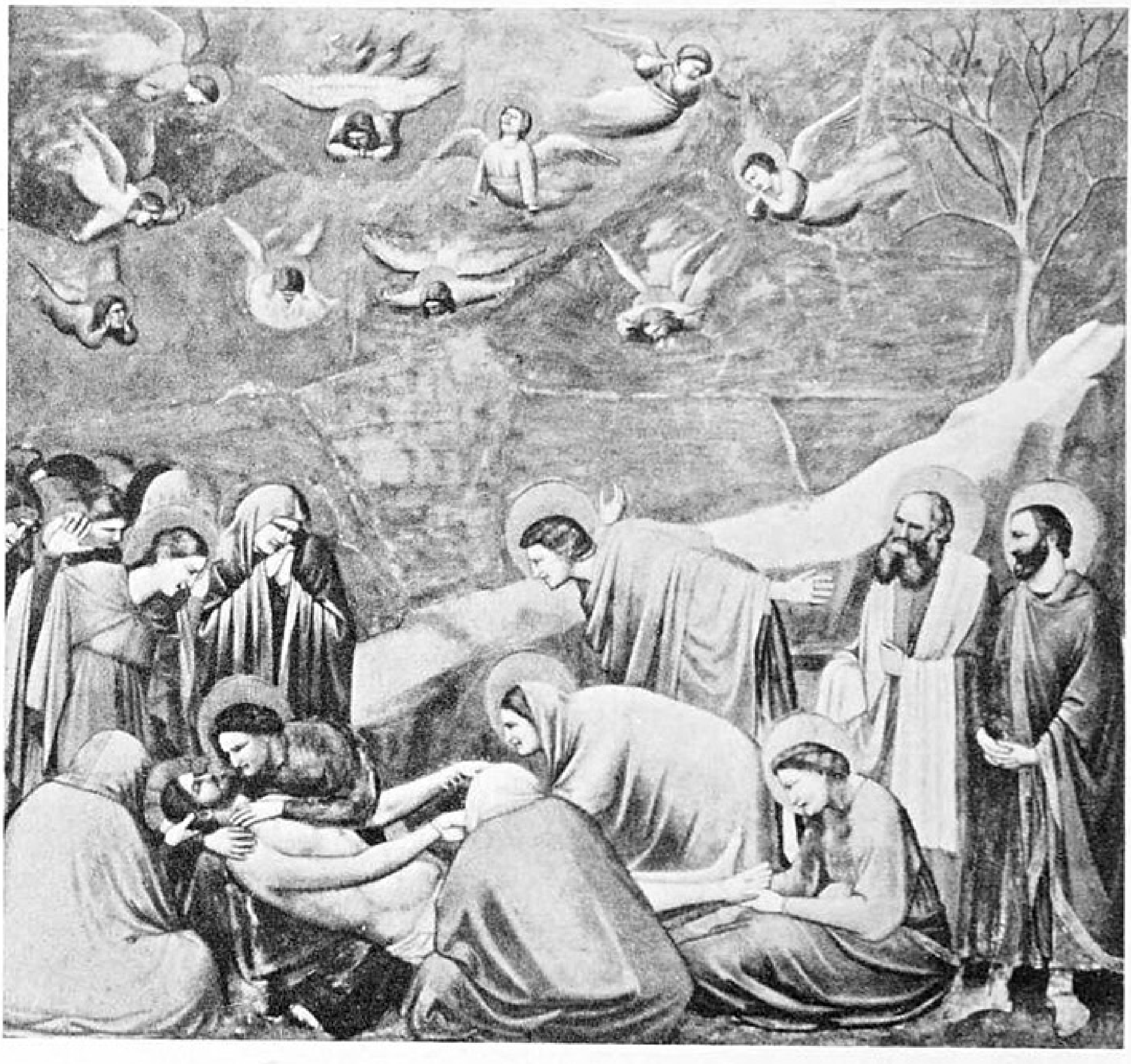


Fig. 61. The Mourning over the Lord's body. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

Between them some plants are seen growing on the ground.

(36) The composition of the Ascension is rather poor, although some of the elements comprising it are very good (figs 64 and 65). Giotto in this representation has combined two texts, the one "and lifting up his hands he blessed them. And it came to pass, whilst he blessed them, he departed from them and was carried up to heaven" (¹), and the other from the Acts of the

---

(¹) St. Luke, Chap. XXIV, v. 50—51.

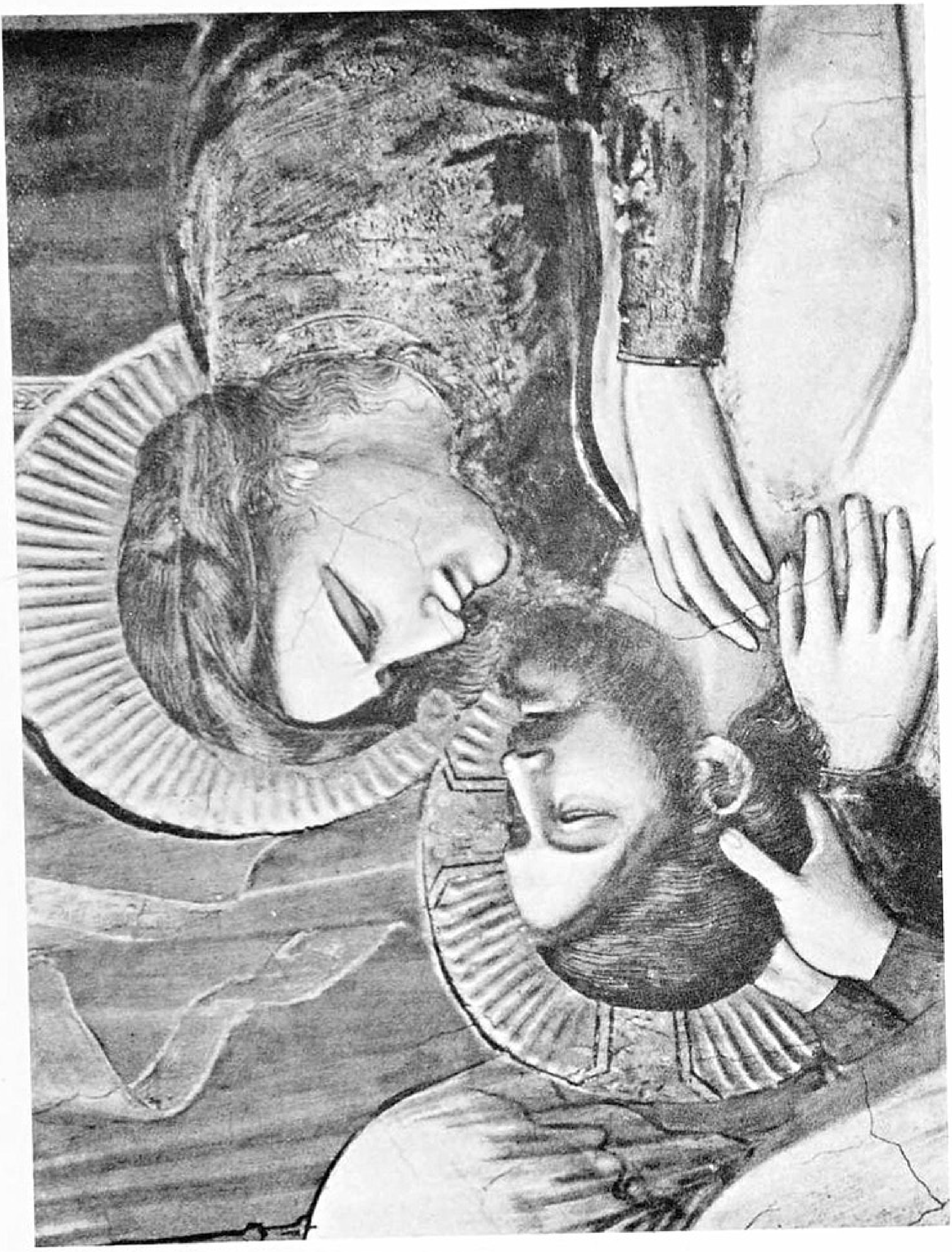


Fig. 62. Detail of fig. 61.

Photo Alinari.

Apostles(¹), repeated by Pseudo-St. Bonaventura, which mentions the cloud that hid the Lord from them, the two angels in white garments and the groups of the Holy Fathers and Celestial beings

---

(¹) Acts of the Apostles, I v. 9—10.

who receive the Lord into heaven (¹). In this painting the Lord is seen in profile with uplifted hands rising out of a white cloud and being wafted upwards; while kneeling on the ground below are the Virgin Mary and eleven Apostles (²) one of whom is clothed in a richly ornamented garment; St. John is easily recognisable behind the Virgin, the others with but one exception being bearded and almost all elderly. They are arranged in two groups separated in the middle by a small height above which are placed two beautiful angels both pointing upwards towards the figure of Christ on either side of whom we see two rows, one above the other, of half-length figures. On the left the upper row is compo-

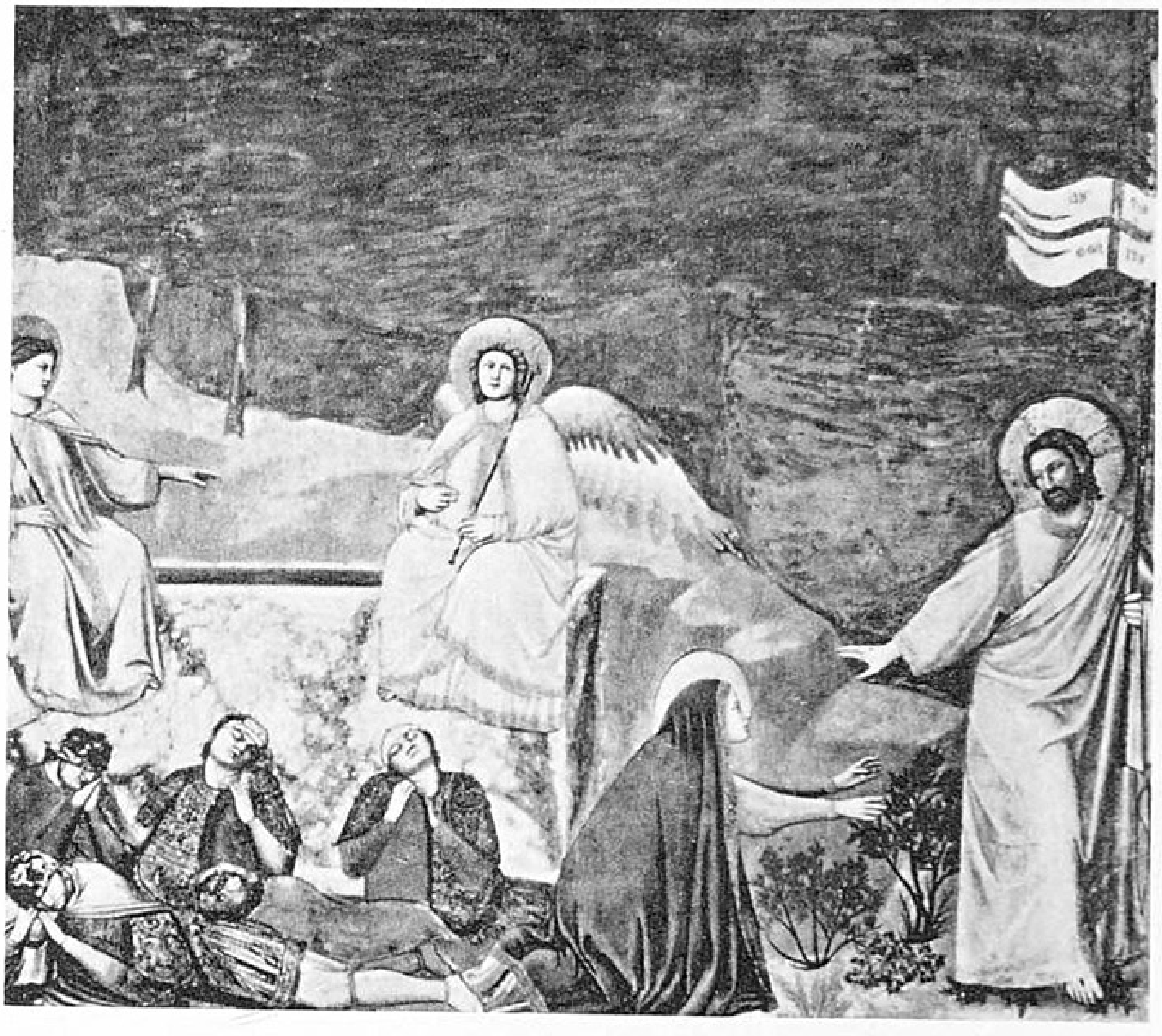


Fig. 63 Noli me tangere. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

---

(¹) *Bonaventura,* Chap. LXXXIII.

(²) St Luke, Chap. XXIV, v. 33, mentions the eleven Apostles but leads one to suppose that besides them there were numerous other people present.

sed of seven busts, of which three bearded men and one young and clean shaven are seen in profile while the other three youthful figures, full face, appear behind in the spaces between the former four, a rather rigid little group; below are seven angels, four in profile, one facing and two partly hidden. The pendents on the opposite side comprise above, three bearded men and one youth, and below, four angels all in profile. The faces of these figures are all very handsome with saintly expressions; those in profile stretch out their hands adoringly towards the light and graceful body of the Lord. Taken separately many of the figures are admirably designed and very beautiful, but the division into an upper and lower part is too pronounced, and the small rows of Church-fathers and angels too rigid for the whole to form a satisfactory composition.

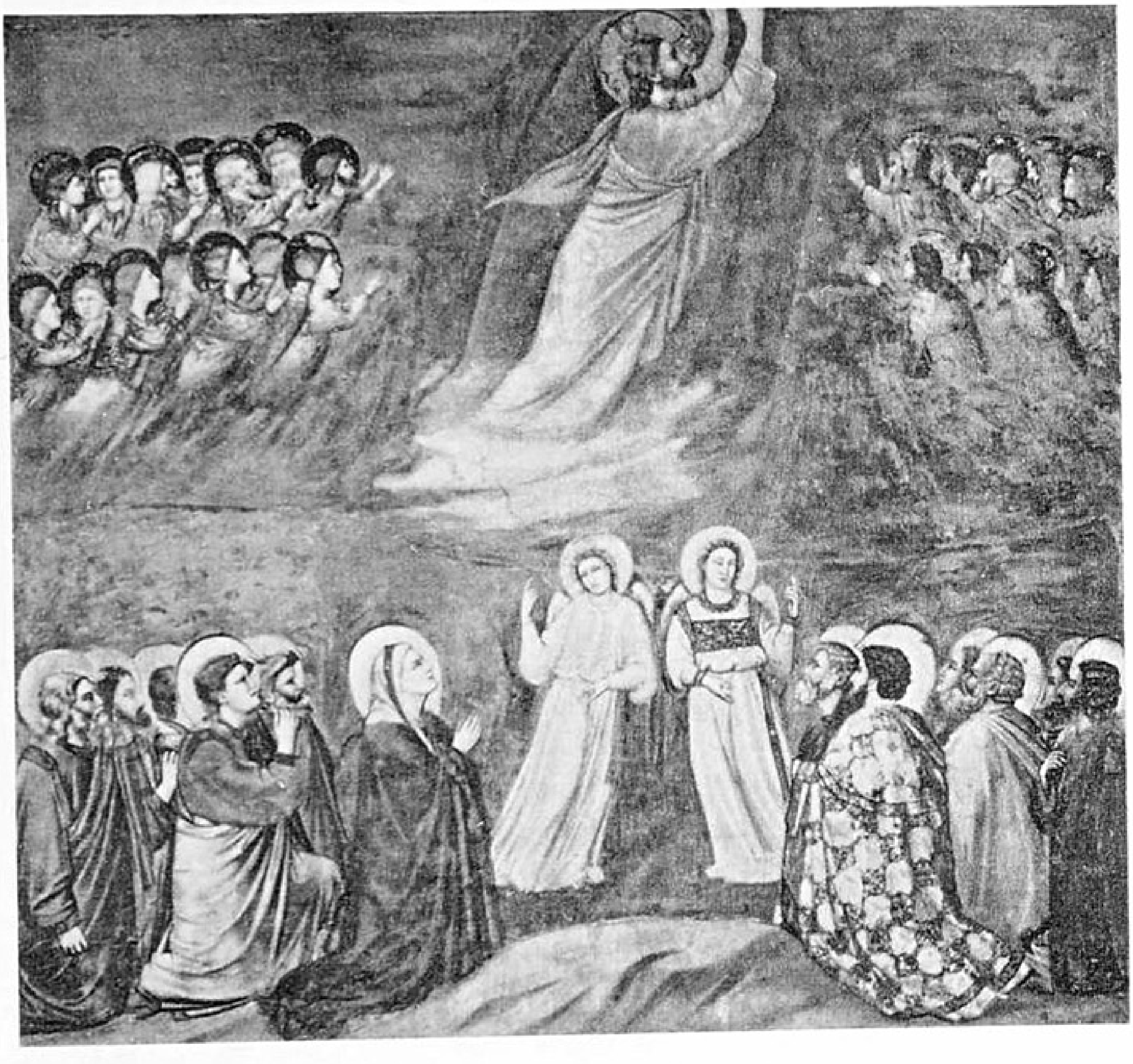


Fig. 64. The Ascension. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

(37) The Descent of the Holy Ghost is the last of this long

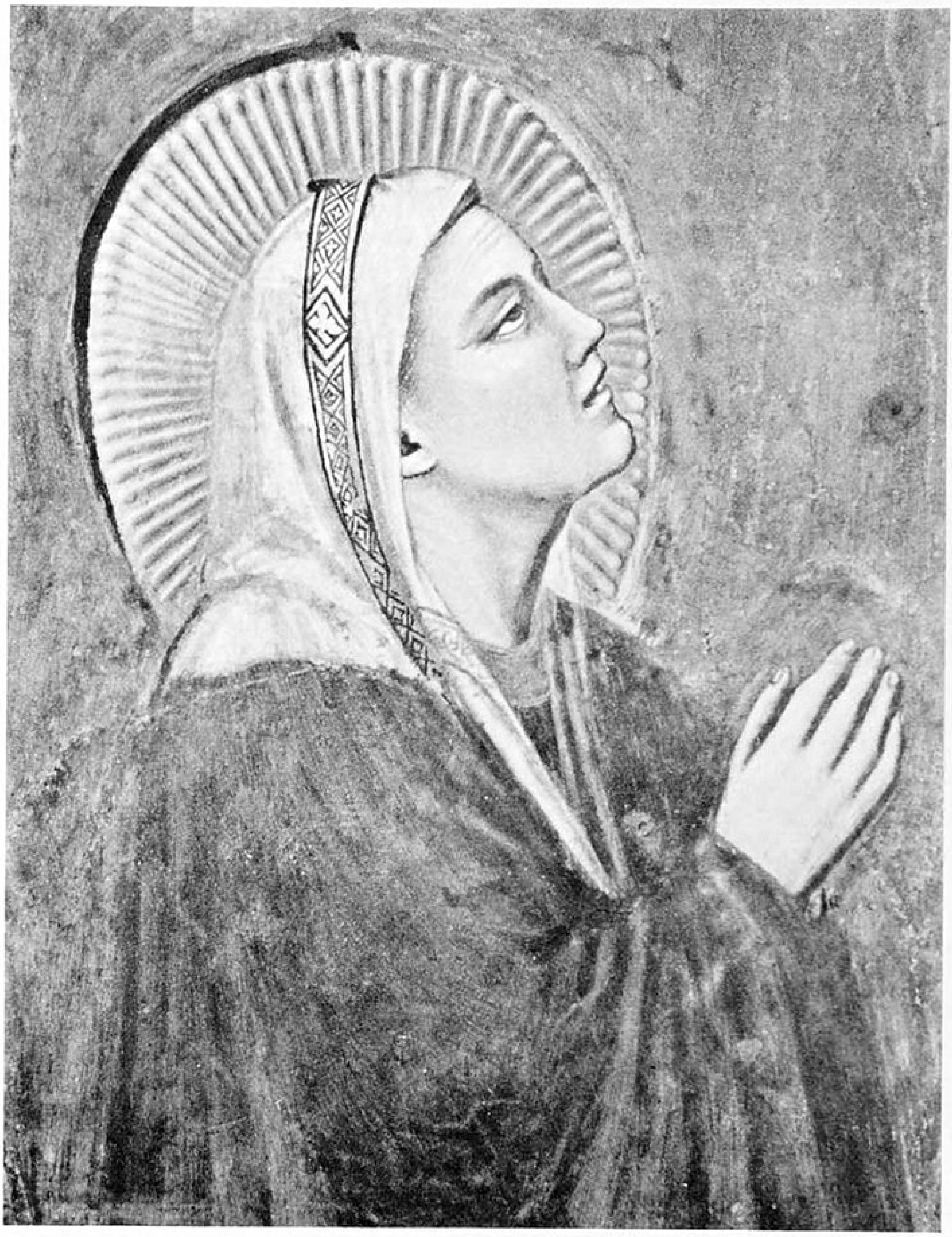


Fig. 65. Detail of fig. 64. Photo Alinari.

series of frescoes, and although not one of the most striking compositions Giotto has again, as in the painting of the Last Supper, masterfully avoided any monotony. The event takes place in an open loggia through whose Gothic arcades on one side and at the end will be seen the Twelve Apostles seated on benches, for in the Acts of the Apostles (¹) we find that just before the

---

(¹) Acts, I, 26.

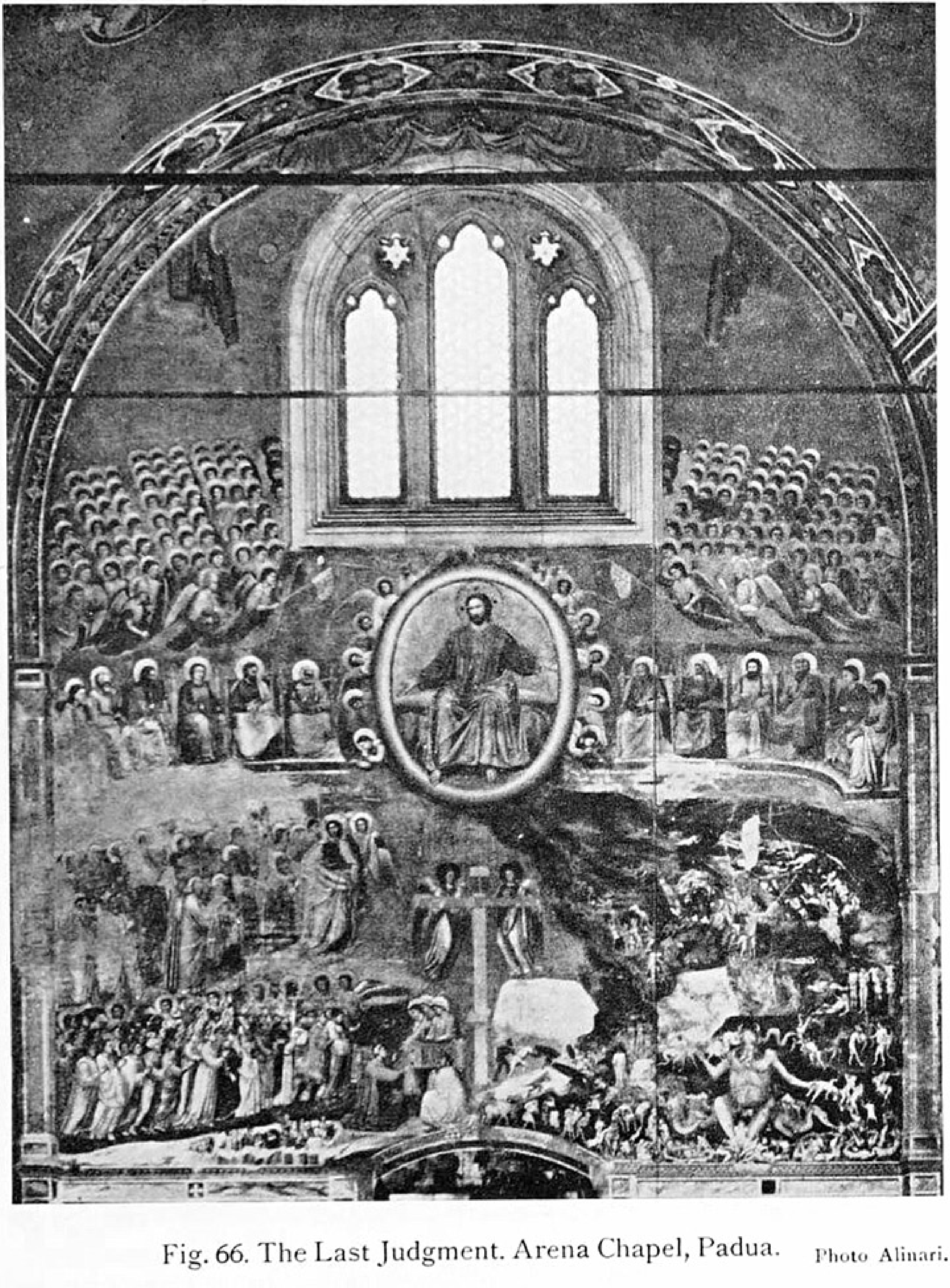


Fig. 66. The Last Judgment. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

Descent of the Holy Ghost, Mathias replaced Judas, making the number of disciples again twelve. They are arranged, four with their backs to the spectator, but, except one, turning their heads so that their faces are visible, four facing and two at either end; St. John the central figure of the fresco is again easily recognisable, so too the disciple so gorgeously attired in the last scene. Rays of light are seen descending on them from above towards

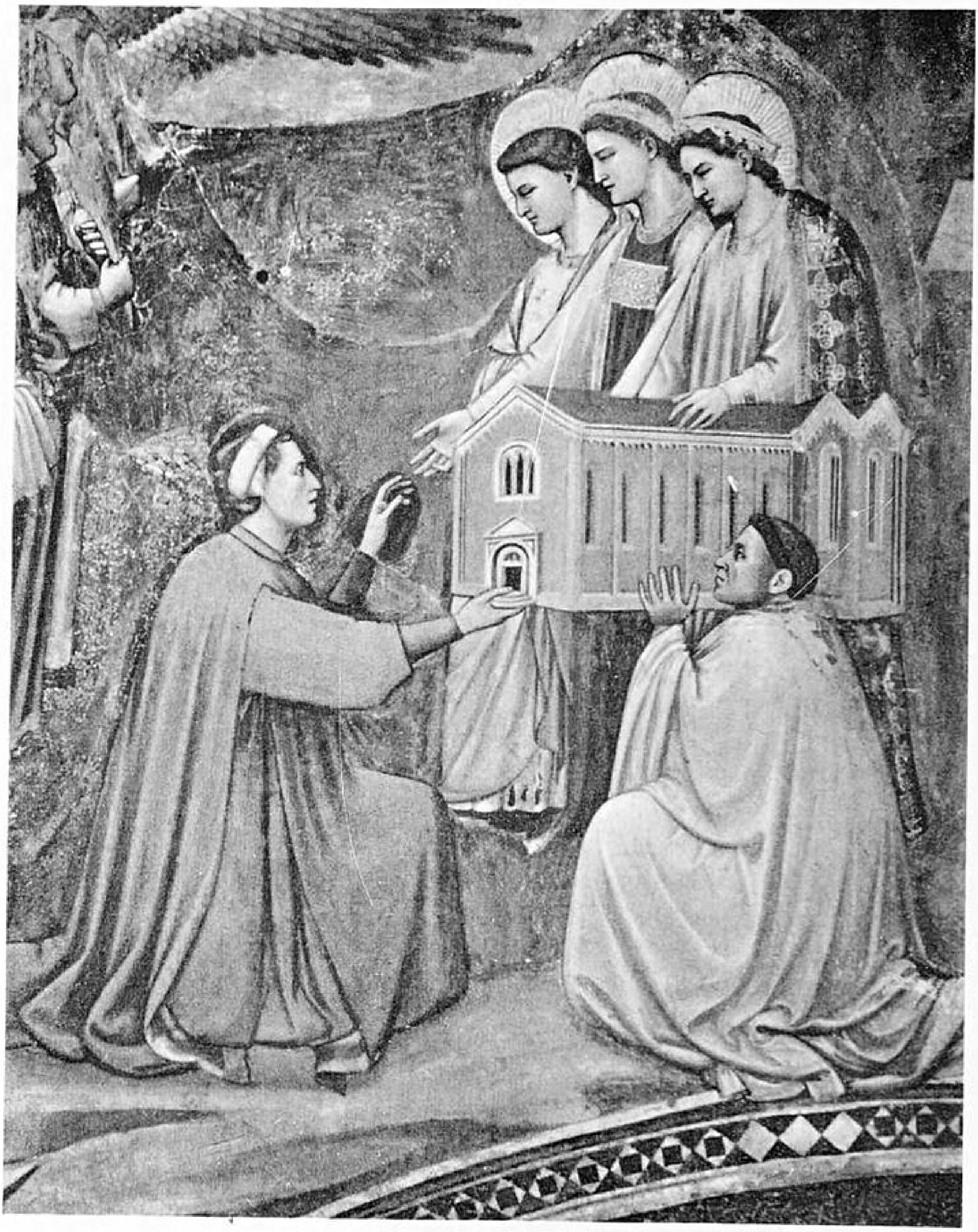


Fig. 67. Detail of fig. 66. Photo Alinari.

which some of the Apostles raise their heads. One is struck by the very restful not to say phlegmatic manner of the disciples during this great event.

The artist's most important work in the Scrovegni chapel however is the painting of the Last Judgment on the entrance wall (figs. 66, 67, 68 and 69 and frontispiece) (¹).

---

(¹) *A. Foratti,* Il Giudizio Universale etc.

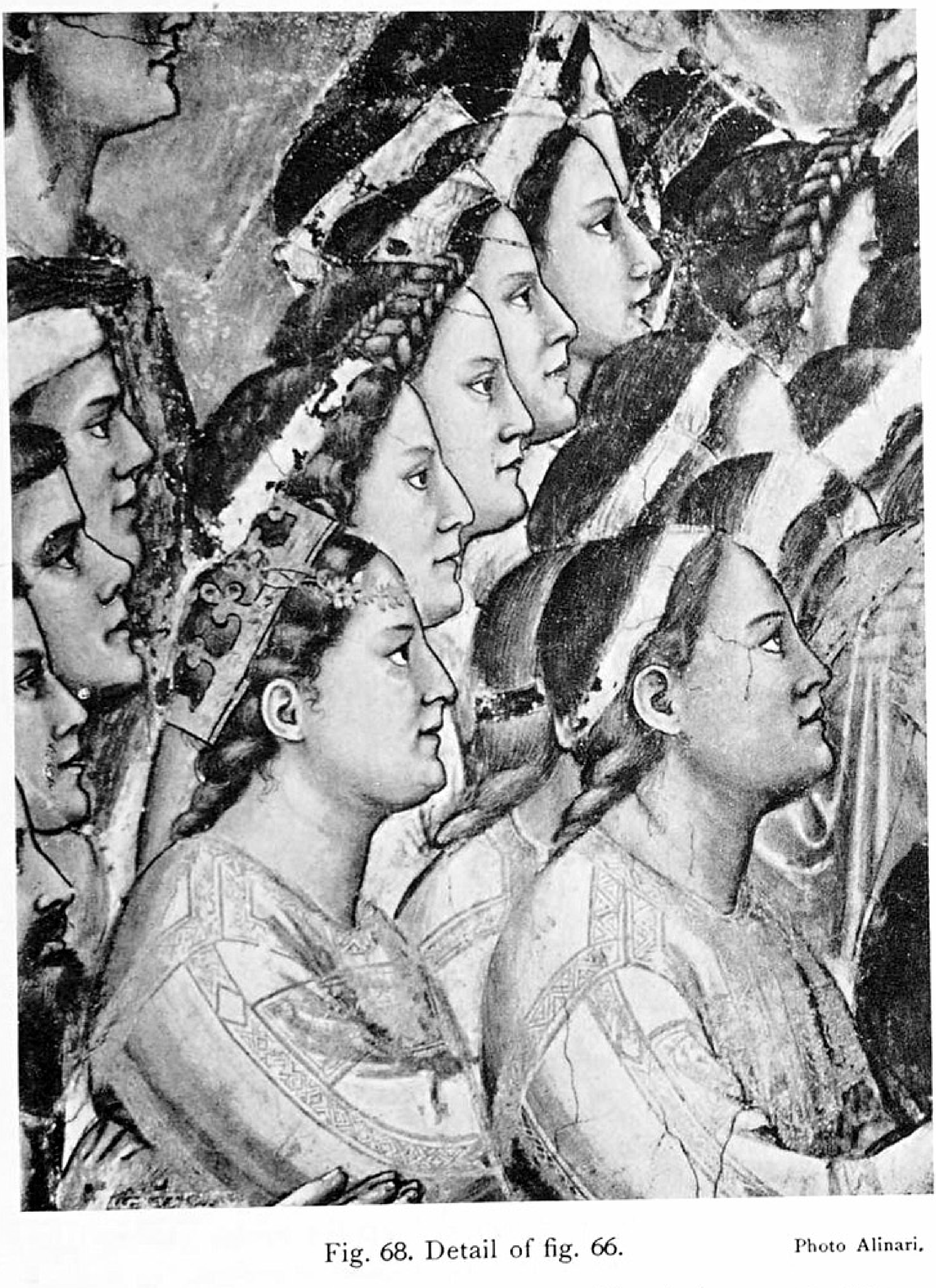


Fig. 68. Detail of fig. 66. Photo Alinari.

The higher part of this grand composition is interrupted by a broad window which separates the two groups of the heavenly host from each other. At the edge of the window on either side are four angels one above the other, then follow two groups of seven rows with three figures in each (¹), beyond is a division

---

(¹) The seven hierarchies into which the angels are divided.

composed of six rows again of three figures each, while at either circular border of the scene is a smaller group of six angels, one row of four, one behind the other, and another of two. Of all these hundred and forty angels the heads, and sometimes that only in part, are alone visible. The divisions to the left are clearer than those to the right; the faces in general are not striking, the obvious aim of these angelic hosts being to convey to the spectator's understanding some idea of heaven. In front of each of the groups is a more important figure of an archangel; four of them wear helmets and all eight carry staves or banners as they appear to fly towards the centre where, below the window, Christ, within a heavily framed mandorla, is seated on a rainbow, below which the symbols of the Evangelists, although somewhat effaced, are to be seen. The face of the Lord is noble and serious but cannot be classed with the most pleasing representations which Giotto has depicted in others of his works, the right hand is open to receive the righteous, the left turned to drive the wicked behind Him; a slit in His robe

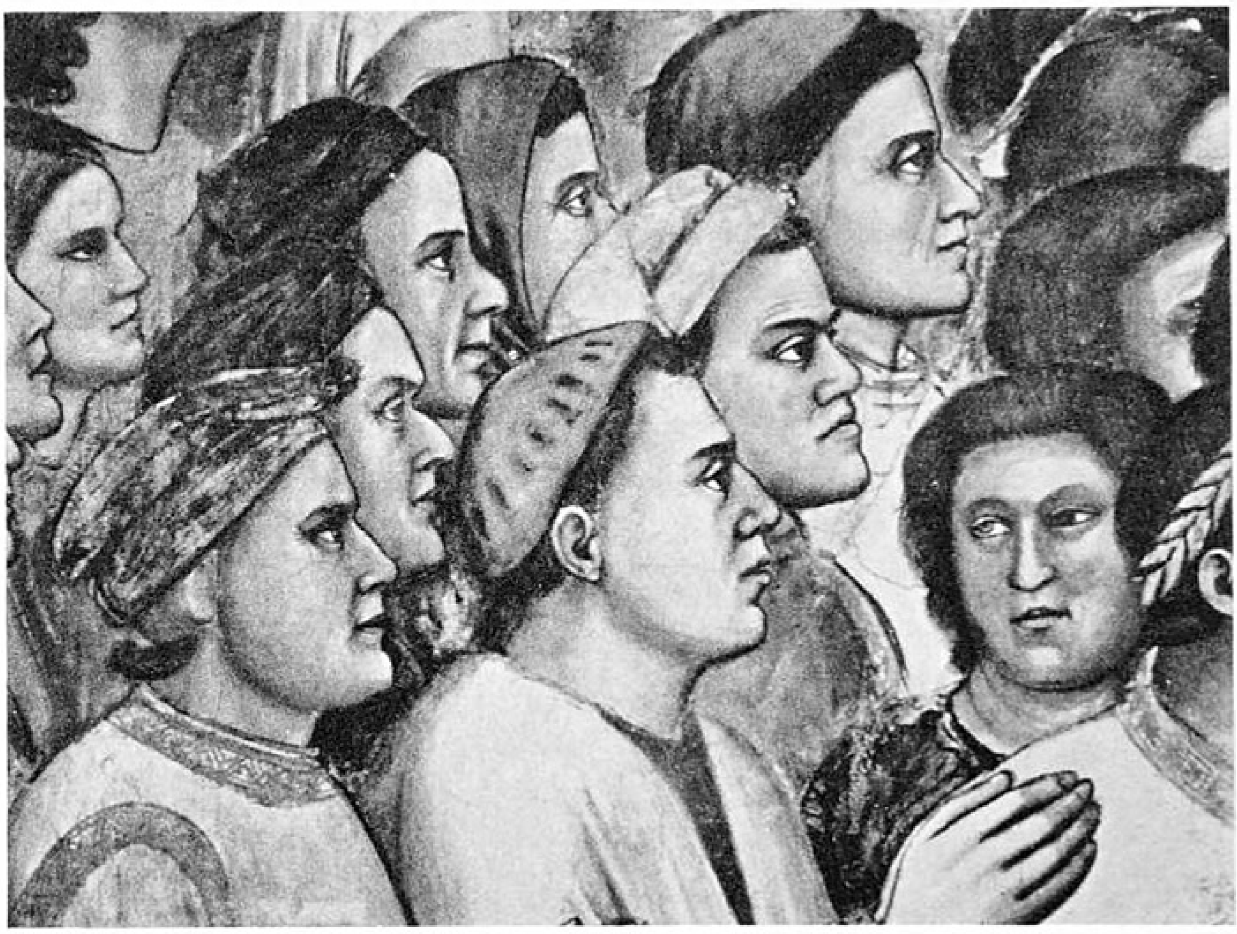


Fig. 69. Detail of fig. 66.

Photo Alinari.

reveals the wound in His side, those in His feet, which rest on the edge of the mandorla, are also visible. Around the aureole are twelve half-length figures of angels, six aside; they have been represented with more care and expression than the large host above; the highest and lowest on either side blow blasts on trumpets to awaken the dead. Seated on chairs placed on what appears to be a balcony on either side of Christ and at the same level, are the Twelve Apostles; their attitudes are rather lifeless but their heads very beautiful; the seats on which they sit have been carefully designed and show great variety. In the zone below, a large cross, whose horizontal bar is supported by two angels, divides the chosen from the condemned. The former on the left are separated into three groups, the lowest being composed of several small naked figures rising out of their graves which seem to be carved in rocks; above is depicted a very imposing procession guided by angels towards Paradise, while still higher are the saints in eternal bliss, a group which originally must have been very beautiful but is now sadly damaged; they are led by two lovely angels who are happily in a better state of preservation; their draperies, as well as those of the saints, fall in sculptural folds giving to these majestic figures an appearance of plasticity. In the middle group which is in much better condition the great variety of faces is to be admired, the men are by no means all handsome but the women are very beautiful, all are human and natural in their display of religious adoration and their very innocent expressions. Between this group of the chosen and the cross in the centre of the fresco we see the young Scrovegni kneeling and offering a model of the chapel, which a monk supports on his shoulder, to three holy women one of whom Sig. Moschetti has identified as "St. Mary of Charity".

The hell which Giotto has depicted on the other side is one which any painter of the Middle Ages might have imagined. All the figures are naked; many are seen rushing wildly down from above, others being pushed and dragged along by demons to a huge and horrible Satan who, seated in the lower part of the scene, devours them one after the other. Notwithstanding some beautiful figures, this much intersected composition cannot be considered one of Giotto's masterpieces. Sig. Moschetti, who neither believes that a friendship between Giotto and Dante existed, nor finds any reason to admit a mutual influence of one on the other, is of opinion that the painter was here inspired by St. Patrick's legend of the Purgatory (¹).

The lower parts of the walls of the nave are ornamented with fourteen figures in "grisaille", representing on one side the seven cardinal virtues and on the other the seven vices; they are not all of great artistic value, it is probable that Giotto took his ideas from St. Thomas Aquinas' writings of this subject in his "Summa". The first of this series and one of the best figures is "Hope" who is depicted as a graceful angel flying with uplifted arms towards the crown which an angel offers her from above; the pendant, "Despair", is that of a woman who having hanged herself, is seen making spasmodic movements with her arms as a little black demon approaches her head. It is perhaps because St. Thomas mentions that "Charity" is the mother of all other virtues, that Giotto has represented her as an elderly woman, she wears in her hair a wreath of flowers, in her right hand she carries a bowl of fruit, offering some with her outstretched left hand to the small half-length figure of Christ Who appears in the right corner above her, thus reminding us, as St. Thomas remarks, that Charity unites man with the Lord; sacks of gold are strewn on the floor at her feet. Envy, as opposed to Charity, is here portrayed as an old withered woman standing in flames; she greedily stretches one arm out grasping in the other a money-bag; a curved horn projects from the back of her head around which a cloth is bound, revealing however an ugly elongated ear somewhat resembling a donkey's; a snake, emerging from her mouth, curls on itself to gaze into her eyes. None of the other figures have been depiçted in so dreadful a manner as this one, and Giotto must have been thoroughly convinced that of all the vices, "Envy" was the worst and most undesirable (²).

Then follows "Faith" who, facing the spectator, holds a long staff surmounted by a cross in one hand and an open scroll in the other; she wears a curiously pointed head dress; from either corner above a little half-figure of an angel bends towards her.

---

(¹) *Moschetti,* op. cit , p. 99 et seg.

(²) Prof. *Venturi,* believes that Giotto was influenced by Luciano's "Calunnia" in depicting "Envy" in this manner.

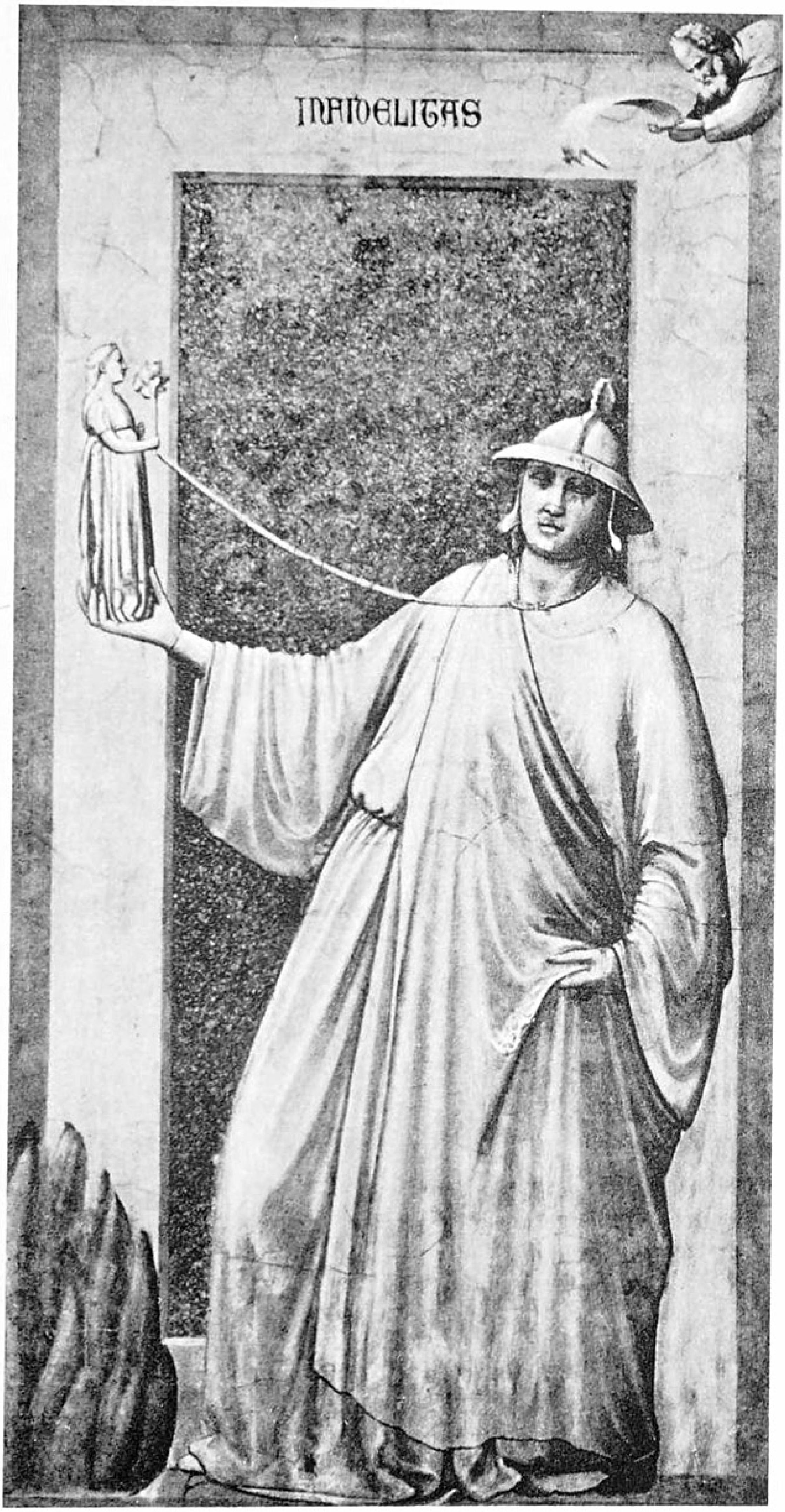

INFIDELITAS

Fig. 70. Infidelity. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

Infidelity (fig. 70) (¹) is depicted as a curiously helmeted, broad figure, of lazy, indifferent expression walking towards the fires of hell; in the palm of her outstretched right hand stands a small idol grasping a rope which encircles the neck of Infidility who pays no attention to the scroll of sacred writing which a prophet or church-father holds over her head. Justice and Injustice are represented in a more complicated manner. The former dressed and crowned like a queen sits in a recess decorated with Gothic arches; in her hands she holds a balance containing on the one side an angel who crowns a man as he sits writing at a table, and on the other an angel in the act of beheading someone. Below this noble and life-like figure is a frieze at either end of which we see two men mounted on horses approaching the centre where one girl dances to the accompaniment of castagnets and tambourine played by two others. The three little groups, which are divided from each other by trees, certainly indicate the peaceful amusements which well-exercised justice makes possible. One of the horses is of classical design. Injustice (fig. 71) is a bearded man who appears to sit in the gateway of a fortified town and is partly concealed by trees which grow at his feet. He has a hard agressive expression; in one hand he holds a cruelly pointed spear while in the other he grasps a sword. A small scene below shows us a couple attacked and savagely treated by highway robbers, who strip the woman of her clothes while the man is trampled under the feet of a horse. These two friezes below Justice and Injustice, particularly the latter, are magnificently executed.

Our artist now returns to the more simple composition; Temperance is a handsome well draped woman of thoughtful expression, a bit is placed in her mouth and in her hand she holds a sword. Anger, another well designed female figure, shows us a woman biting her lips and tearing open the front of her dress as she bends backwards in an access of fury. The draping is natural and the figure in general a proof of great artistic skill. This however is not the case with the personification of Courage, a clumsy, fat woman who, holding in one hand an enorm-

---

(¹) Although this figure is inscribed "Infidelitas", the symbolical meaning of the picture is sooner that of "Unbelief".

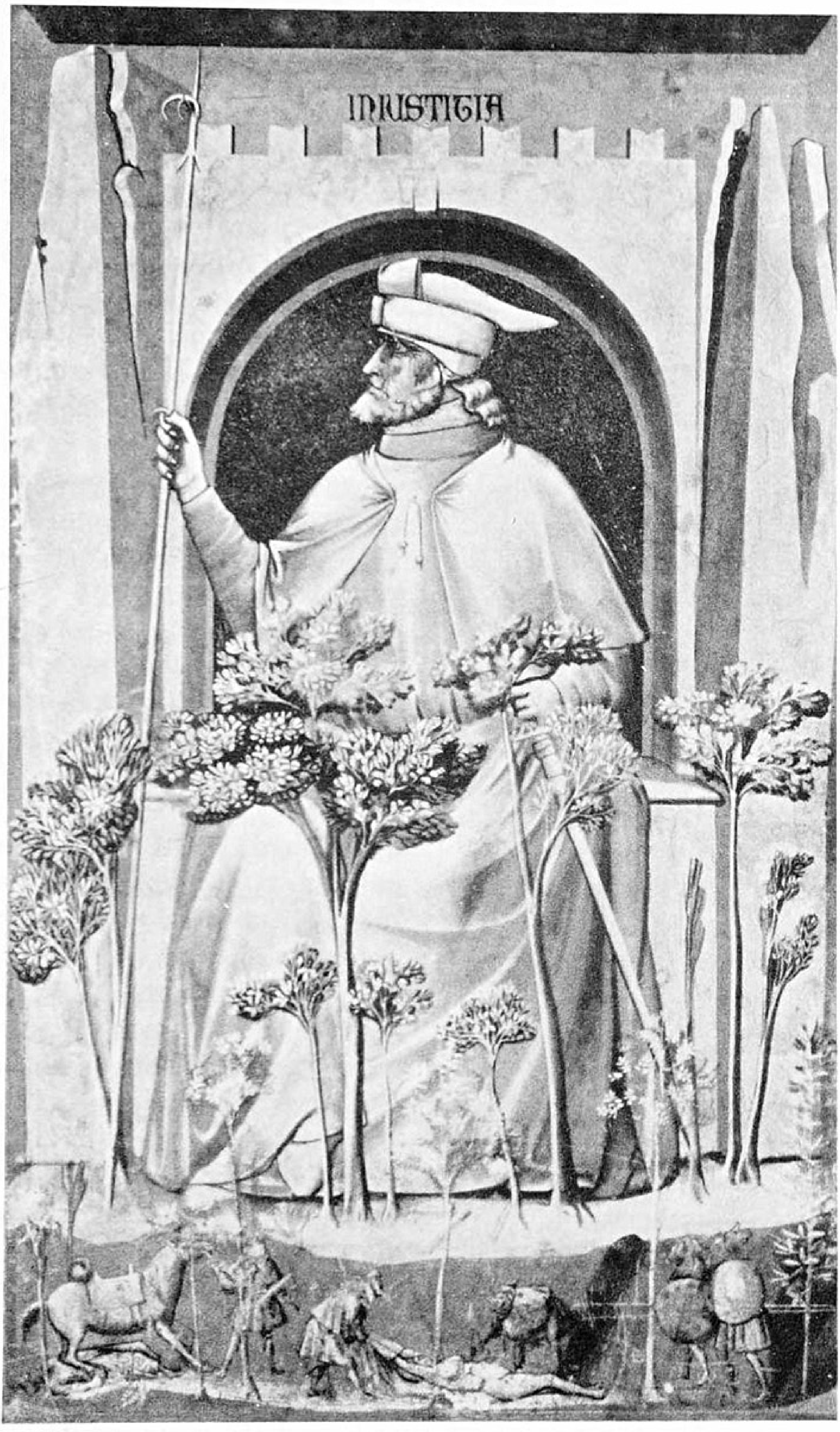

INIUSTITIA

Fig. 71. Injustice. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

ous shield ornamented with a lion, and in the other a weapon, seems ready to attack or defend; she wears an armoured breast plate and down her back a lion's skin, the forelegs knotted round her neck, the head forming her head dress, altogether a heavy and very barbarous figure. One of the worst of the whole series is Inconstancy, depicted as a woman with flying draperies and outstretched arms, trying in vain to balance herself on a wheel; the figure is rigid and the face void of expression.

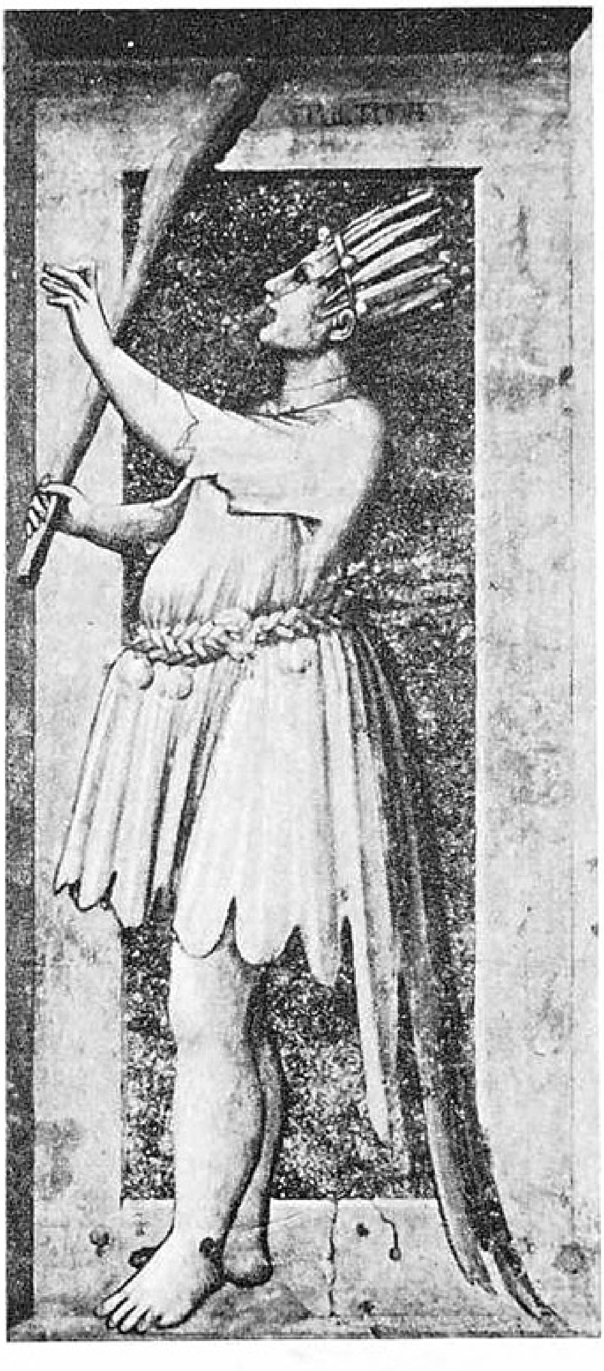


Fig. 72. Folly. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

Prudence is seen as a woman seated on a very decorative chair before a plain desk; she looks into the mirror of truth, writing at the same time in a book placed on a raised part of the desk. The pendent Folly (fig. 72) has been symbolized as a buffoon, coarse and heavy, with feathers on his head, a club in his hand, fruit hanging at his belt and his fat legs and feet bare. As Prof. Venturi rightly remarks the artist has frequently followed Prudenzio's Psicomachia in his representation of these figures.

I do not think that in most cases Giotto executed much more than the cartoons of these allegorical figures, but notwithstanding some very obvious shortcomings, these works approach too closely the art of the master for us to class them as a school product. On the whole it may be concluded that none of Giotto's assistants at Padua possessed sufficient individuality for us to return to them when dealing with the artist's followers, for the art they created, although inferior in execution, was Giotto's art. An exception however must be made in the case of the artist who painted the scenes illustrating the life of the Virgin, the Prayer in the Garden of Olives and the Flagellation and we shall deal with him later on.

The decoration of the vault, where the medallions contain the Saviour and the Madonna each surrounded by four angels, is also a close imitation of Giotto's art. They are besides ornamented with three long rows of half-length figures of saints, and in the frames between the scenes on the walls are representations from the Old and New Testaments (figs. 73, 74 and 75).

All these paintings obviously betray a direct influence of Giotto, but they are for the greater part somewhat coarse in execution. They belong to the ensemble as conceived by the master, but he himself had no hand in this part of the decoration.

Giotto was naturally also helped with the scenes from the lives of Joachim and Anna, the Virgin and the Saviour, and although it would be useless to point out every detail in each of the frescoes which betrays the hand of a helper, I think we can admit the presence of three different artists in collaboration with Giotto, and an examination of the principal share of each in this decoration will give us an idea of their different manners.

The painter who executed many of the allegorical figures of the Virtues and Vices also helped with the decorative frames. His design is somewhat hard and the relief of his figures is not rendered with the same facility as other of Giotto's followers were capable of; his figures are frequently heavy as will be seen in the fresco of Infidelity which otherwise ranks as one of the best of his products.

The assistant who made most of the figures in the medallions produced types of somewhat oriental aspect; the heads are roundish and often too large while the big eyes with a staring expression are very characteristic. His art too is not exempt from a certain clumsiness in productions of larger proportions, such as the figures of Our Lord, the Virgin and others in the vault, but in his smaller works he obtains not infrequently charming effects, for instance in the condensed representations of facts from the Old and New Testaments. To this artist we also owe the group of angels and holy bearded men in the upper part of the Ascension, the groups of angels near the throne of the Lord in the

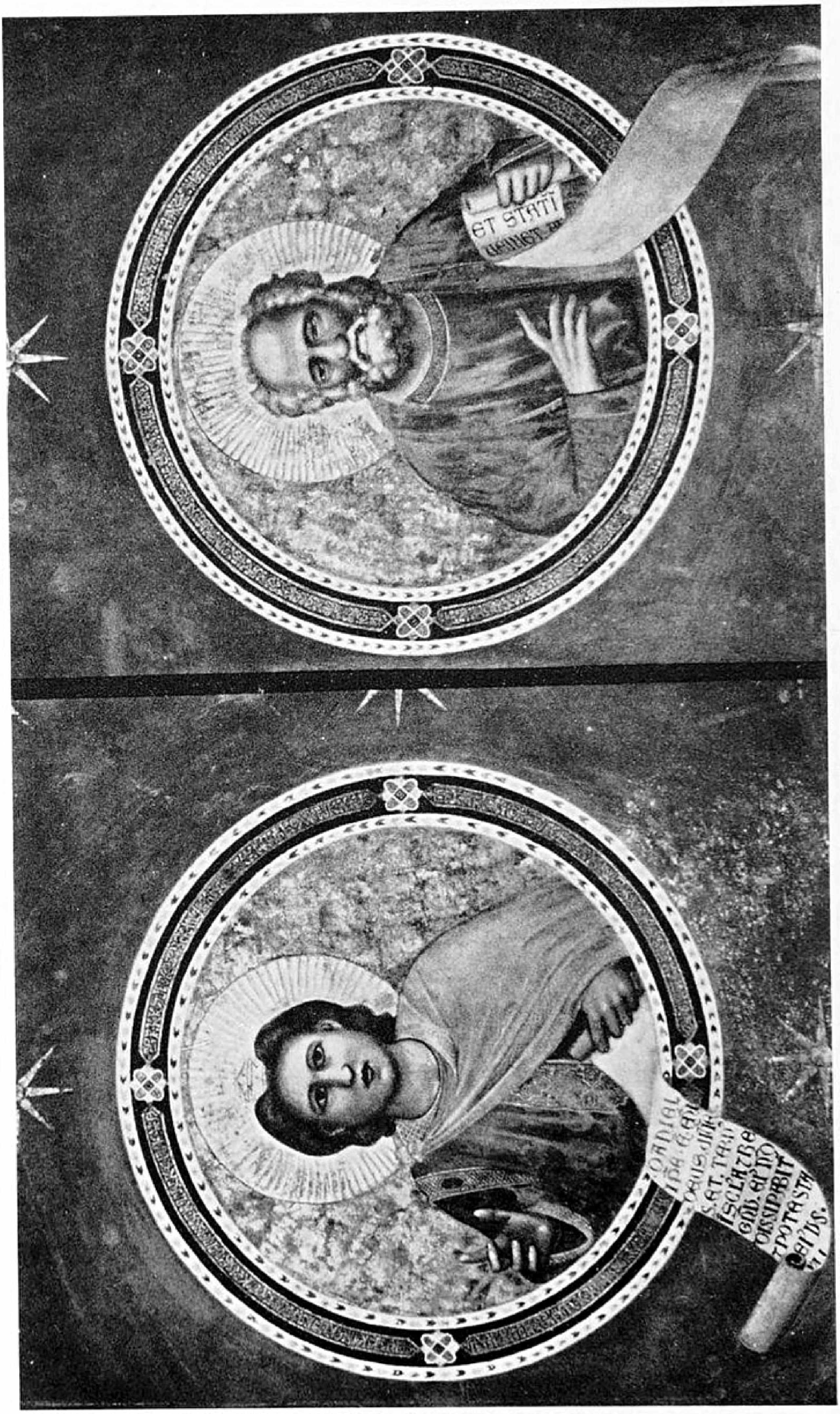


Fig. 73. An Assistant of Giotto's, Decoration of the vault. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

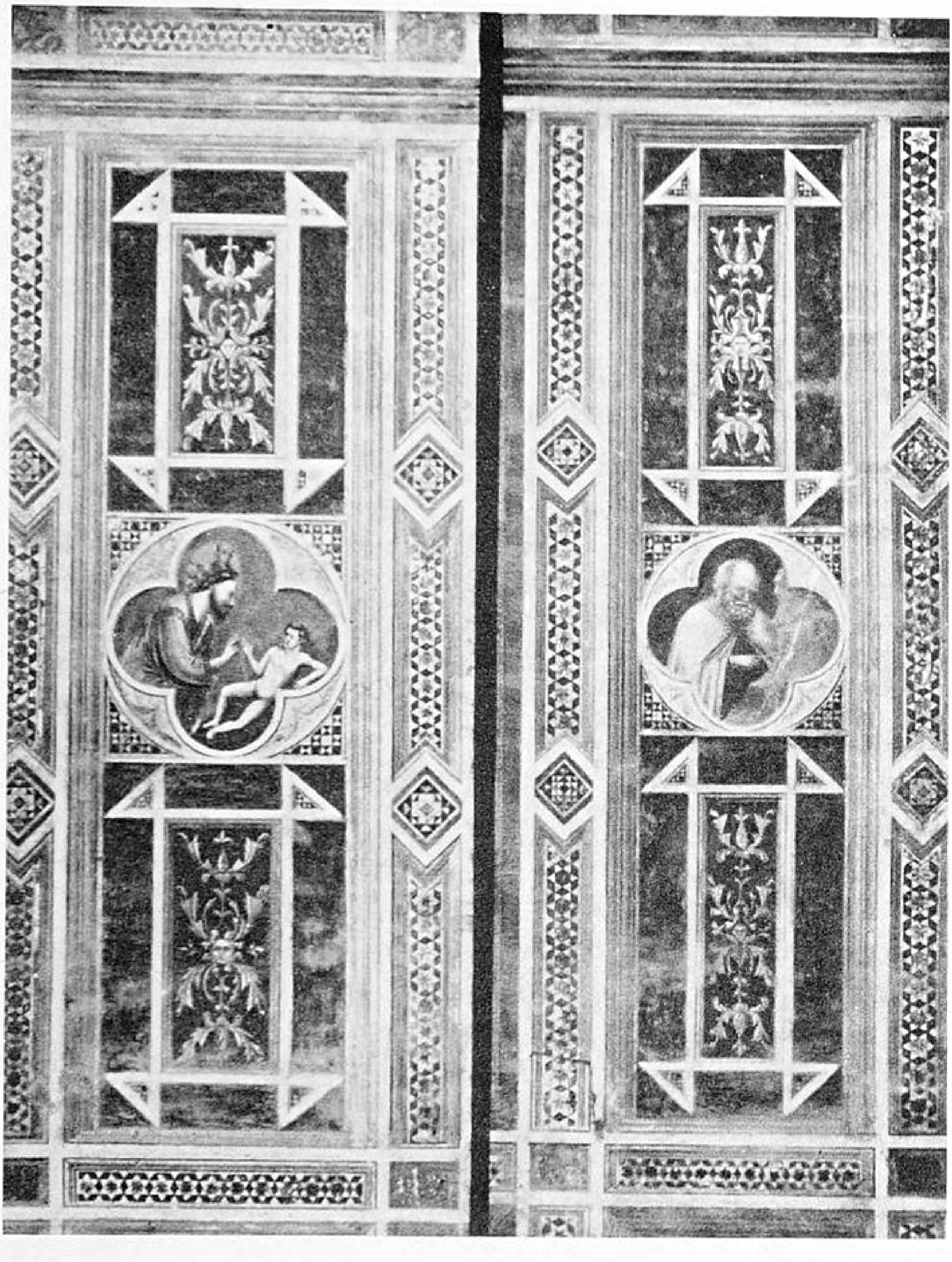


Fig. 74. An Assistant of Giotto's, Decoration of the vault. Arena Chapel, Padua. Photo Alinari.

fresco above the Annunciation, and a part of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Tempel.

The third helper is the artist who is most closely connected with Giotto's style and who, I think, collaborated with the master in the execution of many of the frescoes, chiefly I believe in the Last Judgment only a small part of which is by Giotto; but that part

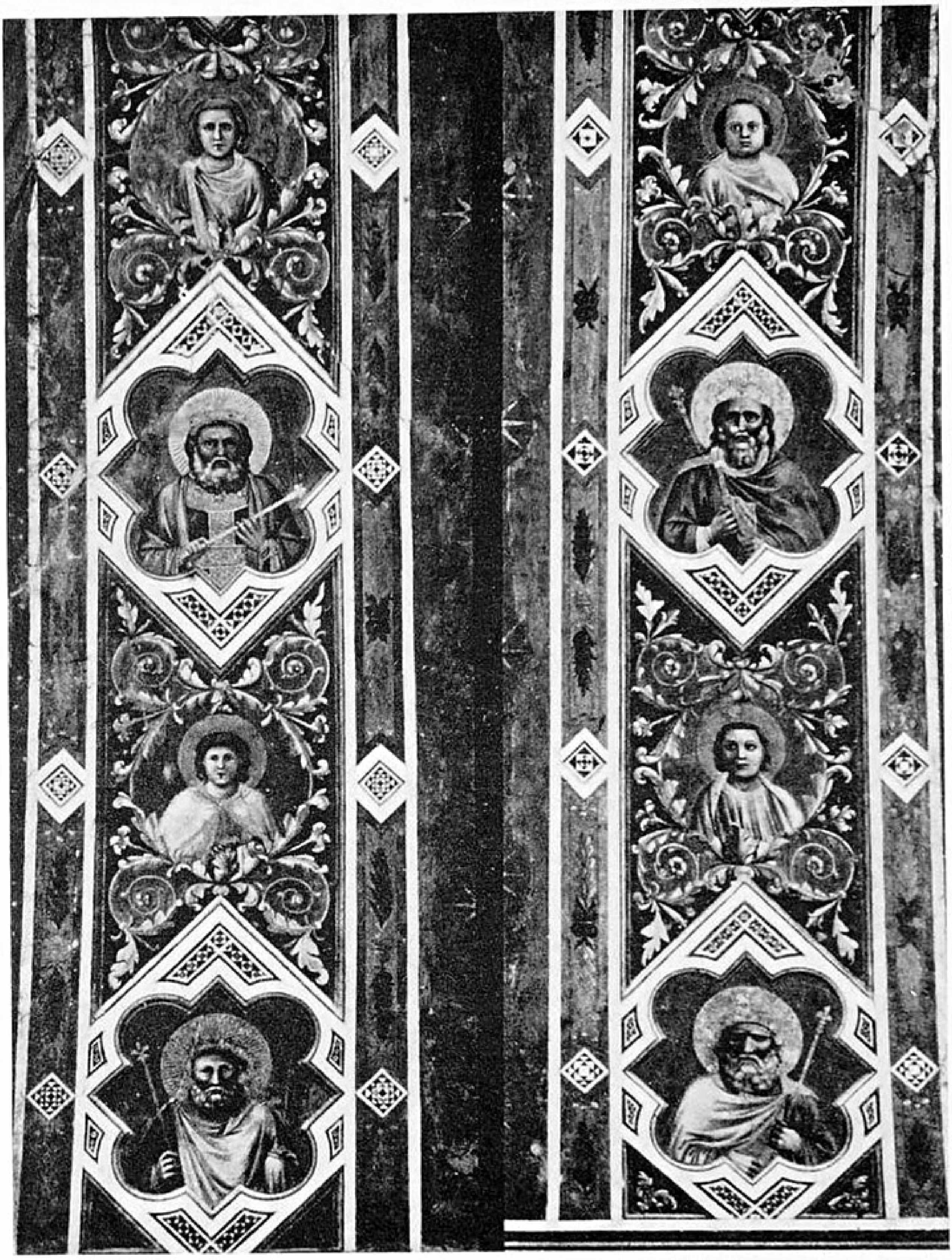


Fig. 75. An Assistant of Giotto's, Decoration of the vault. Arena Chapel. Padua. Photo Alinari.

includes the central figure, the Apostles, the blessed led by the two angels, whom we see at a somewhat lower level on the left, and the group of the donor and a cleric kneeling before three female figures.

The follower may be held responsible for the host of angels, the representation of hell and the row of the blessed who are depicted lowest on the left. Besides this, we shall find his hand again in some of the less important groups of faces of the figures in the scenes from the lives of the Virgin and the Saviour, such for example as the faces of the young girls behind the high-priest in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, several of the faces in the Last Supper (St. John's) and in the left half of the scene of Christ washing the Apostle's feet, St. John and the Magdalene supporting the Virgin in the Crucifixion, the weeping angels above the group of figures mourning around the dead body of the Lord, but none of the figures of the group itself, is attributable to him.

The execution of this painter, who must have been the "alter ego" of his master, is coarser than Giotto's. Giotto himself has shown that he was not very particular about producing aristocratic types, but this assistant goes a step further, many of his faces being almost brutal with heavy features broadly indicated, and heavily outlined in black.

None of these three artists developed a manner sufficiently different from their master's for us to class them as separate artistic personalities. They certainly cannot be identified with any of those followers who later form the subject of another chapter.

Compared with the series which Giotto's pupils executed in the Lower Church at Assisi, the scenes at Padua will invariably be found to comprise a fewer number of figures, but as the cycle advances the number increases and the Life of Christ is related in less simple compositions.

The mentality of the painter underwent a great change in the interval between his working at Assisi and his period of activity at Padua, this change I think we should chiefly attribute to a greater maturity of mind, the spirit of his paintings in Padua being more religious than that of his works at Assisi, while in his next group of frescoes this religious monumental manner attains a climax.

Besides a keener sense of beauty, Giotto's art as it is manifested at Padua differs from his Assisan style in some technical improvements, the most important being a better expression of perspective and more especially of space.

Giotto obtained these perspective effects in an easier manner i.e. representing his buildings at an angle (Annunciation to Anna, Nativity of the Virgin, the Lord chasing the money-changers from the Temple etc.) a peculiarity which we have already seen at Assisi (Vision of St. Francis in a Chariot, the Apparition at Arles), but whereas the grouping at Assisi was always broadside, following as it were the surface of the fresco, at Padua we find a considerable change. Here, not only the Adoration of the Magi and the Last Supper are represented at an angle like the Apparition at Arles in the Assisan cycle but the scene of the Lord as a child teaching in the Temple gives us a good idea of how Giotto had acquired the skill of depicting the third dimension. The same may be observed more or less in the scene of the Wedding at Cana while in the Meeting at the Golden Gate the artist shows us the figures proceeding from the depth of the picture towards the surface with which the movement, as it were, forms an angle.

Besides these methods, Giotto in his frescoes of Padua produces a better perspective by means of the grouping of the figures by the lighting and even also by the colour effects. Excellent examples of the depiction of depth by means of the arrangement of the figures will be found in the frescoes of the preparation for the miracle by which Joseph was chosen to be the Virgin's husband, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Caiaphas, the Crucifixion and the Pieta, in fact in almost all the scenes in which groups were represented. This is a remarkable improvement on his earlier work at Assisi where this effect does not seem to have been even attempted (Confirmation of the Rules, Miracle of Greccio). However Giotto did not always succeed in spacing his figures correctly for in the Feet-washing the furthest figures of the lateral rows seem more distant than the Apostles who face the spectator; again in the scene of the mob scorning Christ, the negro with an uplifted stick looks as if he were going to strike the people behind the Lord and not the Saviour.

Giotto treated with quite a modern subtlety the light effects through which he obtained an expression of distance, or better still through which he helped to show how different groups are meant to be placed in different parts of the locality he represents; this is very striking in the scenes of the Annunciation to St.

Anna, the Baptism of Christ, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Lord chasing the money-changers from the Temple, before Caiaphas, the Crucifixion and Pentecost.

On the whole the perspective is more accurately indicated; Giotto has given special attention to it in the following: Joachim chased from the Temple, the Annunciation to Anna, the Child Christ teaching in the Temple, and in the ceiling of the scene of the Saviour before Caiaphas, but attempts such as this last may also be observed in the frescoes of Assisi. In the Wedding at Cana the perspective of the walls is entirely wrong and even in the scenes where it strikes us as being correct, a closer investigation will reveal the fact that all the same Giotto's attempt cannot be said to correspond with the established rules of perspective; that is to say he was not aware of the existence of the unique point of vision, neither of the fact that in each picture there should be but one horizon (1).

Another considerable improvement on the Assisan frescoes is the manner in which at Padua Giotto surrounds his figures with space. It is my opinion, however, that the frequent repainting that the backgrounds of the St. Francis series have undergone has considerably reduced the original effect of these representations, but in Padua the effect of distance between the figures and again between them and the background is often obtained by a strong opposition of colours which we do not find at Assisi and which seems an innovation at Padua.

The frescoes which give us most clearly the effect of surrounding atmosphere are those of the Nativity and the Adoration ot the Magi in which air and light seem to play freely through the open shelter. But we also notice the same effect in the Massacre of the Innocents, the Driving out of the money-changers from the Temple, the Last Supper, the Betrayal of Judas, the Mocking of Christ and the Pentecost. Much of it is due, as I have already remarked, to the division of light in the different parts of the scene, what we might call diversity of tone.

At Padua we find many details which betray a connection with the Assisan cycle. As in the latter, so too in the frescoes of the Arena chapel, we find isolated independent pieces of furniture or architecture (Joachim chased from the Temple, the Visitation, the Presentation and Judas conspiring with the priests). In the three scenes of the Virgin's miraculous betrothal there may be discerned, as in the vision of St. Francis in the fiery chariot at Assisi, an indifference on the part of the artist about the impression the pictures create. It is not clear whether the assistants stand in or outside the temple, the apse of which is alone depicted. The view into the rooms in which the Annunciation to St. Anna and the Nativity take place is obtained by the suppression of a wall; while in other scenes the edges of walls, ceiling and floor coincide with the surface of the fresco, such for example as Jesus at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple, the Wedding at Cana, the Lord before Caiaphas, the Mocking of Christ. In several landscapes, such as those in the first scene from the life of Joachim and the Flight into Egypt, the mountains appear solid and tangible, but in some of the later frescoes such as the mourning over the Lord's body and Noli me tangere they are flat and give one more the idea of theatre scenery. The mise-en-scène does not receive more attention at Padua than it did at Assisi, this is especially marked in the numerous scenes where the space is too small for the size of the figures; if St. Anna for example stood up straight in the room where the angel appears to her, her head would almost touch the ceiling. The gate in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem is also too small, so too are practically all the mountains and rocks which from their form we can see were meant to be of larger proportion, while the trees are about the same size as the figures.

---

(1) *Testi,* Storia della pittura Veneziana, I, Bergamo, 1919, p. 475.

The surrounding of the figures in which Giotto placed the action were for him only an indication to explain the narrative, a symbol without reality, which he did not conceive as forming an ensemble with the personages. This is very obvious in the Annunciation where the two figures are not depicted together in the same room, an effect he might have obtained by prolonging the ceiling or omitting to represent the walls, but instead are seen in two identical rooms, isolated one from the other.

Several authors have studied the question of the chronology of the Paduan frescoes. Although I do not think we can speak of an evolution in Giotto's style during the execution of the cycle, a certain difference may be observed between the frescoes preceeding the Resurrection of Lazarus and those which follow, the former showing a neatness in design and a clear soberness of composition which we do not find to the same extent in the latter; in these somehow we are at times struck by a heaviness in the draping which although richer does not model the figures in the same graceful manner. Although this change may be accounted for by the help he received from his pupils, I see no reason, as Prof. Venturi does, to attribute almost entire scenes to assistants, certainly least of all the Crucifixion and the mourning over the dead Christ. It may however be admitted, as I have already said, that assistants painted much of the Last Judgment.

The chief point which differentiates the figures of the Paduan frescoes from those of Assisi is the obvious attempt on the part of the artist to reproduce in the former harmonious beauty. At Assisi, Giotto was much more under the influence of his Roman precursors and most of all of Cavallini whose plasticity and shading, especially of the faces, were excellent examples to our artist, whose figures however are broader and more animated. Giotto's frescoes at Padua show that he has acquired more individuality; he has abandoned the round heads and grouping of Cavallini and now reproduces types of his own, while he has substituted for Cavallini's plasticity which was modelled on antique art, one of much subtlety and great variety based on light-effect and movement. Giotto is not really more mystical in his conceptions at Padua than he had been at Assisi but he is more lyrical, more religious and finer in feeling. Here much more than in the St. Francis cycle his figures seem exalted above the normal human level; Joachim with the Shepherds, the principal figures in the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Virgin in the Nativity or in the Flight into Egypt, the Lord in the Betrayal of Judas, before Caiaphas and Carrying the Cross, are all of a depth of feeling we do not find expressed in any of the figures at Assisi. It is not only indicated by the features and attitudes of these figures but knowingly and consciously emphasized by the whole composition, its divisions and oppositions. The Lord before Caiaphas is the most striking example of this. We observe a poetical refinement in the scene of the mourning over the Saviour's dead body where the artist depicted a bare wintery landscape as background to this deep-felt grief.

No doubt Giotto was inspired when representing these sacred scenes by reading various texts. In describing them I have already called attention to some striking cases of correspondence between text and scene and also to the fact that, as at Assisi, the artist did not hesitate to add a detail which might augment the narrative value of the fresco, because Giotto before all remains the true teller and illustrator of his story.

This however did not prevent Giotto from being faithful to the old established iconographical traditions, mostly, of Byzantine origin. I have devoted a special study to this subject (¹) the general result of which need only be stated here. Giotto hardly ever changed anything essential in the traditional composition handed down to him. The legend of the Virgin does not seem to have been frequently depicted before this period, in fact the Madonna surrounded by twelve small scenes in the Gallery of Pisa is the only long Italian cycle which I know of, illustrating this subject, anterior to Giotto's, and here the events represented do not always coincide, but many purely Byzantine works, such as the miniatures of the Homilies of the monk James, copies of which exist in the National Library of Paris and in the Vatican Library, confirm for us the fact that Giotto invented prácticallv nothing in as far as the compositions are concerned. He however revivified these old types to such an extent with his feeling for life and reality and with his dramatic power that if the skeleton remains the same the body has undergone great changes, and, moreover a new spirit has entered into Italian art.

We now come to those frescoes of Giotto's which we still possess in two of the chapels of the church of Sta. Croce where, according to Ghiberti, he ornamented four.

Beginning with the description of the frescoes of the Bardi chapel does not necessarily imply that chronologically they come before those in the Peruzzi chapel; both were probably executed during the same period and certainly in the same spirit.

The decoration of the Bardi chapel took place after 1317 because St. Louis of Toulouse is depicted with a nimbus, but how many years after this date cannot be said with certainty. As I

---

(¹) *R. van Marle,* Recherches sur l'Iconographie.

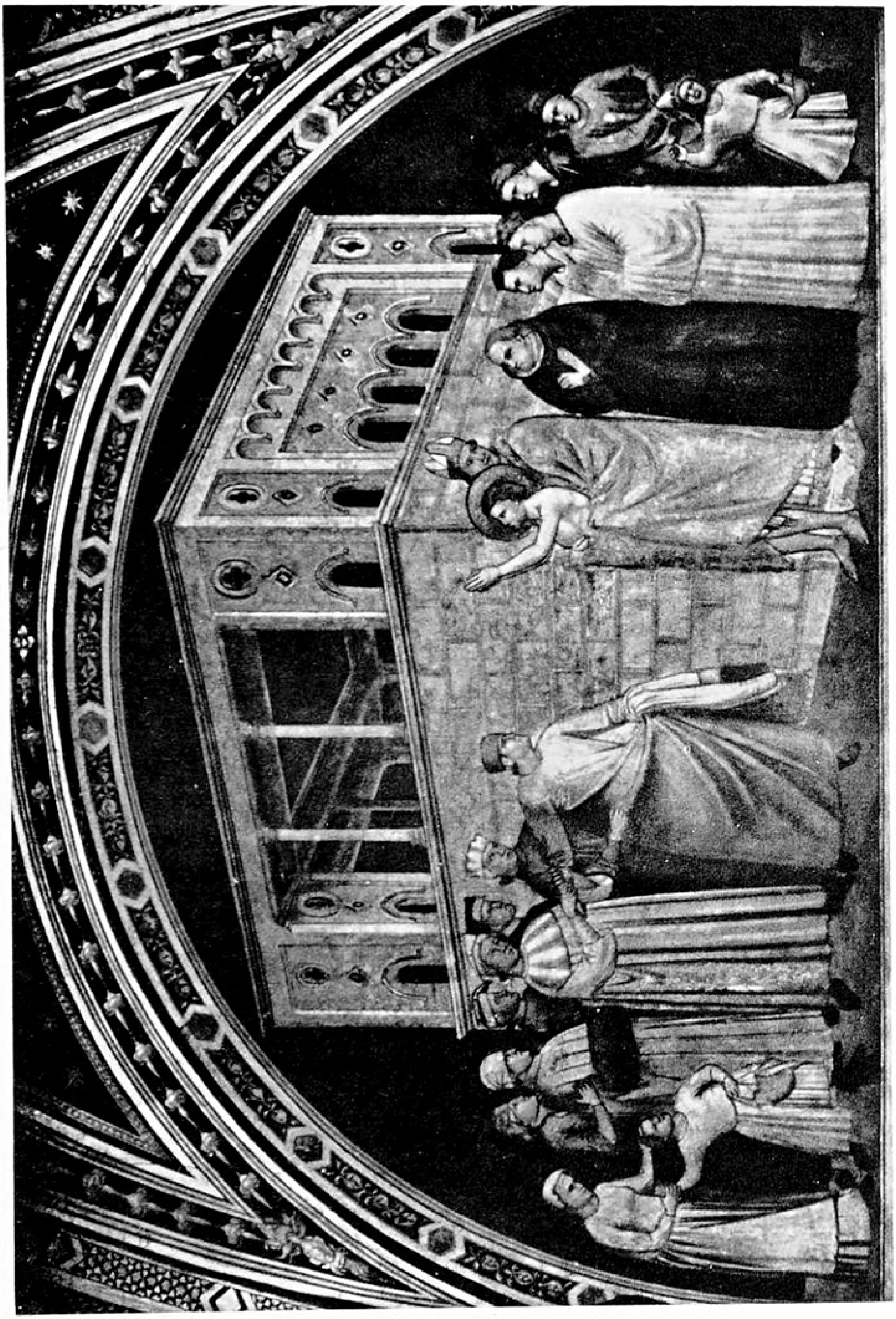


Fig. 76. Giotto, St. Francis breaks with his father. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

believe it to have been executed some time before the frescoes in the Magdalene chapel of Assisi which must have been made before 1329, we may place the ornamentation of the Bardi chapel between 1317 and 1325.

In one of the chapels of Sta. Croce we again find Giotto illustrating the life of St. Francis, this time in seven scenes of a composition closely resembling those at Assisi, but unfortunately the frescoes have been so much repainted that it is difficult to imagine their original aspect.

(1) The series begins with St. Francis' rupture with his father (fig. 76). Looking at the beautiful square palatial building in the background we are struck by the development in Giotto's architectural taste since his execution of the scaffold-like erections at Assisi. The disposition of the group is similar to that in the Upper Church and several of the principal figures are simple repetitions; the attitude of the naked saint with arms and eyes uplifted towards heaven is identical, so too that of the bishop as he turns his head to avoid the sight of the quarrel between father and son, but here he stands nearer the saint whose nudity he seems to cover with his own cloak. The bishop is followed by four priests and a woman with her child. Giotto was evidently satisfied with his invention at Assisi of making one of the spectators hold back the angry father, for here, where the father is more violent, two of the men behind lay restraining hands upon him in order to prevent him assaulting his son. The group behind the father is not numerous as at Assisi, but consists of eight figures including the two who hold back the furious man and a small child who is about to throw a stone at the saint, but who is prevented by a woman and at the same time reprimanded. Particularly well depicted is the reproachful manner of one of the restraining friends who seems to disapprove of the father's anger, also the anxiety expressed by another of the group who grasps the arms of the man in front of him.

(2) In the fresco of Pope Innocent III confirming the rules of the order of St. Francis (fig. 77), Giotto has not followed so closely his older representation of the scene. The event takes place in a peculiarly shaped little building one wall of which, except for a small triangular facade above decorated with a bust, probably St. Peter's, has been left out entirely, so as to enable

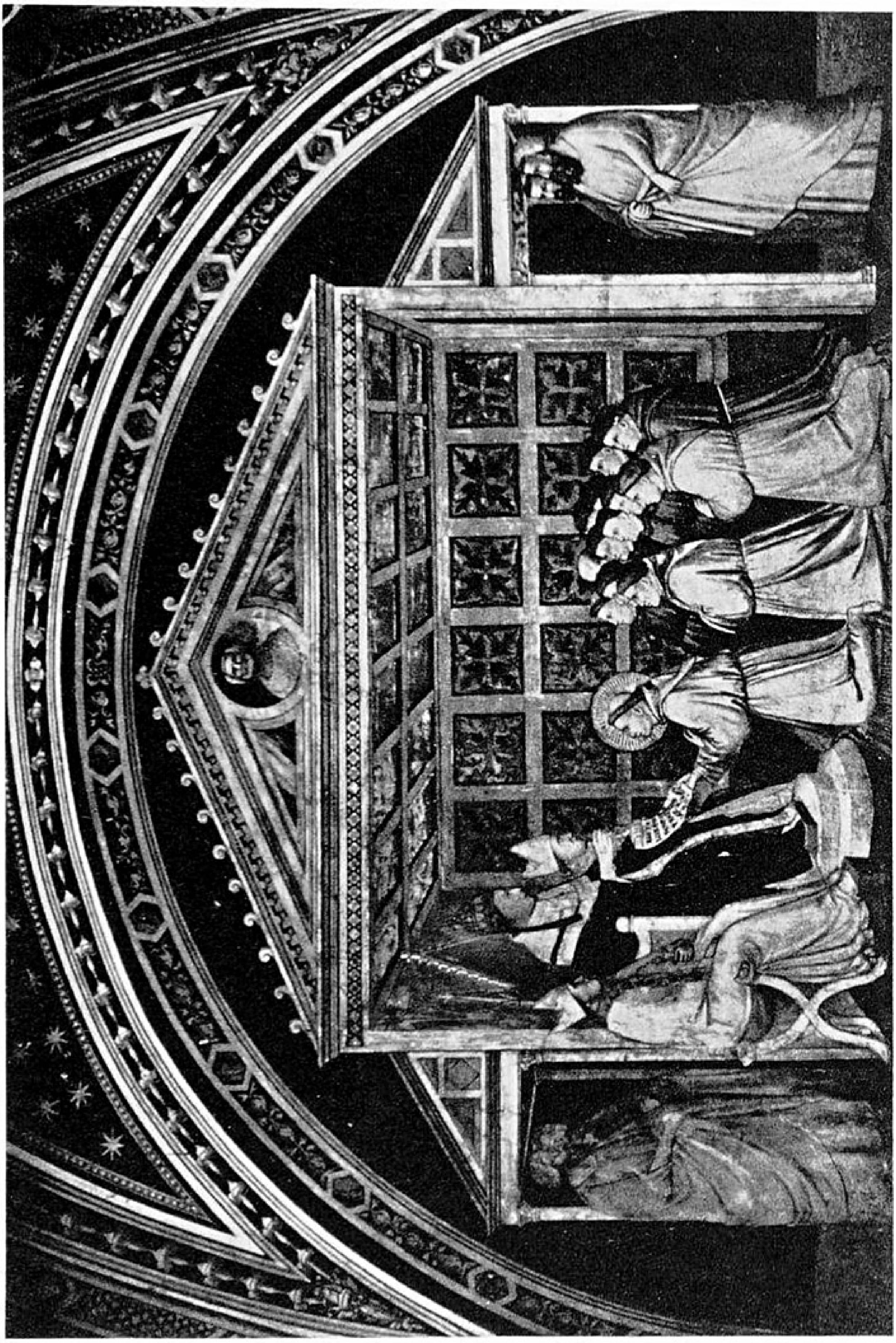


Fig. 77. The Confirmation of the Franciscan rules. Bardi Chapel. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

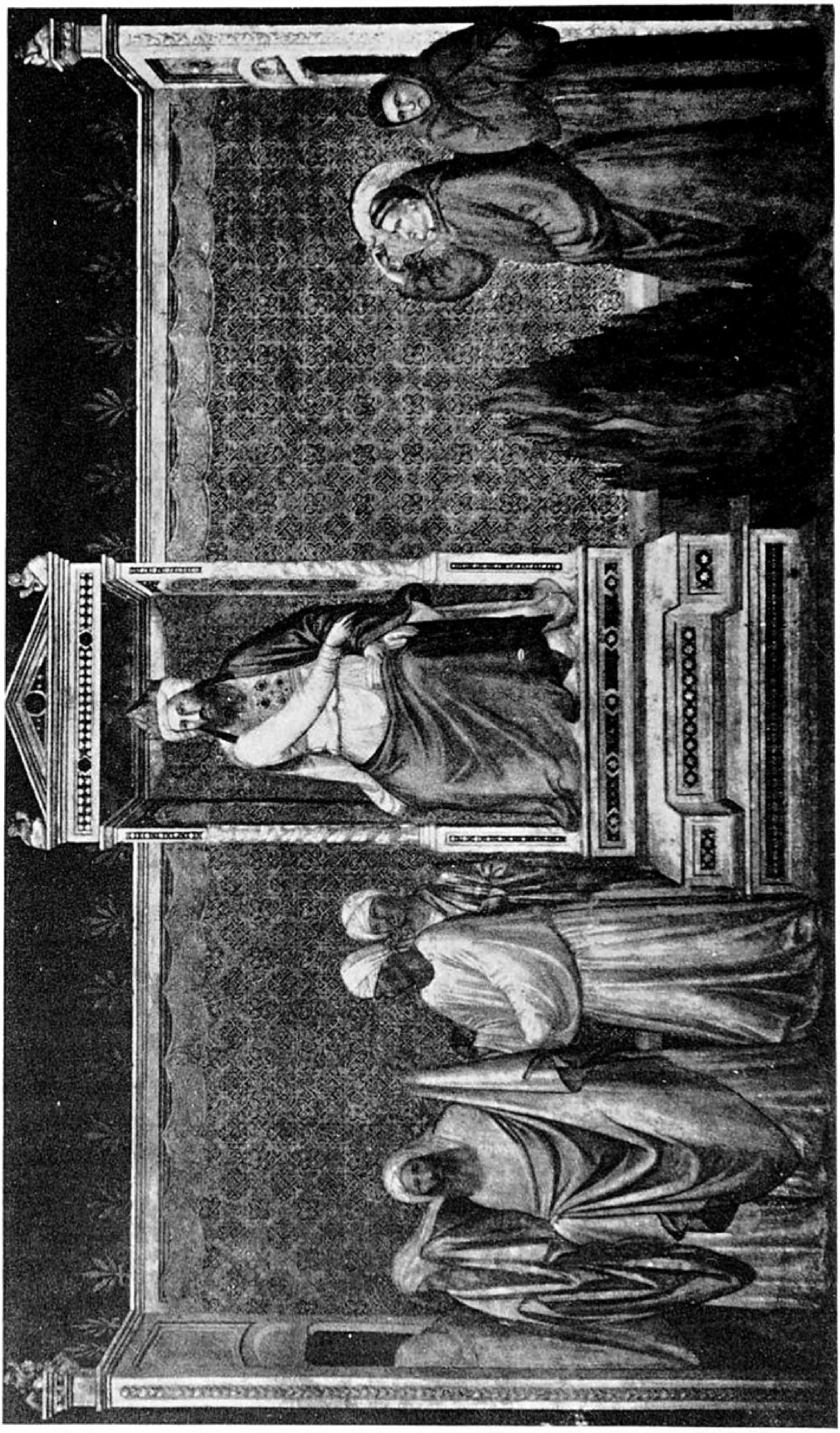


Fig. 78. The Fire test. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

us to see the interior of the square, tastefully decorated room which has on either side a small ante-room, each just sufficiently large for the two men who stand within. The Pope seated on a Gothic throne between two bishops blesses and receives from St. Francis, who heads the group of kneeling monks, the scroll containing the regulations of the Franciscan order. The faces of the monks are less insignificant than those at Assisi and a greater number are visible.

(3) St. Francis' attempt to convert the Sultan to Christianity (fig. 78) is the gem of the little series of the Bardi chapel and in every point superior to the corresponding scene at Assisi which I consider, there also, amongst the best of the cycle. The episode occurs in a room, the wall of which forms a decorative background to the figures; in the centre of the scene the Sultan sits on a high richly ornamented marble throne looking at his priests with a noble but sad expression and pointing towards the fire as if asking them whether or not they are willing to go through the test, but the frightened priests raising their cloaks to shut out the sight of the fire, turn away evidently wishing to escape, while two heathen servants look on amazed that they have neither the faith nor the courage to accept the conditions of St. Francis who, on the other side of the scene, stands with uplifted hand ready to step into the fire as soon as the priests have consented to his proposal; behind him is a monk who looks with pity towards the vanquished heathens. No words can describe the refined gestures and expressions which portray so clearly the different mentalities and sensations of the few but masterfully designed figures of this scene, which repeats many details of the Assisan representation.

(4) Of quite another spirit is the fresco depicting St. Francis appearing to the gathering at Arles (fig. 79). The building here is not nearly so handsome as the one at Assisi of which however many points are preserved. The room in which the event takes place is divided into two compartments by a low partition, beyond which the heads of several monks are just visible, all turned towards the left where the large and portly St. Antony stands preaching; the majority of the monks sit in the nearer of the two divisions and more than one seems to be aware of the apparition of St. Francis whom the painter has

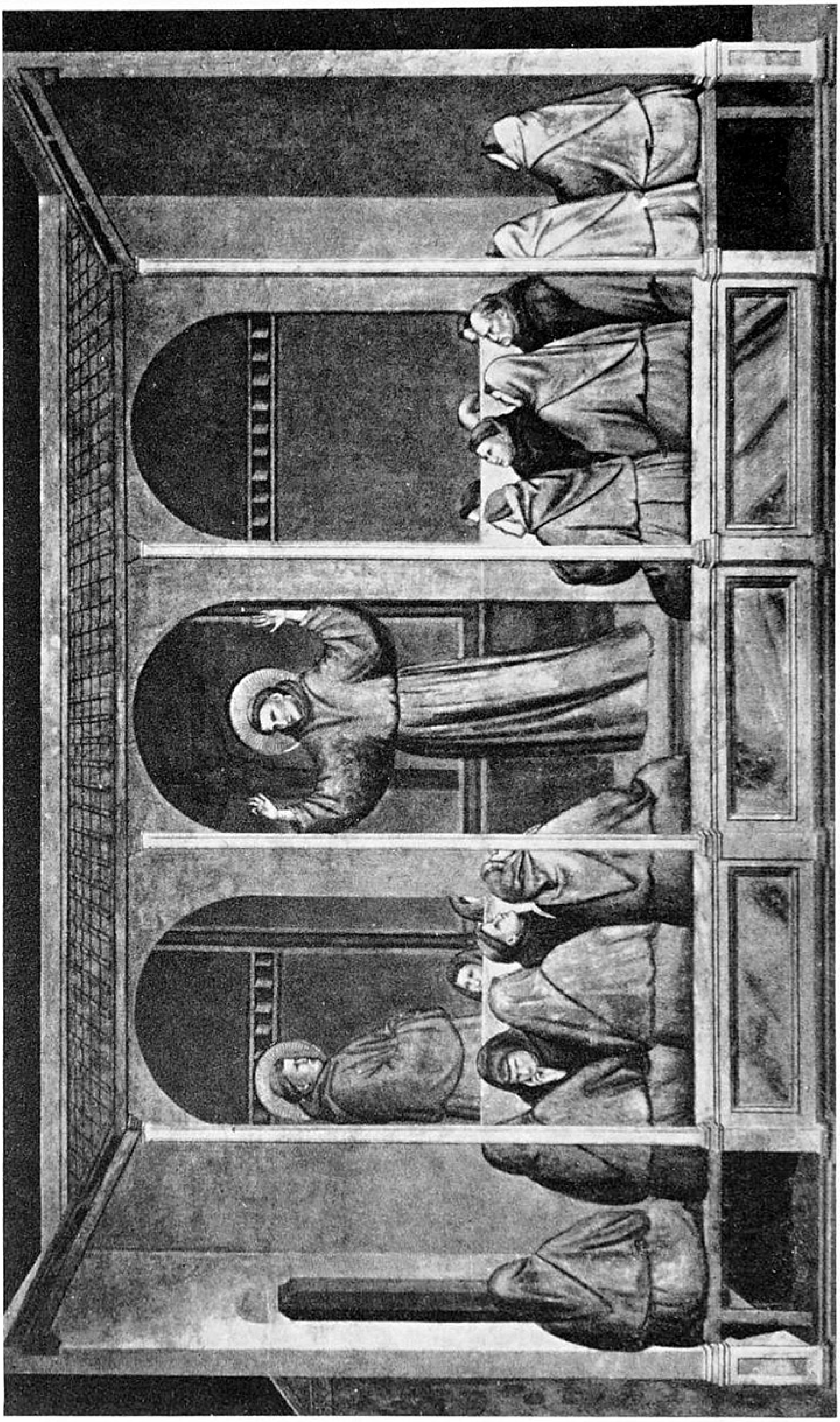


Fig. 79. The Apparition at Arles. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

depicted as a long thin figure standing with uplifted hands in the central archway between the two parts of the building.

The forms of the monks in their various attitudes are well designed, and Giotto has, as on previous occasions, taken great care to express the different emotions which the words of St. Antony arouse in the minds of his audience.

(5) Much sentiment and emotion is expressed in the representation of the death of St. Francis (figs. 80 and 81) who, in a room with a low wall and a porched door-way at either end is seen lying on a couch surrounded by many figures, six of whom kneel by the dead saint, three on each side; all are monks except one, the nobleman Hilsonymus who doubted the miracle of the stigmata and who is here depicted drawing aside the tunic and touching with his finger the wound in the side of St. Francis, one of the many figures which strongly resembles the corresponding figure at Assisi, where the fresco is by the artist who continued Giotto's cycle. Opposite the saint a monk with folded hands and loving expression gazes penetratingly into the dead face; the two brothers in the centre kiss the wounds in the hands, while the third couple kiss the feet. Beyond this group stand four monks making gestures of despair as they look upon their dead master; at the foot of the couch are other brothers of whom one carries a banner and two at the sides each a lighted candle; at the head stand three monks, the central one, holding a book, might be the brother who has just said the mass for the dead, but it might also possibly be the figure, mentioned by Bonaventura – from whom all the details of this scene are taken – who was asked by St. Francis to read a certain passage from the Gospel of St. John. Behind these three monks are two laymen in front of whom and just beyond the head of the dead saint, a kneeling monk looks upwards in awe at the vision of the soul of St. Francis being taken to heaven, which is represented by the figure of the saint surrounded by a halo rising out of clouds and carried away by four angels. This very harmonious and expressive composition is one of Giotto's most excellent works.

(6) The next fresco is divided into two parts, the smaller on the right shows us the saint at the moment of his death appearing in a vision to Bishop Guido who, as in all similar scenes is depicted reclining on a couch in full ecclesiastical garments; two servants

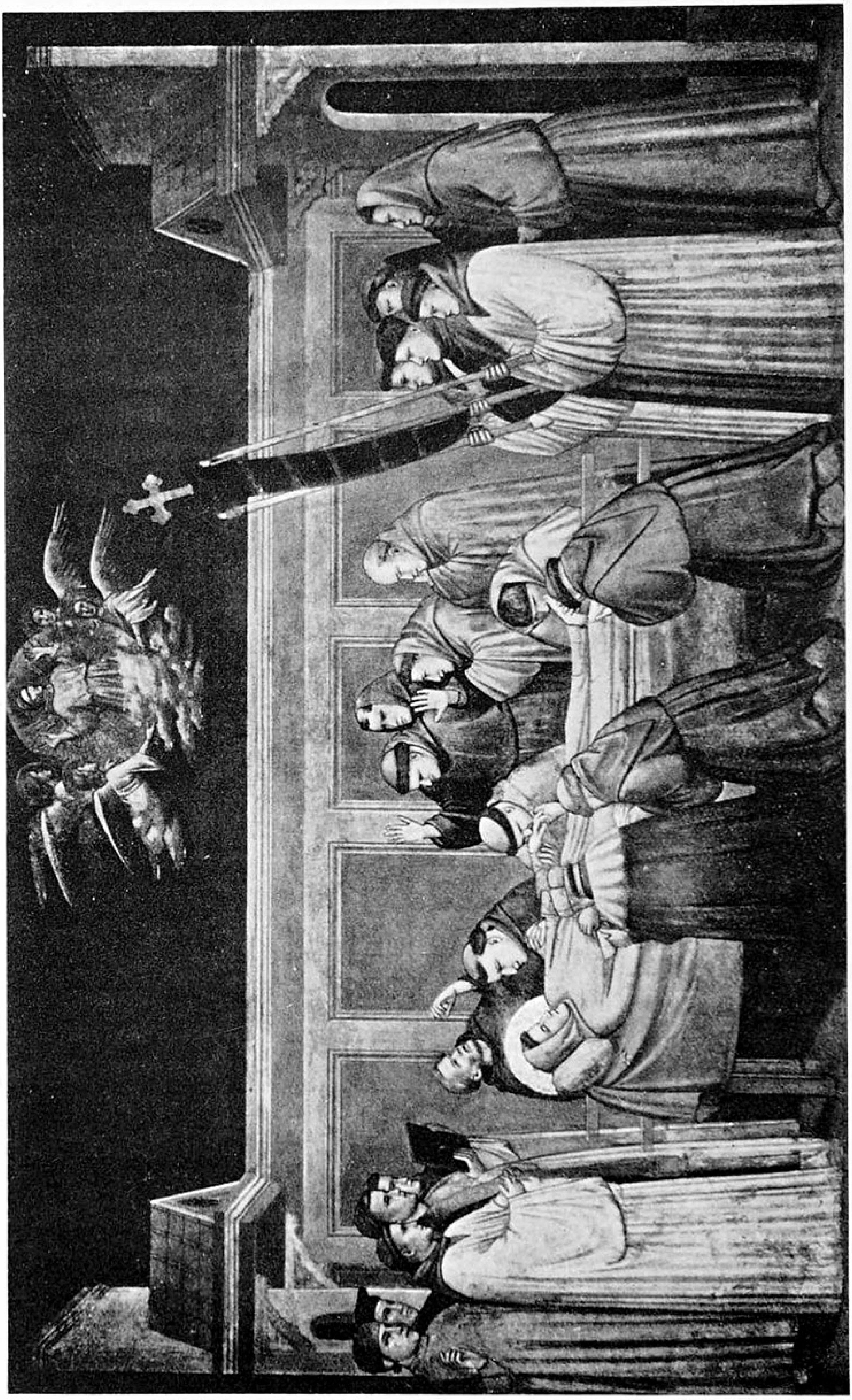


Fig. 80. The Death of St. Francis. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

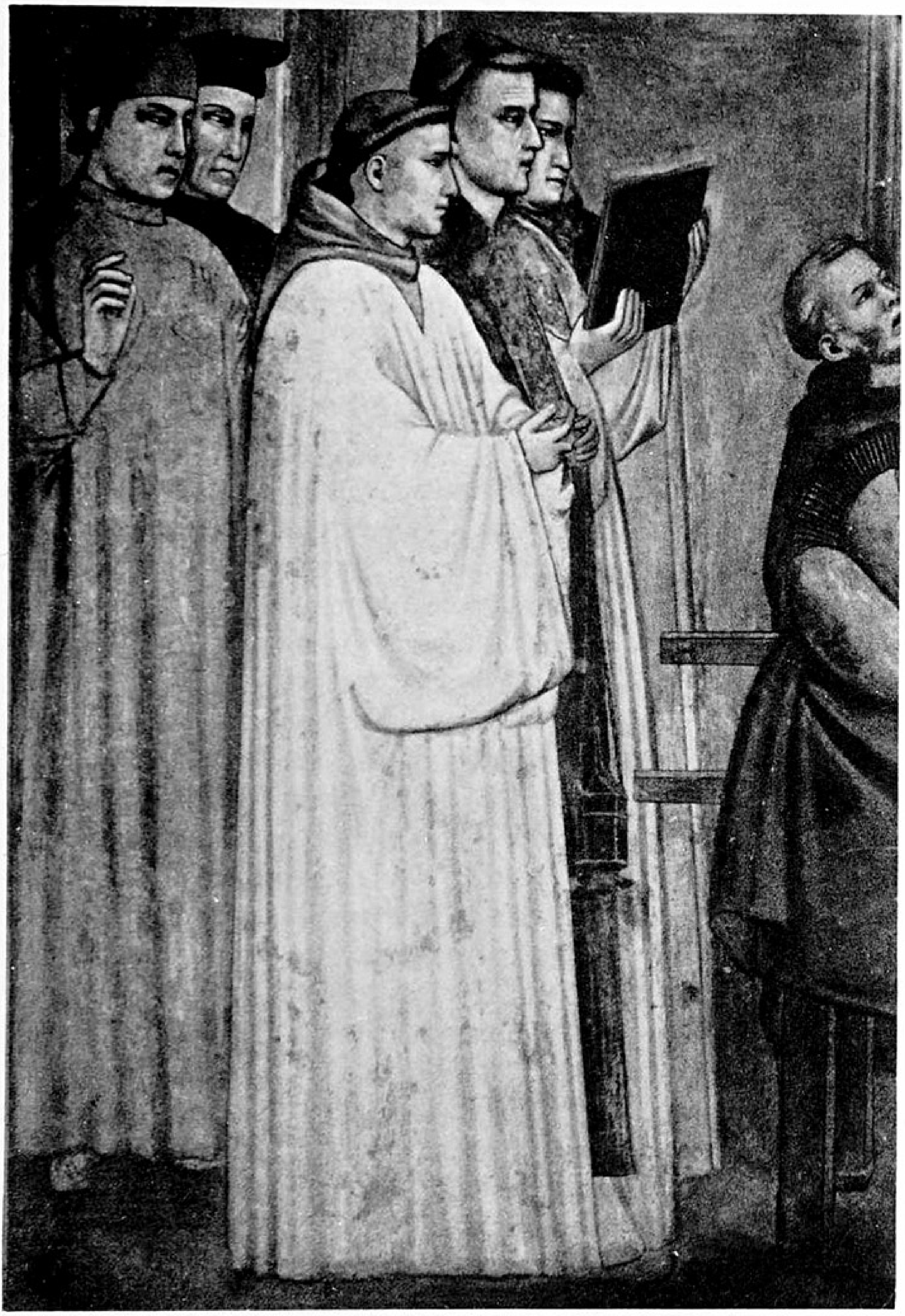


Fig. 81 Detail of fig. 80. Photo Brogi.

are seated before the bed both fast asleep, while behind, but only partly visible, is the figure of St. Francis raising his stigmatized hands and looking kindly down upon the sleeping bishop. To the left of this scene, Giotto has represented in rather an inanimate composition the incident of Brother Augustine on his deathbed being miraculously aware of the passing away of St. Francis. The artist who continued the cycle at Assisi also depicts these two events combined in one fresco, which betrays many points in common with the representations in Florence.

The monk with clasped hands is seated on his couch while a priest before him reads from a prayer-book; behind the priest is a group of nine monks, one standing in the door-way, all are calm except one who with arms uplifted seems to be very surprised. The artist must have felt that this scene was somewhat uninteresting, for it is certainly much less animated than the one executed by a follower of Giotto's at Assisi, and for this reason he added the charming figure of a young monk — possibly St. Francis disguised by restoration — drawing aside the bed curtain and looking with keen interest at the dying monk.

(7) St. Francis receiving the stigmata is somewhat different from the representation of this event at Assisi. Against a rocky landscape with a few scattered trees and only one small building depicted to the right, the solitary figure of St. Francis, half turned towards the spectator, kneels on one knee with arms raised as he gazes in the direction of the seraph, which has again been given the body of the crucified Saviour but is here less monumental and smaller in proportion than the one at Assisi. The kneeling saint forms a well designed and plastic figure while his very impressive features are full of profound sentiment. There is here no trace of the reading monk who is seen in the fresco of Assisi.

It will be noticed that the St. Francis of this scene is different from the one we found at Assisi, here he is beardless and consequently seems much younger, but the repainting of these frescoes has been so very thorough that even this change may be accounted for in that way; notwithstanding, I believe that we may conclude that these works were less monumental than those at Padua and still less than the frescoes of the Magdalene chapel, manifesting much more sentiment; however as Mr. Berenson says "little more than the compositions are now Giotto's".

The four figures of saints in Gothic frames must also be considered the work of the great master. The personages represented are the holy Bishop, Louis of Toulouse, in sacerdotal vestments

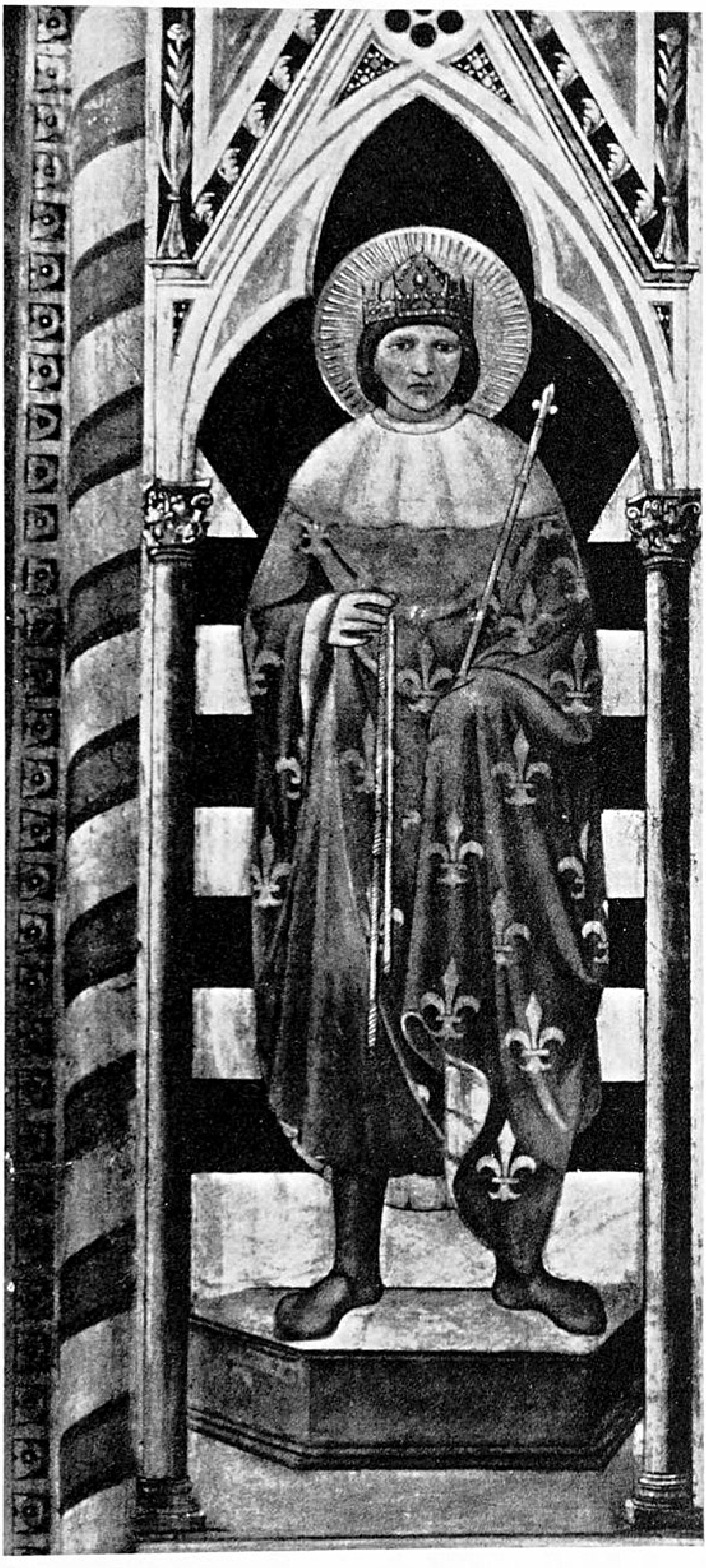


Fig. 82. St. Louis, King of France. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence,

Photo Alinari.

with cross and mitre and a book in his hand, St. Louis, King of France, in a cloak decorated with "fleurs de lis", crowned and carrying a sceptre; his round face is not very beautiful but full of individuality (fig. 82). St. Clare clothed in her nun's habit and carrying lilies in her hand is expressive of great holiness, while St. Elizabeth is depicted carrying roses in the lap of her dress which falls in elegant folds about her. All four saints stand on a little platform; before the one of the Bishop of Toulouse a papal tiara is placed.

I see no reason why Prof. Venturi believes the frescoes in the Peruzzi chapel to have been executed some time later than those we have just described; here we find illustrated in six scenes the chief events in the lives of the two SS. John and although these works are less repainted than the St. Francis series, still very much of the original has been replaced by more recent paint.

(1) The annunciation of the birth of St. John the Baptist is depicted against a background composed of two independent fragments of architecture; one is an altar near which Zacharias stands with a censer; opposite, an angel in a graceful attitude with one hand uplifted announces to him the birth of a son. Behind Zacharias, who seems very much agitated, are three musicians one of whom, blowing a horn, is hardly visible. On the other side two women stand conversing together. The composition is very symmetrical and the architecture with its numerous corners and columns not in the best of taste.

(2) The next fresco (fig. 83) is divided into two scenes, the one on the right being the nativity of St. John in which St. Elizabeth is seen reclining in bed supporting her head on her hand, her form is clearly outlined through the bed clothes; behind her couch are two women while before it some refreshments are seen on a low table; another woman stands at the foot of the bed, her back partly turned to the spectator, she is of tall and statuesque appearance but her head is too small in proportion to her body. Two little windows are seen high up in the wall which is decorated with two friezes one of which is continued on the wall of the adjacent room where, before a group of five persons the foremost of whom carries the newborn child, Zacharias sits writing the name of his son, for he had not yet recovered his power of speech.

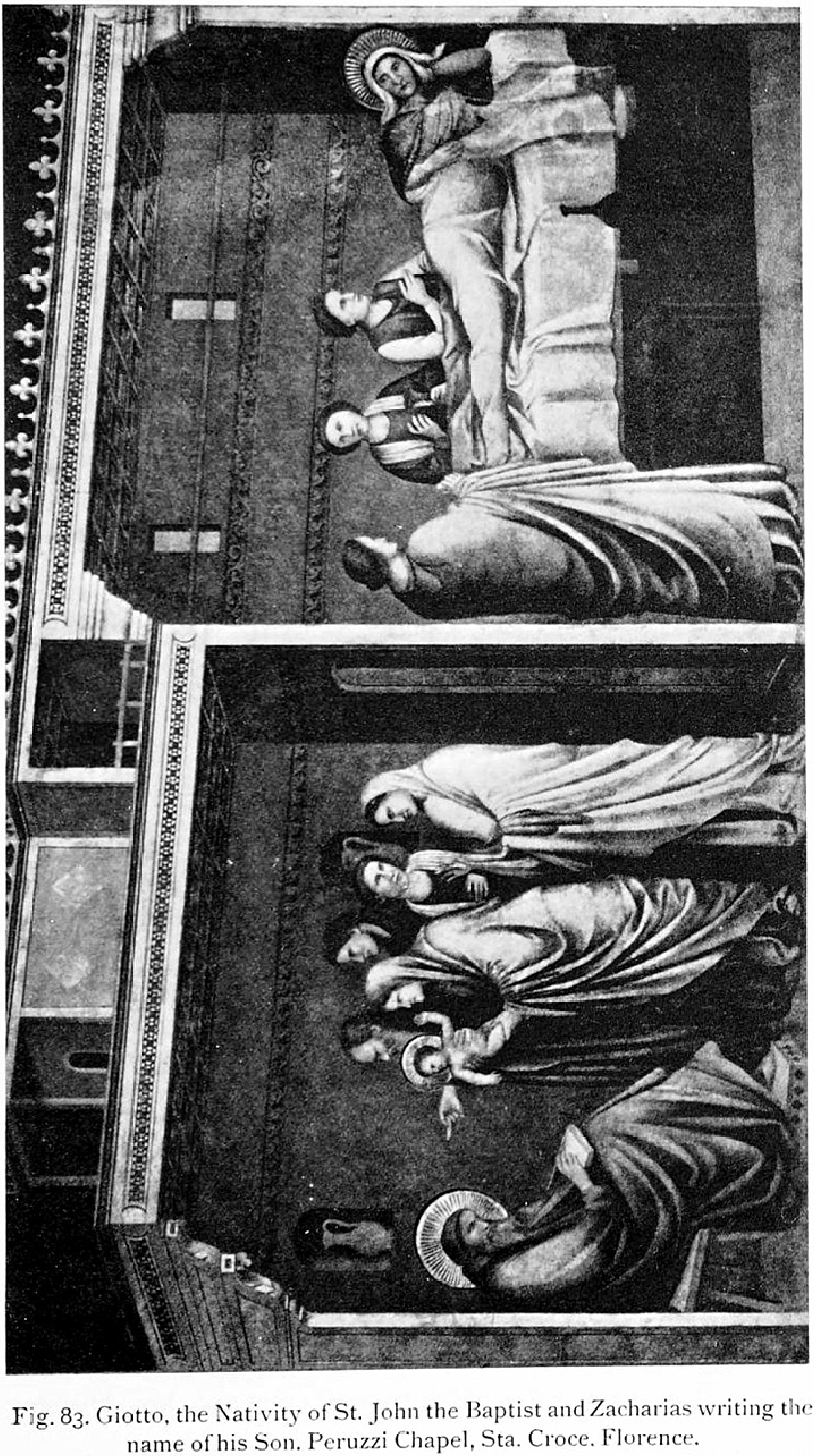


Fig. 83. Giotto, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and Zacharias writing the name of his Son. Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce. Florence.

Photo Anderson.

The figures of this scene are all handsome, their draperies fall in graceful folds and their gestures and attitudes are very lifelike. Two jugs are placed in niches in the wall.

(3) Salome dancing before Herod is the most striking fresco in the chapel (figs. 84 and 85). The architectural background, which is very handsome, is composed on the left of a tower, in the centre of an open loggia, and on the right of an ante-room which communicates with the loggia. The roof is decorated with eight little pagan divinities some of whom are nude, while to the right steps protected by a balustrade seem to lead to another part of the building. In the loggia, Herod wearing an exotic crown, is seated with two companions at a table spread with dishes and cups; to the left a young musician plays a viola, on the right Salome, holding a little lyre is seen dancing in front of two men who whisper together as they look at the dancer, while in the centre a helmeted soldier bears the head of St. John towards Herod. In the little ante-chamber Salome kneeling before her mother presents the much desired head. The figure of Salome dancing is rather short and the proportion of the two men behind her not quite correct; but besides these faults, — the latter evidently the result of restoration, — the other figures are excellent and the composition very harmonious.

(4) The Vision of St. John the Evangelist on the Island of Pathmos, occupies the lunette on the opposite wall. In the centre the saint resting his head on his hand is seen asleep on a queerly shaped little island which is separated only by a narrow expanse of sea from the mainland where on either side two angels are depicted; in the sky, a semicircle of disconnected figures is represented, on one side Christ holding a large scythe, and an angel, and on the other side a dragon attacking a woman who reclines near a new-born child (Apoc. XII). The figure of St. John is very natural but those in mid-air do not embellish the composition of this scene.

(5) The resurrection of Drusiana on the other hand is portrayed to us in an excellent composition of animated figures (fig. 86). The miracle takes place just outside the town of Ephesus of which a fortified gateway, part of the wall and the back of a beautiful church form the background. On the left the majestic figure of St. John, surrounded by one erect and three kneeling

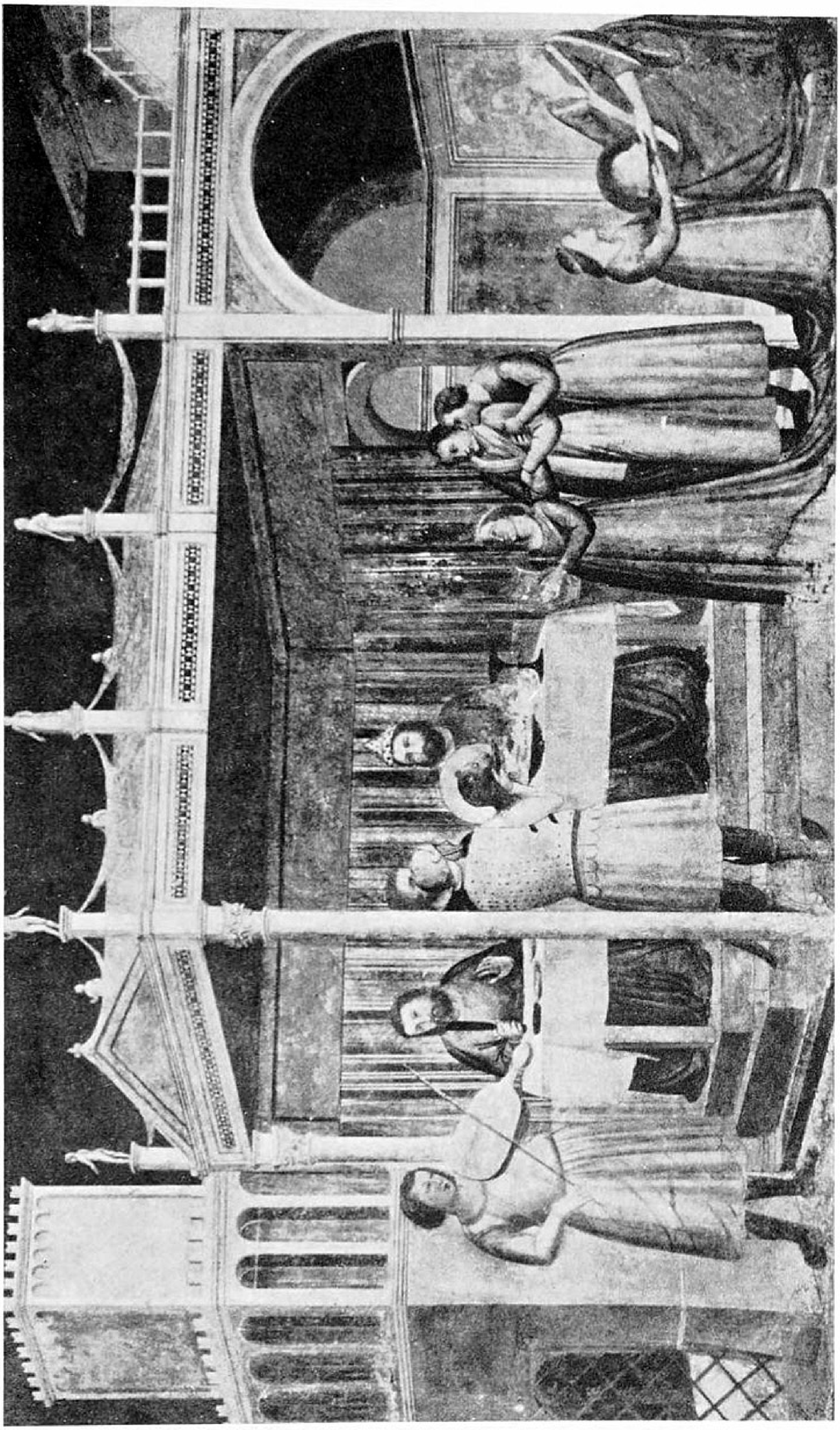


Fig. 84. The Feast of Herod. Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

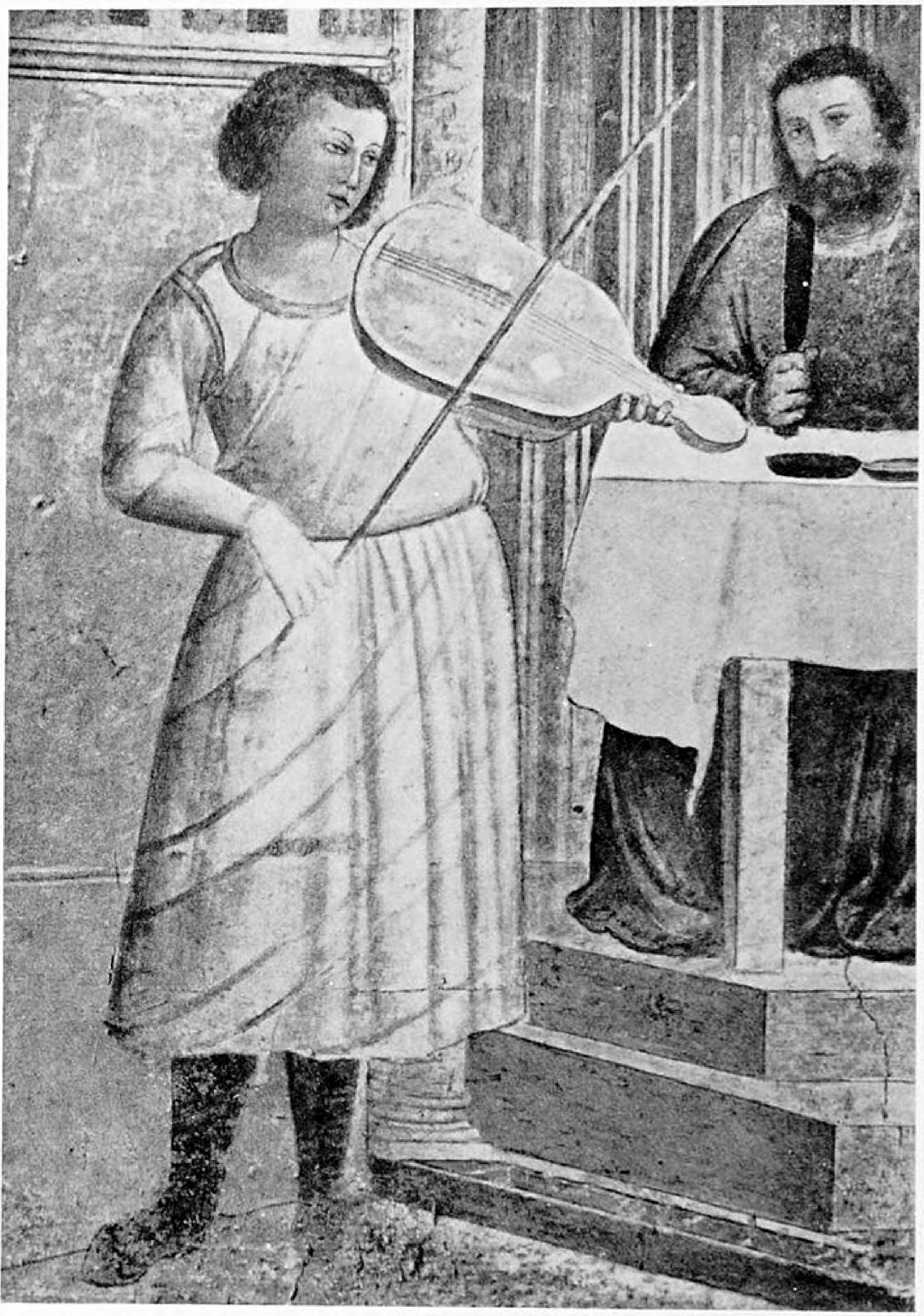


Fig. 85. Detail of fig. 84. Photo Brogi.

adorers and followed by a group of other people, in the midst of whom is a beggar on crutches, is depicted stretching out his hand towards Drusiana who has just risen to a sitting position on her bier, which a man behind still holds in a firm grip and

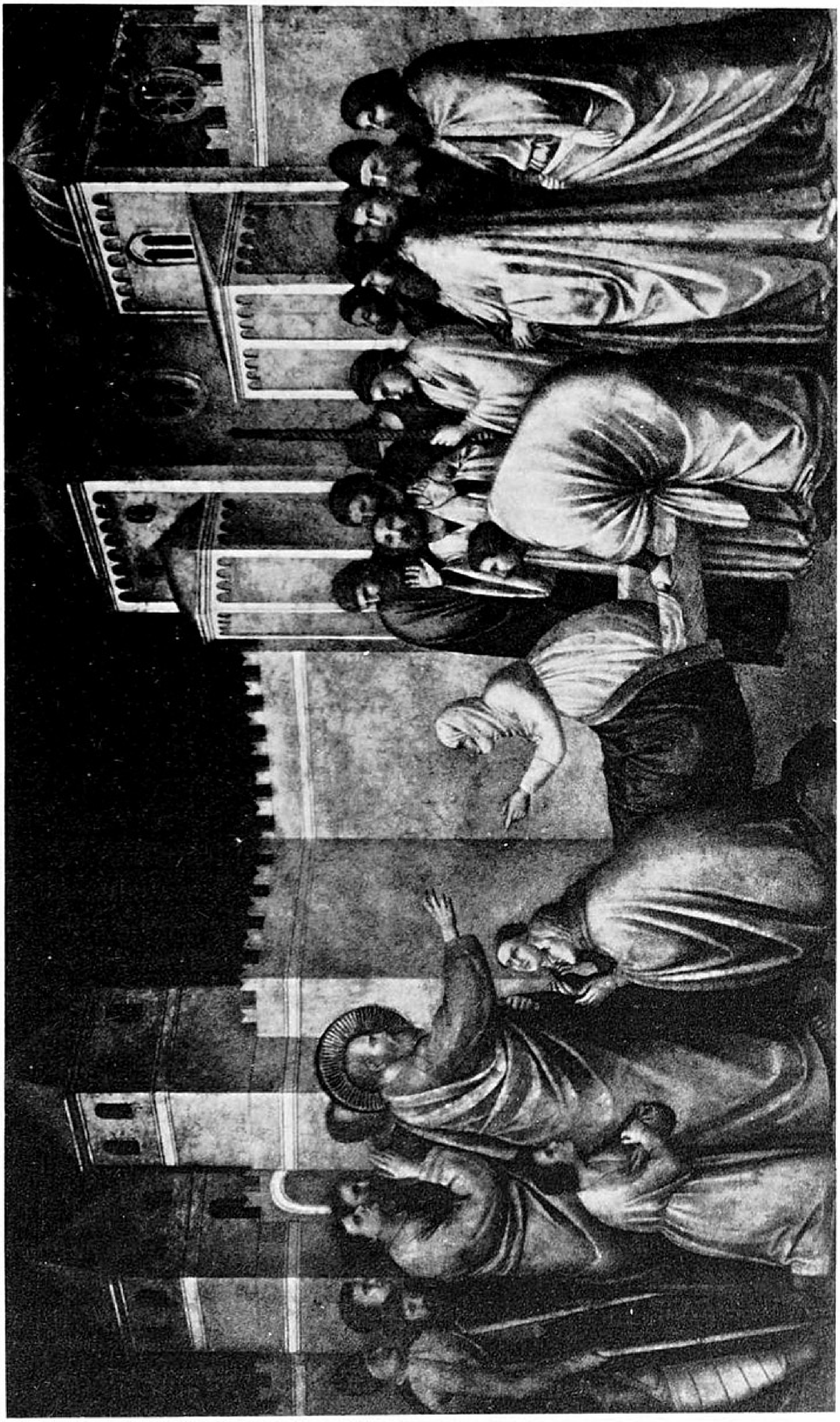


Fig. 86. St. John the Evangelist resuscitates Drusiana. Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Anderson.

which is followed by a group of eleven men. One of these holds a candle, others betray their surprise in gestures or expression while others again remain quite unmoved by the miracle. In spite of this somewhat strange opposition which may be accounted for by restoration we cannot but admire this excellent painting in which the beautifully draped figures are so lifelike.

(6) The Ascension of St. John (fig. 87) might even be considered an improvement on the last fresco, for in it we find a greater consistency in the expression of the surrounding figures. The incident takes place in a temple of complicated structure, the lower part is open and rests on pillars, the upper part is walled in on one side but not on the other side, one of the many details of this building which proves that it only serves as frame to the event.

Below and on either side just within the building is a small group of figures all agitated and surprised at what they see occurring before them, one in sheer astonishment has fallen on the ground and the perspective of this figure lying on the floor is excellent; two others on the left bend forward to look into the empty grave; a gesture of surprised admiration made by a figure on the left is one frequently repeated by Giotto. The stately St. John, who forms the central figure of this scene, is depicted being wafted upwards enveloped in rays of light which descend from the Lord Who, together with several saints, is placed on the roof of the building and grasps hold of St. John's arm as if to help him in his upward flight. Except for the group on the root which is rather rigid, the rest of the composition is excellent. The figures are stately and full of action, betraying all the nobility of Giotto's most plastic manner. These frescoes were probably executed at the climax of this great painter's artistic career.

The present condition of the frescoes in these two chapels of Sta. Croce only enables us to form a general opinion regarding the compositions and here we must conclude that although the principles on the whole are the same, they have been applied differently.

We find an example of the isolated pieces of architecture in the fresco in the lunette representing Zacharias in the Temple, but the arrangement here is not so incoherent as it was at Assisi

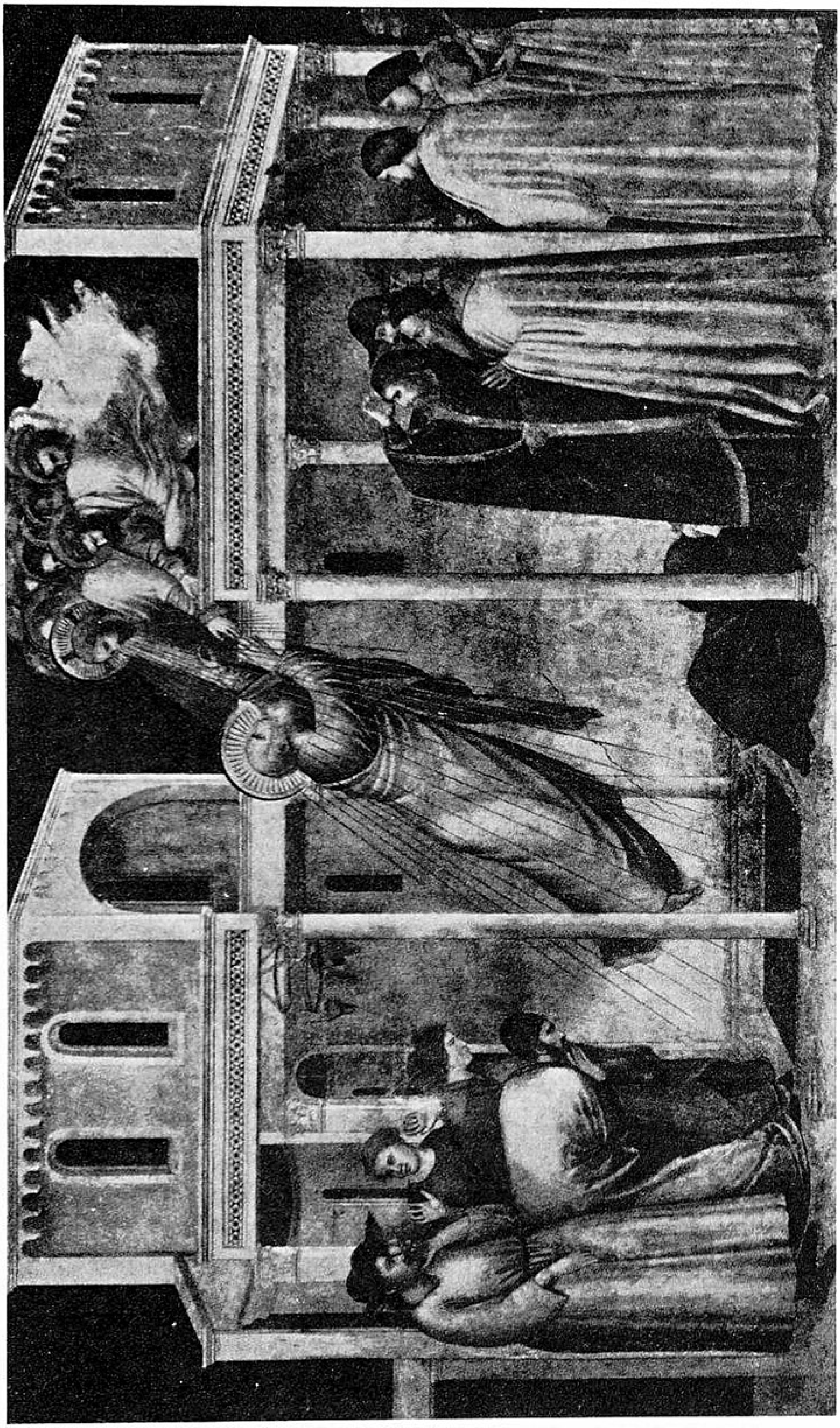


Fig. 87. The Ascension of St. John the Evangelist. Peruzzi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

and Padua; they are grouped in a manner which makes them dominate and, as it were, frame the action, and they do not form as in previous instances a subdivision of the composition.

We also notice this same tendency to encircle the action by the surroundings very clearly in the scene before the Sultan, especially if we compare it with the same representation at Assisi. A low screen projecting from either end here forms the frame to the event, but if a considerable improvement has been made in the construction of the picture, it does not give us a very clear idea where the artist meant the action to take place. The same may be observed in the scenes of the death of St. Francis and the apparitions to Brother Augustus and Bishop Guido; the type of background we find in the first of these scenes resembles very much that of the fresco of St. Francis confounding the heathen priests, and with the wall running between two door-ways where can one imagine the event taking place? The follower of Giotto at Assisi was much less elaborate in his composition but more precise regarding the locality. The two persons who had a vision of St. Francis at the moment of his death are separated by a small ciborium which does not make us understand that there is no connection between the two rooms; here again the Assisan painter was much more explicit.

In the Confirmation of the rules, the Apparition at Arles, and the Nativity and naming of St. John the wall is left out to allow us a view of the interior while at the same time we see part of the façade. In the second of these scenes the connection between the pillars and the much too narrow roof provides us with an instance of incorrect perspective, several examples of which were found in Giotto's other works. In most of the scenes, whether of interiors or loggias, the artist represents the building at an angle with the necessary perspective. In the Resurrection of Drusiana we find the best observed and most realistic background of any of Giotto's works. Some details however betray the fact that though the surroundings have become more real to the painter their arrangement has never taken the same importance in his mind as the figures. In the Confirmation of the rules one of the bishops seated next to the Pope is placed decidedly beyond the level of the façade; in the Ascension of St. John the roof is interrupted in order that we may see the saint, while the upper part of the building has been suppressed to reveal the Lord and the figures surrounding Him.

We find then in the frescoes of Sta. Croce the same principles which we observed in Giotto's other works but of which the application has acquired another aspect. It may be that here too the restorer must be held partly responsible but on the whole I think we meet in these paintings with a different manner to the one the master followed at Padua. None the less a comparison between the figure of St. Elizabeth in bed in the Nativity of St. John and that of St. Francis seeing in his dreams the reward he receives for his generous deed, will demonstrate how much connection there remained between this and his earlier productions.

The painting of the Magdalene chapel in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi cannot all be attributed to Giotto. Zimmermann, Rintelen and others even go as far as saying that none of it is by the hand of this artist, while Prof. Venturi only ascribes to him the scenes representing the Feast in the house of the Pharisee, the Resurrection of Lazarus, part of the "Noli me tangere" and probably part of Mary Magdalene and the donor Teobaldo Pontano. I think, however, besides the two last pictures in their entirety we might include probably the saints in the window arches — four of the original six alone remaining - and the four half-length figures on the ceiling. On the other hand I am of opinion that in the execution of the two other frescoes the master was assisted by pupils, while he might have supplied the cartoons for the rest of the decoration.

As Teobaldo Pontano di Todi was Bishop of Assisi between 1314 and 1329 (¹) we cannot possibly place these paintings, as Prof. Thode does, before the work at Padua, and I agree with Prof. Venturi in believing them to have been executed after the frescoes of Sta. Croce and just previous to Giotto's visit to Naples (²).

Although the frescoes on account of their site and condition

---

(¹) *A. Cristofani*, Delle Storie di Assisi libri sei, 3rd ed., Assisi, 1902, p. 162.

(²) I do not think that these frescoes were made after the death of Bishop Pontano as was often the case for similar decorations such for example as that of St. Martin's chapel in the same church. It seems however probable that the fresco of the bishop kneeling before St. Rufinus was added after the death of this dignitary.

only allow us a partial judgment, it is obvious from the Death of the Virgin at Berlin and the Madonna in the Uffizi, that as time went on, the development in Giotto's art manifested itself by a steady increase of the monumental element which is very striking in the second of these two panels but is still more evident in the frescoes of the Magdalene chapel.

The first of these scenes, Mary Magdalene annointing the feet of the Lord in the house of the Pharisee, is unfortunately much damaged; in what appears to be an open loggia Christ is seated at the head of a table, along one side of which are placed four men two of whom are nimbussed; at the other side of the table three small menials are seen serving. Of Christ only the head, which is very beautiful, remains clearly visible, one hand is advanced in argument as if the moment represented by the painter is the one when Christ delivers to the spectators the lesson raised by the action of the Magdalene, who can just be distinguished kneeling before Him and kissing His foot. The several figures of this painting do not form a happy ensemble, they are at some distance one from the other and without any apparent connection. Each face however is full of a well understood expression; three listen attentively to the words of Christ Whose beautiful face is calmly serene. Prof. Venturi is of opinion that the figure of the Saviour is alone by Giotto, the others being left to a helper, but in this I do not agree and believe that most of the features at least are by the master himself.

The Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 88) bears a strong resemblance to this composition in the Paduan series; again we find in the right corner two boys, one of whom however is here a negro, carrying away the marble slab which closed the sepulchre; Lazarus, swathed as before, but less thin and ghastly, is supported by two men, the one on the left instead of the one on the right as at Padua, having covered his nose with his cloak; a similar measure has been taken by another man who stands on the right and I believe also by yet a third who is partly concealed behind Lazarus. The mob of the Paduan fresco, has here been reduced to one old man who lifts up his hand in amazement. Giotto has made a decided improvement in the position of the two sisters who kneel, instead of being prostrate, before Christ; their imploring expression is also more adequate. The over statuesque attitude

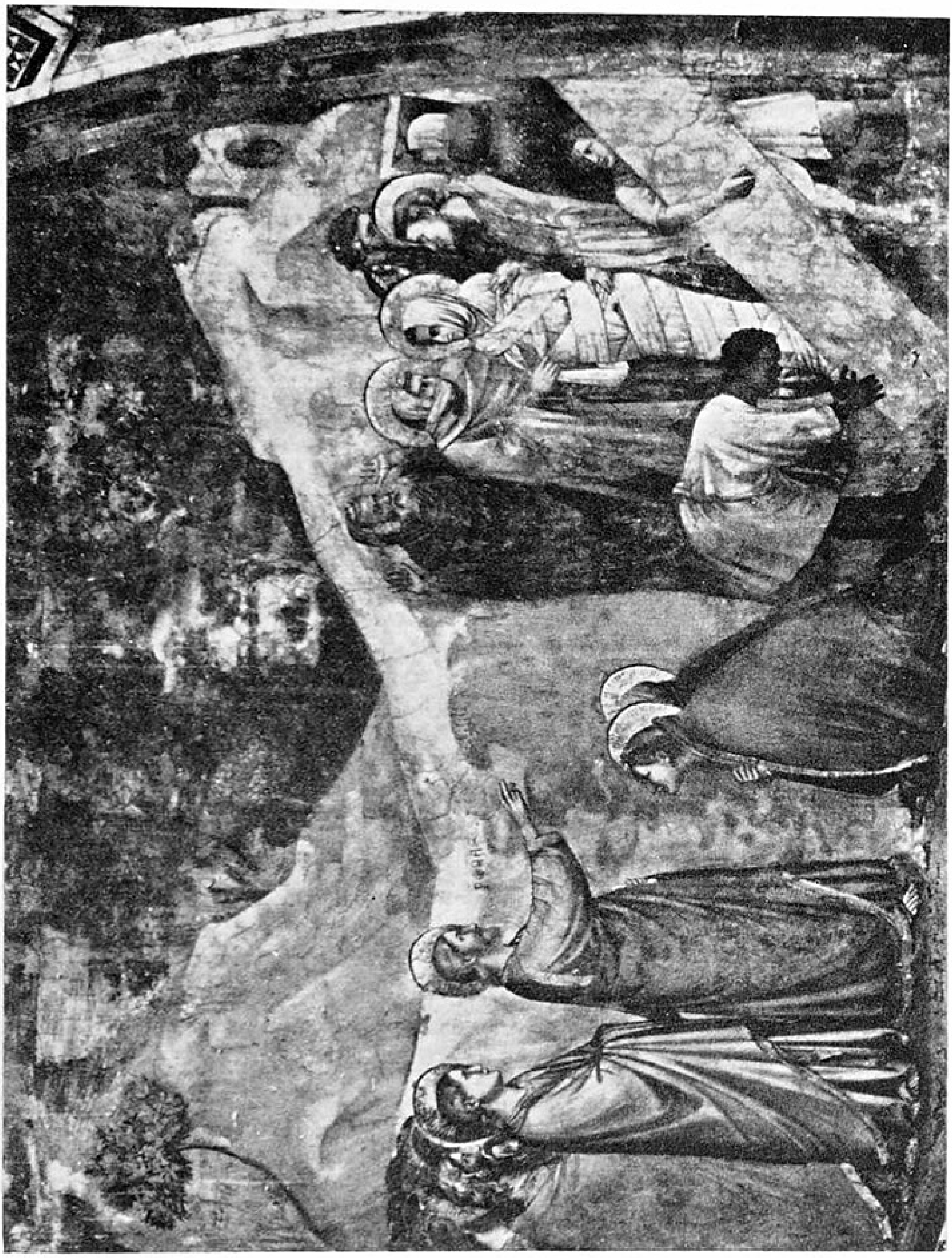


Fig. 88. Giotto, the Resurrection of Lazarus. Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

of Christ is less natural, the figure is very broad, almost verging on adiposity while the outstretched position of the arms is not so graceful as the benedictory attitude of the figure in the Arena chapel. The young disciple following Christ is handsome and well designed; of the others only one insignificant face and

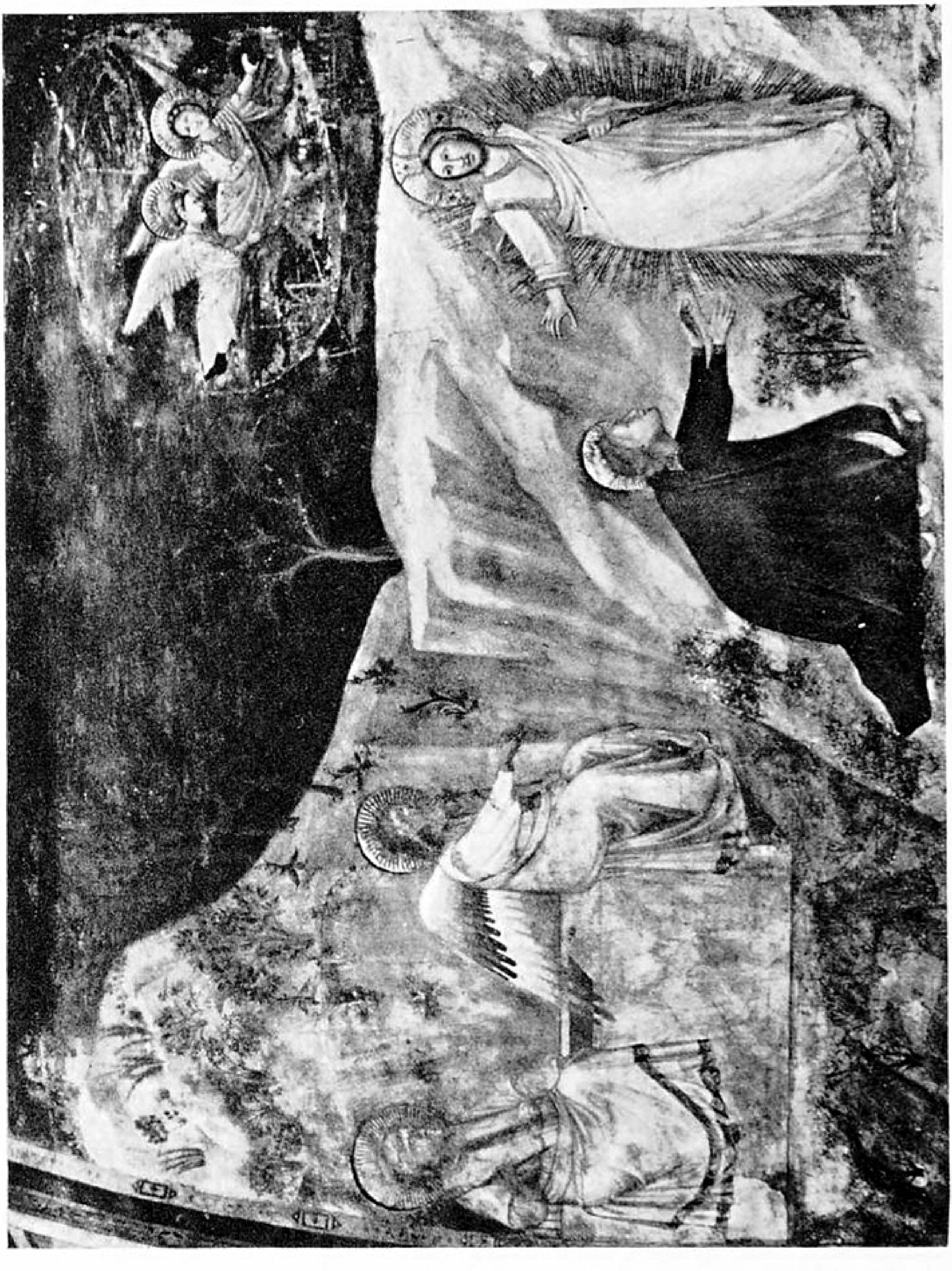


Fig. 89. Noli me tangere. Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

outlines of heads are seen. The background is composed of sloping rocks on which may be observed some scanty traces of vegetation.

The "Noli me tangere" (fig. 89) differs from the one at Padua in that the sleeping soldiers are here absent, the two angels seated in the open sepulchre are in a different position and the attitude of the Lord has been changed. The excellent figure of Mary Magdalene who, kneeling on the ground with arms outstretched, seems to advance towards Christ, is more impressive and far and away superior to the one in the similar scene in the Arena chapel. The Lord's attitude reminds us strongly of the figure of St. Joseph in the Flight into Egypt at Padua, and if any doubt existed that this was the model copied the presence here of the two angels above Christ's head is sufficient confirmation; this slightly bent, half-turned figure resting on one foot has been repeated by Giotto's pupils in the frescoes of the right transept.

The composition of a large Mary Magdalene holding by the hand a small kneeling figure of the donor is not very artistic, but each taken separately manifests many good qualities (fig. 90). The face of the Magdalene is one of the most expressive and beautiful which Giotto has made; the sculptural figure, though broad, is not heavy, her cloak falls in perfect folds, and her attitude is full of grace. The kneeling bishop, clothed in monk's attire, has sharp, individual features, his attitude is natural and not too devotional. On another fresco in this chapel, but not by Giotto, we again see this figure, now in episcopal garments, close to an enormous St. Rufinus who lays his hand protectingly on the bishop's head, the features are identical with those of the previous representation and if not a copy of it, the resemblance to the original in both instances must be very close.

I have been unable to identify the saints which form the ornamentation of the window arch; the medallions on the ceiling contain Christ, Mary Magdalene, Martha and Lazarus, and although it may be surprising that, when Giotto had a helper, he should have undertaken this merely decorative work himself, yet these figures have a close and unmistakable resemblance to the master's own productions.

In the other paintings which can be entirely attributed to pupils we can discern two different hands, one of which continued the story of St. Mary Magdalene. On one of the frescoes we find two different events depicted, the one representing SS. Mary Magdalene, Lazarus, Maxim, Martha, Martilla and Cedon being put into a small boat without oars by the Jews, but instead of going

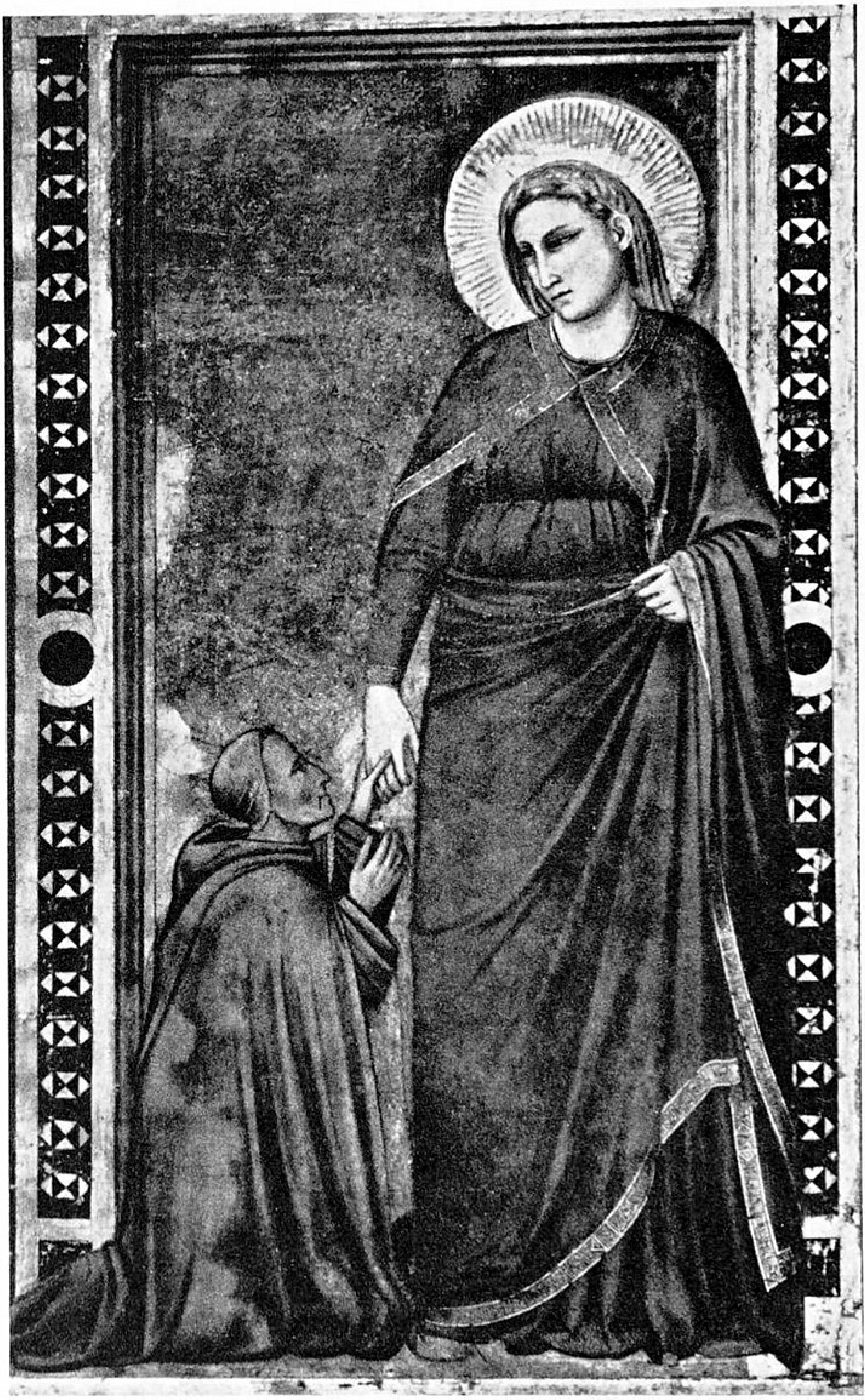


Fig. 90. St. Mary Magdalene and Teobaldo Pontano. Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

adrift, is led safely by an angel to the port of Marseilles. A large fortified gateway, in which some people stand, represents the town; the angel and the figures in the boat in comparison with the size of the gate, are proportionately much too large. Lying on a small island in the middle of the sea, the figure of a woman is depicted; this is the very abridged illustration of the story of the wife of a prince who, whilst on a pilgrimage, died in giving birth to a child; the prince recommending them to Mary Magdalene left the dead mother and the child on a piece of ground which unexpectedly appeared; but returning after a lapse of time he found them both alive.

Jacob de Voragine mentions in the Golden Legend that another author, Hegesypus or Joseph, relates that one day during the long years of solitude which Mary Magdalene spent in a grotto in Provence, she asked a hermit to bring her a cloak to cover herself with, which he did. It is strange that amongst so many more important events in the life of the Magdalene our painter should choose to represent this incident here in the chapel (fig. 91). Nevertheless he has done so, depicting it in an extremely simple composition; amongst wild and barren rocks we see one opening in which the bust of the repentant saint appears, she is covered by her hair and does not seem to have suffered much from her ascetic life; a hermit of venerable appearance and severe expression hands her the requested garment.

This scene, like those of the Communion and of the Assumption of the saint, which events are related in the text before the subject of the last mentioned fresco, is more monumental in style and therefore more in harmony with Giotto's own works in this chapel. In the representation of the Communion (fig. 92) Bishop Maxim with his back to the altar is depicted handing the eucharist to Mary Magdalene who kneels before him; behind stand three priests, the clergy mentioned in the Golden Legend which also tells us that the saint, after having eaten of the body of Christ, falls dead upon the floor, but her soul is carried to heaven by angels; this latter part of the text is illustrated, for in the sky we see the bust of the Magdalene taken to heaven by four angels. The figures of this scene are not without that majesty which is Giotto's own, but the majesty here has almost degenerated into lifelessness. The folds in the vestments of the assisting priests are

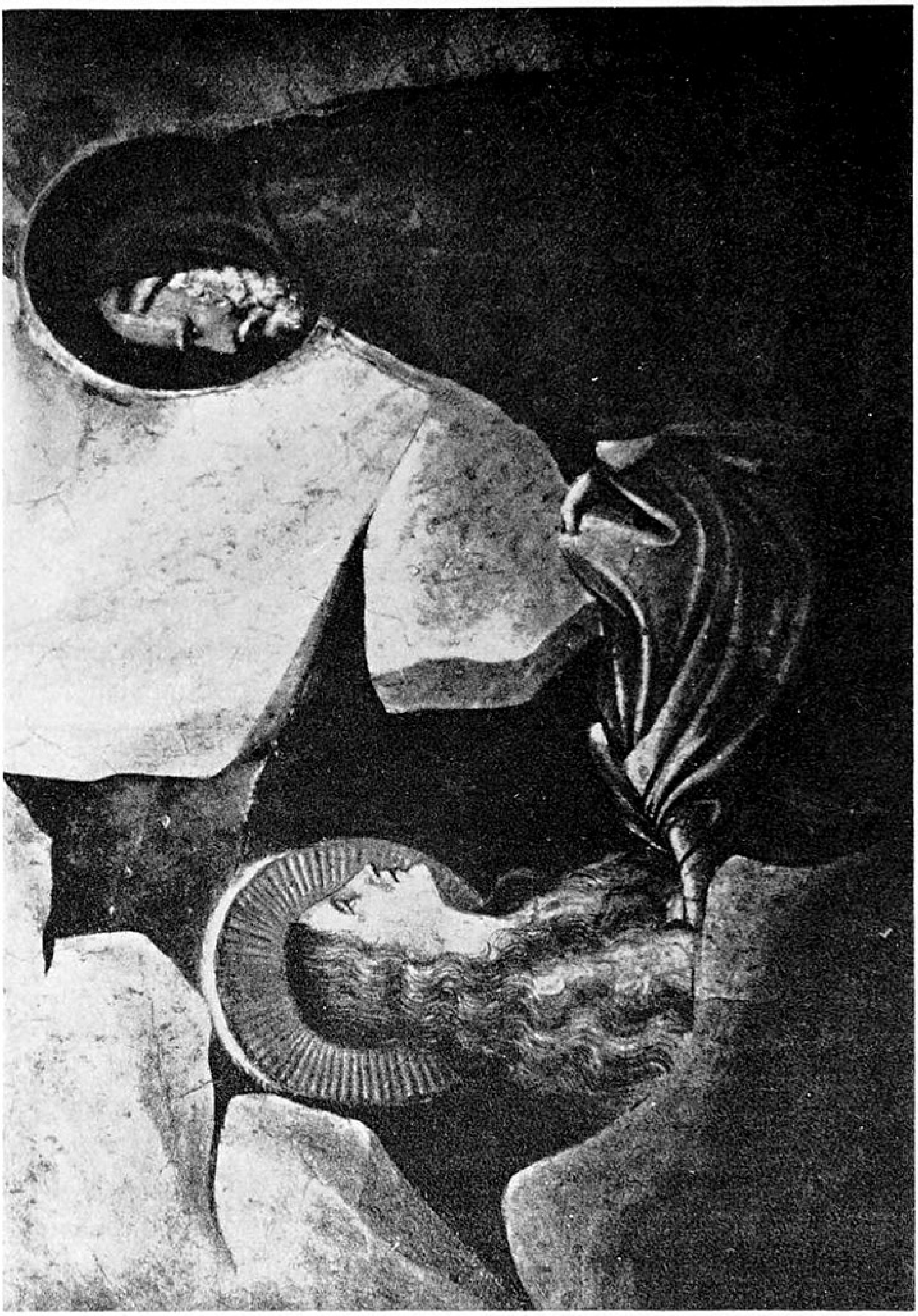


Fig. 91. Assistant of Giotto's. a Hermit brings a cloak to St.Mary Magdalene.
Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Benvenuti.

much too straight and regular, looking rather like scrolls hanging downward.

In a lunette opposite this last scene the same artist has depicted

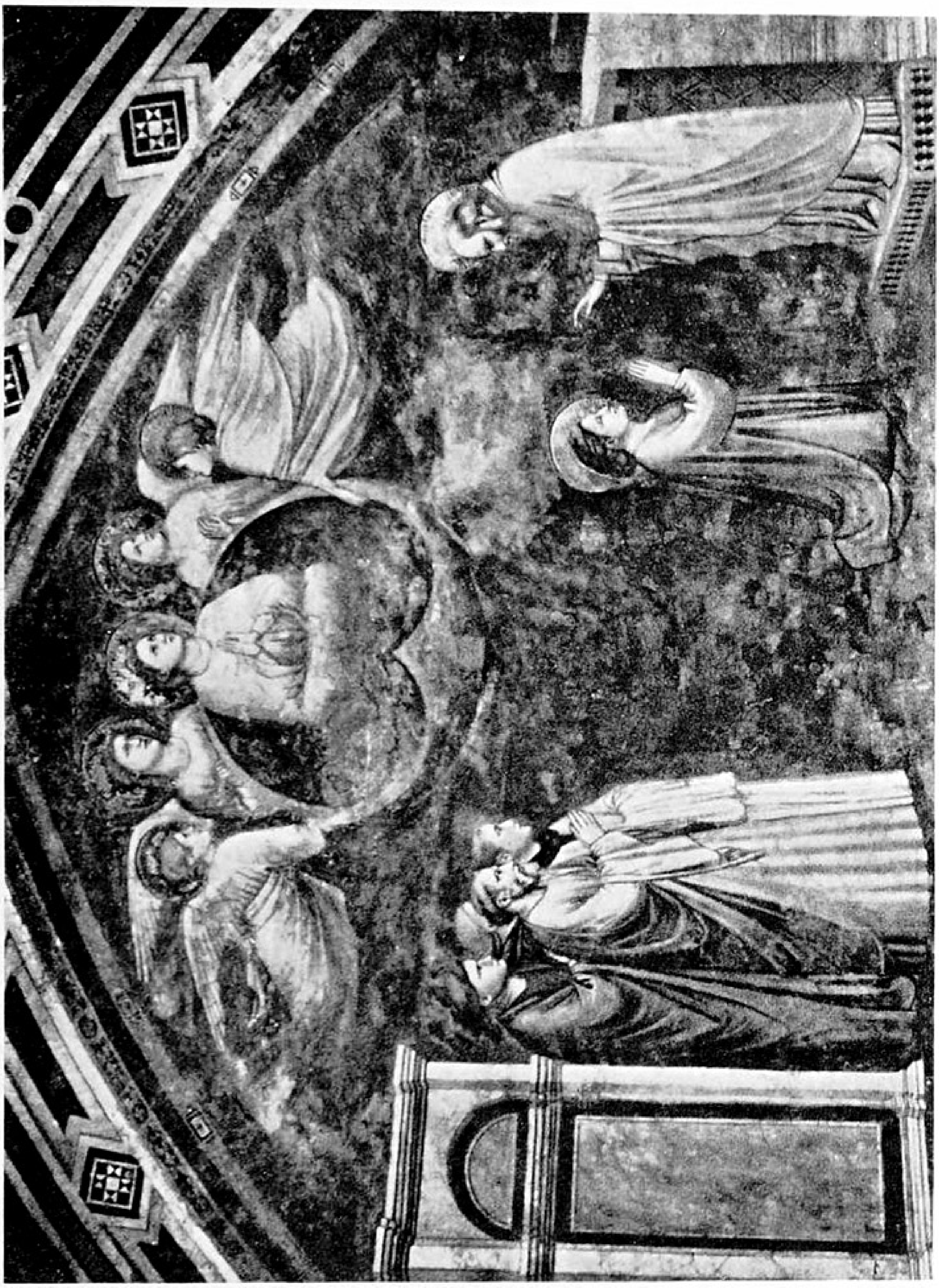


Fig 92. Assistant of Giotto's, Communion of St. Mary Magdalene.
Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Alinari.

the assumption of the saint in which she is represented in profile covered by her hair and surrounded by four angels; the latter figures bear a striking resemblance to some of those in the big

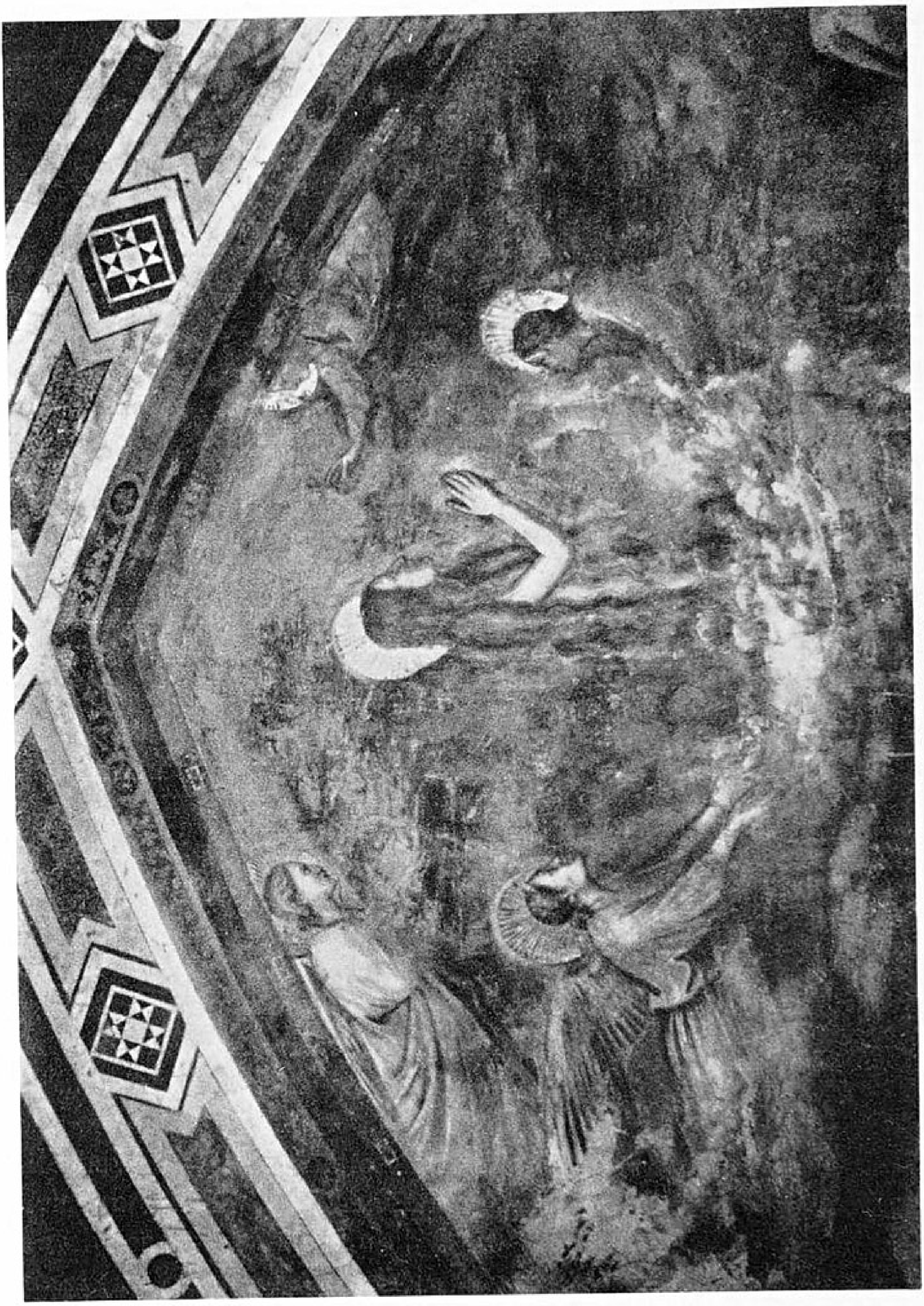


Fig. 93. Assistant of Giotto's, the Ascension of St. Mary Magdalene.
Magdalene Chapel, S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Benvenuti.

panel of the Madonna in the Uffizi, especially to those kneeling in front (fig. 93).

The other artist who helped in the decoration of this chapel, made the painting we have already mentioned of Teobaldo Pontano kneeling before St. Rufinus and the twelve figures of male and female saints in the arch between this chapel and the nave. The manner of this painter however does not closely approach Giotto's; he rather belongs to that group of artists which we will deal with when discussing the different painters who pass under the pseudonym of Giottino.

The details which differentiate the paintings of the Magdalene chapel from those of Padua are not advantageous to the former. Here we observe that the tendency towards grandiose majesty, characteristic of Giotto's art, has attained a degree which in some cases — as in the figure of the Lord in the Resurrection of Lazarus — strikes us as not altogether pleasant. Besides, the plasticity of the figures has not increased to the same extent as their breadth. This exaggerated monumental aspect also seems to produce a certain incoherence in the composition; it appears as if many different figures pose for isolated representation and take but little part in the dramatic action. This last drawback might also result from the increase of assistance which is certainly more noticeable here than at Padua where the master seemed to dominate more completely the art of his pupils.

There is no doubt that the decoration of the Magdalene chapel is the least pleasing of all Giotto's creations, none the less it does not seem possible that frescoes like the "Noli me tangere" and Mary Magdalene and her protégé could be by other than the gifted Florentine's own hand. In the scenes of the Resurrection of Lazarus and the Apparition to the Magdalene we find, comparing them with those at Padua a considerable improvement in the landscape; the rocks are more imposing, more solid and altogether more natural.

Although the frescoes are very abundant panel paintings by the hand of Giotto are few in number.

Of the new type of crucifix which Giotto introduced into the art of the 14th century, an example will be found in the sacristy of the Arena chapel (figs. 94 and 95); if this be compared with the fresco of the Crucifixion, we shall find the features of the Saviour and the general attitude so alike that no doubt can remain that both are by the same hand and of about the same period.

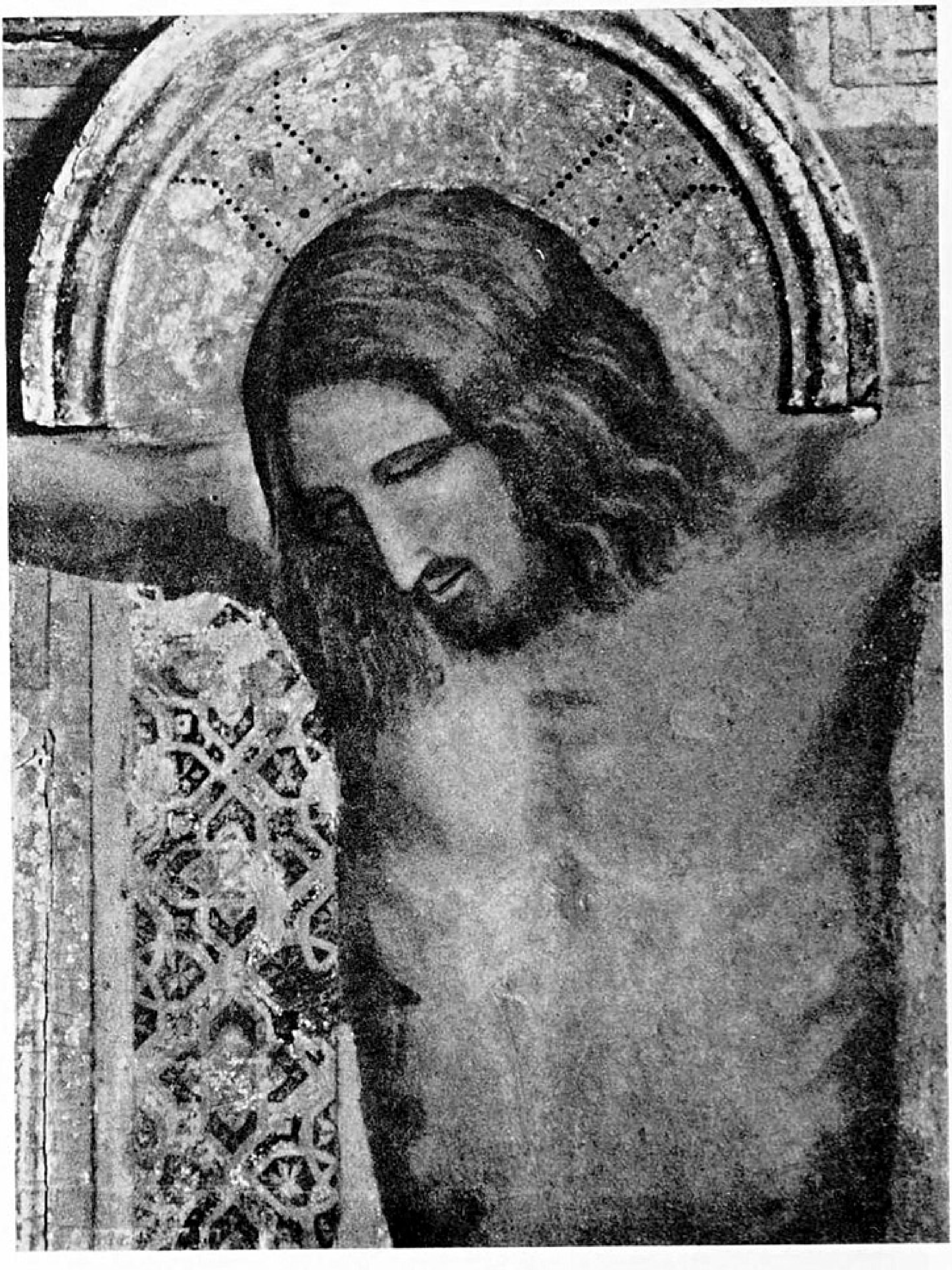


Fig. 94. Giotto, detail of a crucifix. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

The anatomical design of the dead body hanging on the cross is very exact, the inclined head of impressive beauty; at the ends of the horizontal bar are the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John, the former with clasped hands, the latter as usual supporting his head with his hand, both manifesting great sorrow;

above the Crucified is a bust of God blessing and holding a book. It is obvious that in this panel Giotto repeated the central figure of the Crucifixion he painted on the wall of the chapel. Although no older examples of this special type of impressive and beautiful crucifix be known, I do not think that Giotto deserves the entire praise for having invented it, for although no authentic Crucifixion of Cavallini's exists, we find in the panels of the early school of Rimini and in a fresco in Sta. Maria di Donna Regina, Naples, both of which are the outcome of Cavallini's school, the Crucified

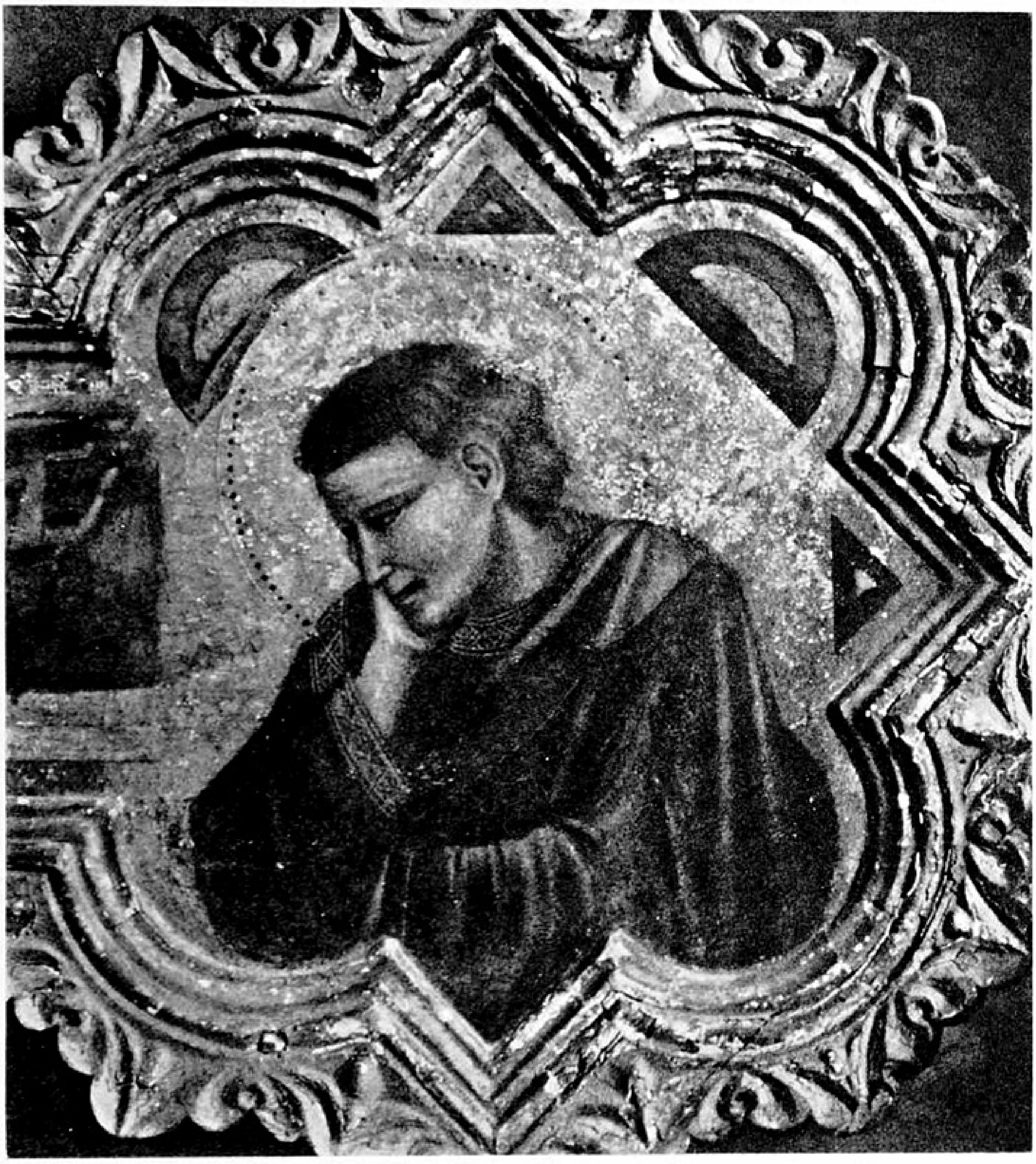


Fig. 95. Detail of a crucifix. Arena Chapel, Padua.

Photo Alinari.

of a similar and not less artistic type. Giotto however seems to have been the first to transfer this model from Crucifixions and make of it the central figure of wooden crucifixes, replacing in this way the old Byzantine example which until his time was the one always repeated. The number of 14th century crucifixes which follow this new type is very considerable and in general they do not show much variation on Giotto's original model, but I do not think any other can be ascribed to the great master himself (1).

Mention of two other extant panels we find in Ghiberti who informs us that they were in the church of Ognissanti (dei frati Humiliati); they are the Death of the Virgin — mentioned also by the "Anonimo Magliabecchiano" and Vasari — now in the Gallery of Berlin and the big Madonna in the Uffizi of Florence.

The former of these two pictures (figs. 96 and 97) was bought some years ago by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin, having previously formed part of the Bromley-Davenport collection (2).

---

(1) As I said before, a document of about 1324 mentions a crucifix by Giotto in Sta. Maria Novella, *Davidsohn*, Forchungen, IV, p. 478. This however must refer to some other painting than the one we find there now which is certainly not by this master.

(2) It was first published in the Rassegna d'Arte by Mr. *F. Mason Perkins*, Una tavola smarrita di Giotto. Mr. Berenson expressed in the same periodical the opinion that the picture was by the same hand as the Coronation of the Virgin with the signature of Giotto in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, against which attribution Mr. Perkins rightly protested (Ancora del quadro di Giotto). Later Mr. F. Gentili also declared that this panel could not be the one executed by Giotto with which Mr. Perkins identified it and this for the following reasons: on the panel published by Perkins we do not see the Twelve Apostles which Ghiberti and the earlier authors mention, the picture in Berlin is in good condition while the other when seen by Cavalcaselle in the Bromley collection was much damaged. The picture answering to the descriptions of Ghiberti and Cavalcaselle existed in 1832 in Pisa and a design then made of it has been published by Gentili. (*F. Gentili,* A proposito della Morte della Virgine). I do not think any of these arguments hold good. Looking well at the picture of Berlin we can find the Twelve Apostles although they are not all easily recognisable on account of the nimbi which cover part of their faces. The question of good or bad preservation is too elastic a one to go upon, the picture in Berlin which is not in perfect condition, may have undergone restoration since Cavalcaselle saw it. As to the design which seems a very rough sketch, it may very well be a drawing, cut off from the left, of the picture which is now at Berlin but not an exact repro-

It is an oblong panel, the upper borders of which slope up to form an angle in the centre, so that the picture is larger in the middle than at the sides. A very numerous group of angels and Apostles surround the bier on which is placed the dead body of the Virgin; St. Peter on one side clasps his arms around her, opposite kneels another Apostle while, faithful to Byzantine iconography, the Lord holds the small image of the Madonna's soul. Although this last detail and the general composition make it clear that it is the Virgin's death the artist wished to depict, the attitude of St. Peter and the two angels holding the cloth on which the dead body is placed, as if gently letting it down, are details common to the Entombment, so that in this picture the artist has combined the elements of two different events.

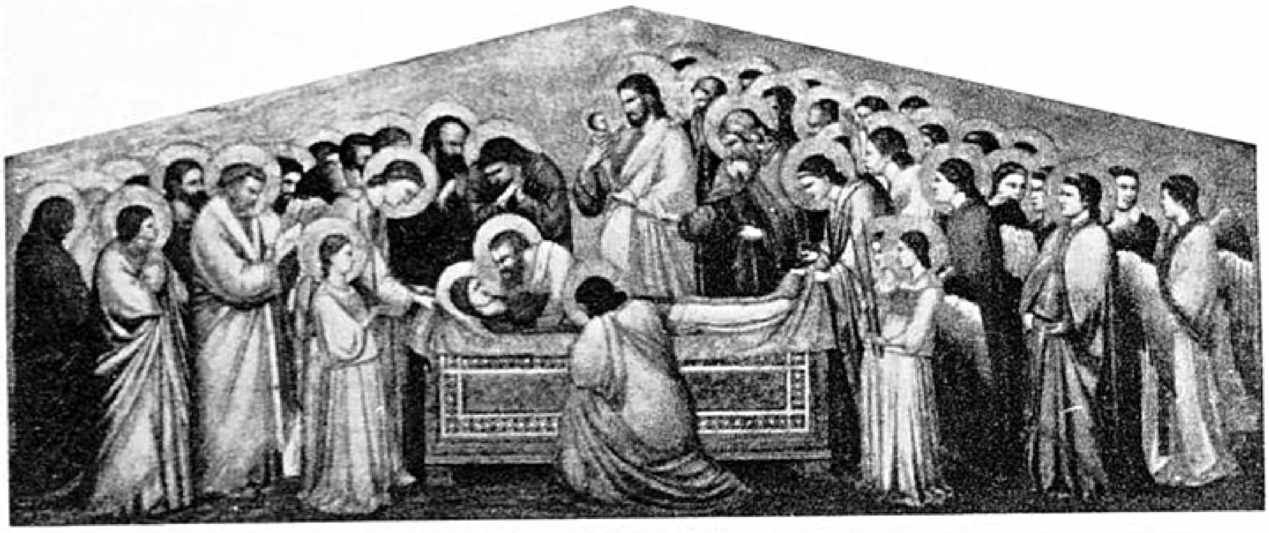


Fig. 96. Giotto, the Death of the Virgin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

The figures are strongly built and of a somewhat heavier type than the painter shows us in the Arena chapel, but rather similar to — although of better quality — than those which we find in the frescoes of the Magdalene chapel at Assisi.

The style of this panel corresponds perfectly with that of the Madonna in the Uffizi (fig. 98) and coming possibly from the same church we may suppose that these two pictures were made at only a short interval of time one from the other, in which case the

---

du tion, for a composition similar to the one of the design will never be found in any 14th century painting of this subject. The panel now in Berlin does not correspond with the engravings of a similar subject reproduced in *Hugford,* Etruria pittrice, pl. IX, *d'Agincourt,* Pittura, pl. CXIV, and *Rosini,* op. cit, pl XIV, which later belonged to the Ottley collection and dates from the first half of the 15th century.

Madonna is probably the slightly later work. The only striking differences will be found in the manner in which the figures in the Berlin picture are crowded on each other, the space expressed by the grouping of the personages and the perspective of the throne in the Uffizi panel. Notwithstanding the harmonious and peaceful beauty which emanates from all the figures of this latter picture, it cannot be denied that the monumental aspect, especially of the Virgin, is somewhat exaggerated although Giotto has never surpassed the fine manner in which he here models the forms through the draping.

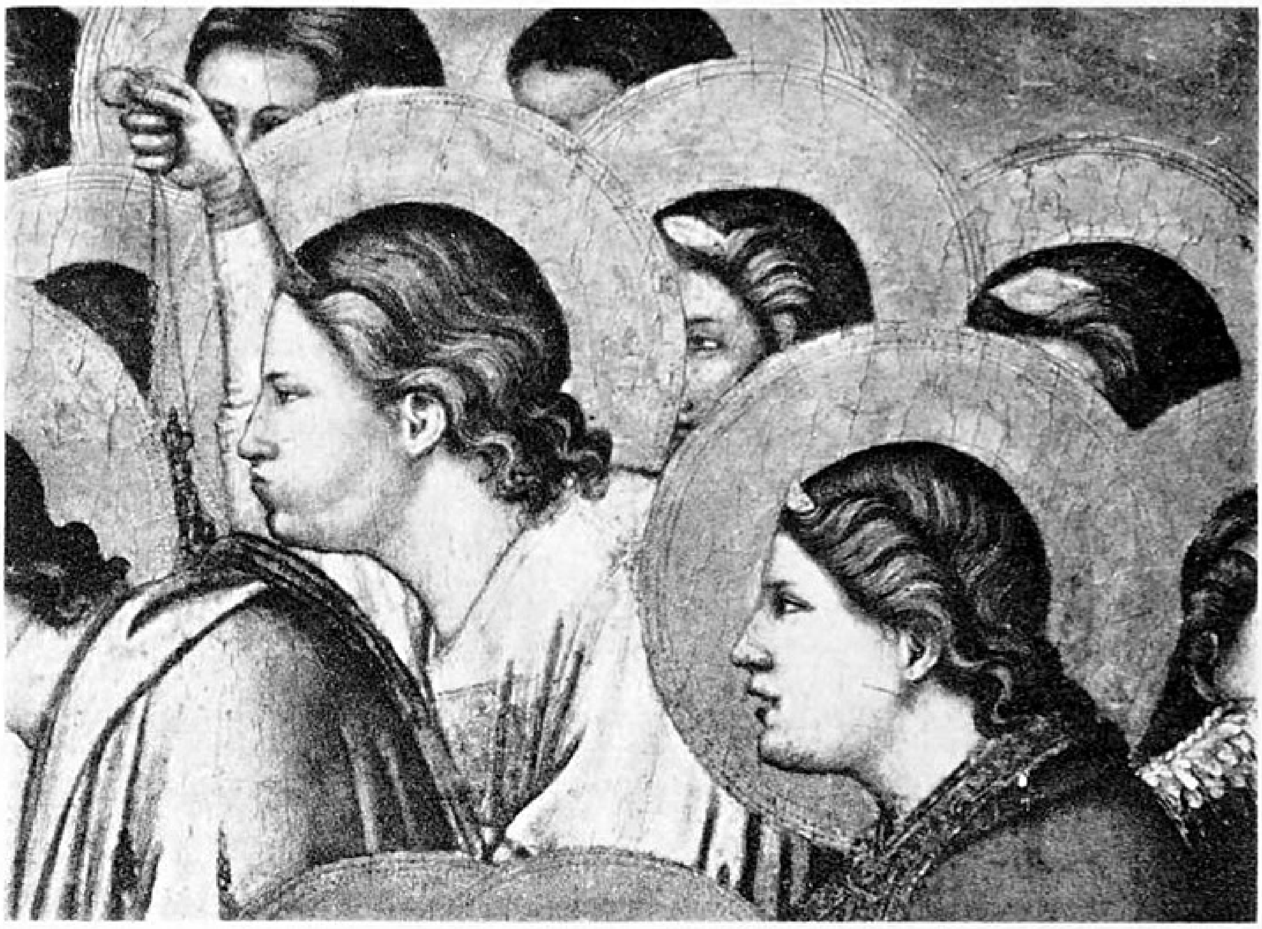


Fig. 97. Detail of fig. 96.

The last panel painting which may be attributed to Giotto is a half-length figure of St. Stephen in the collection which the late Mr. H. P. Horne left to the town of Florence (fig. 99).(¹) The saint is represented carrying a book in both hands while two stones, — the emblem of his martyrdom — seem to adhere to his head. The picture, which is extremely rich in ornamental design, may have

---

(¹) *F. Mason Perkins,* Un opera ignorata di Giotto, Rassegna d'Arte, XVIII, 1918, p. 39. *C. Gamba,* Il Palazzo e la raccolta Horne, Dedalo, 1920, p. 162 seems uncertain about the attribution to Giotto which besides is frequently doubted.

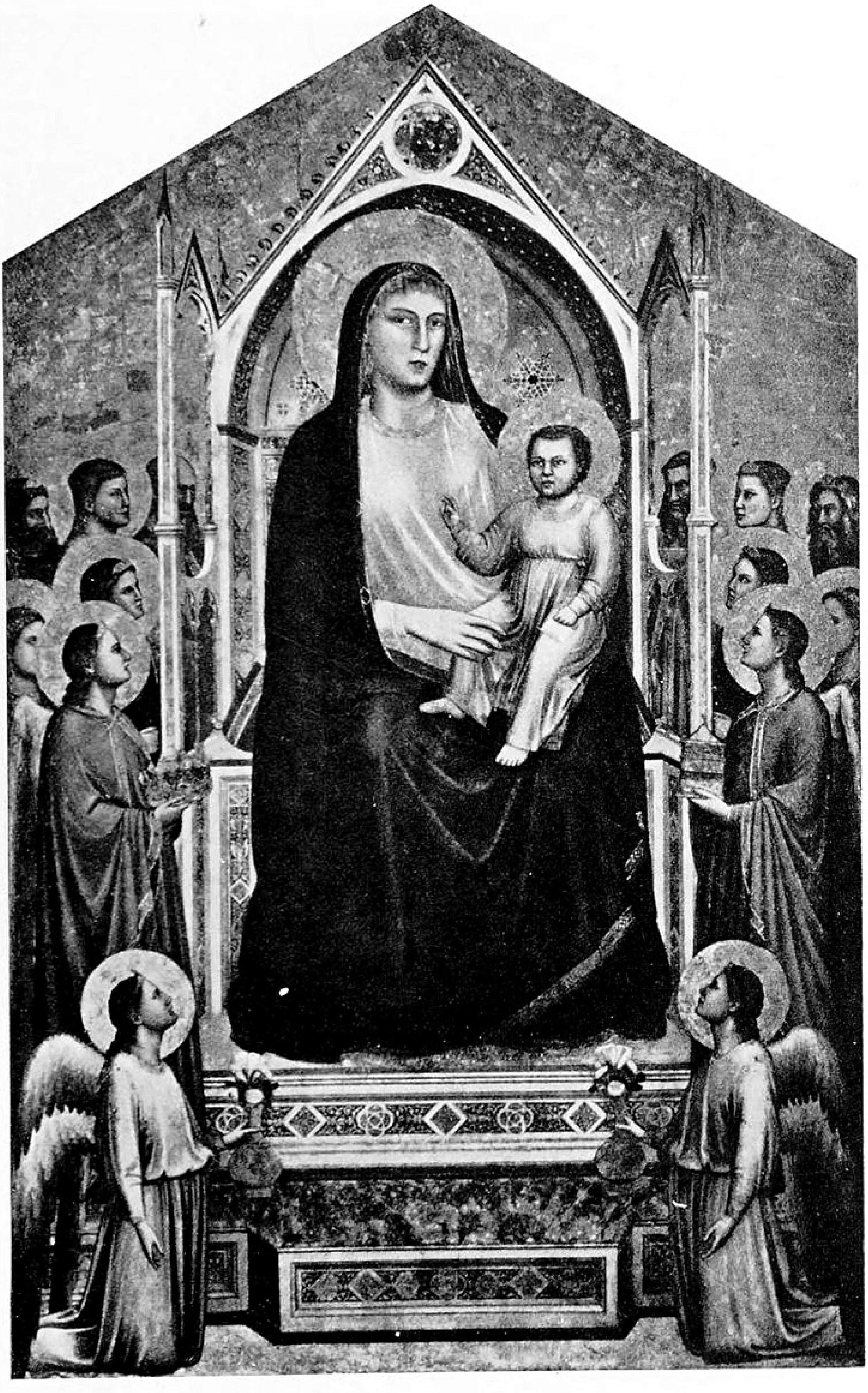


Fig. 98. Giotto, Madonna. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

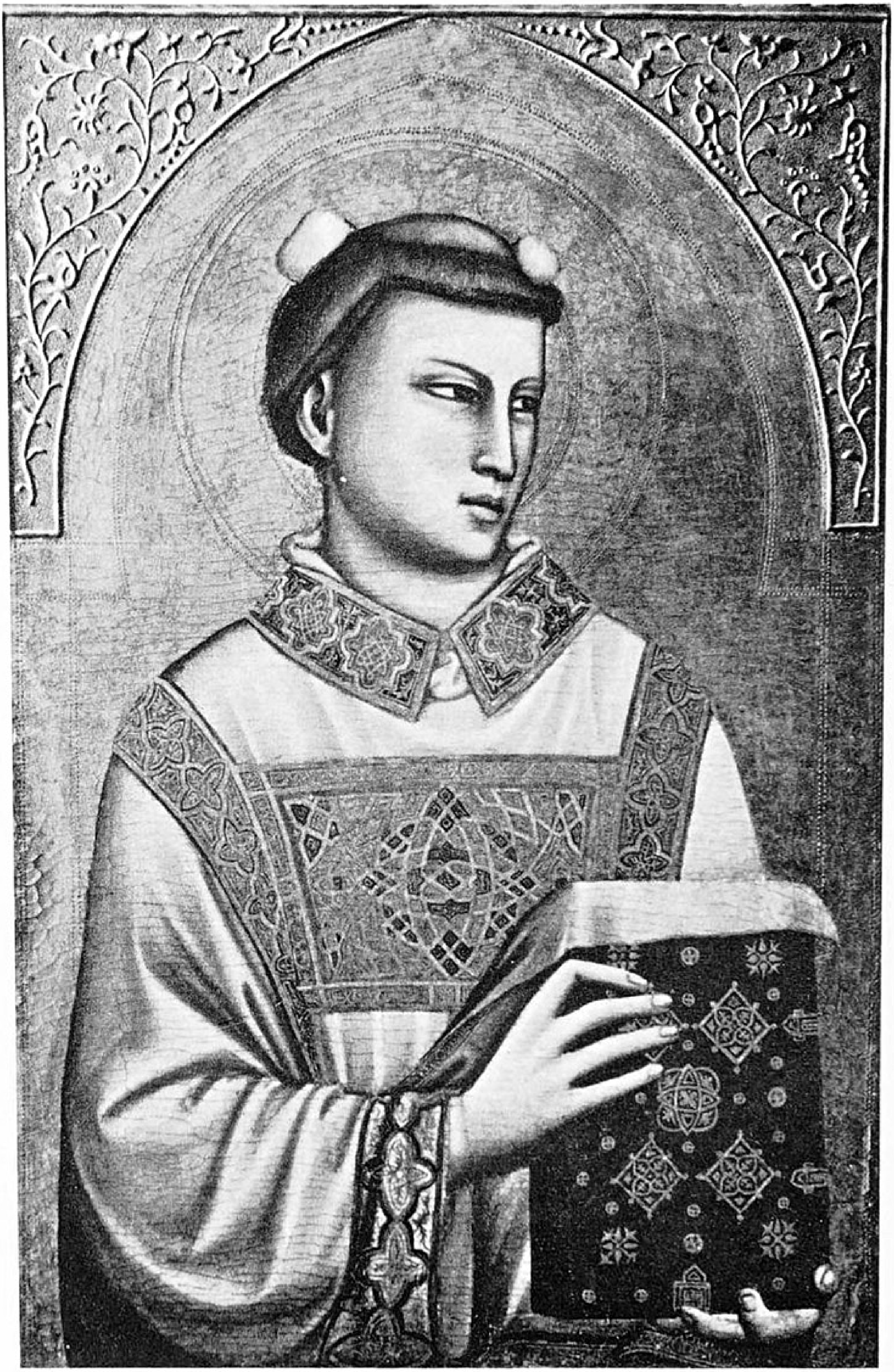


Fig. 99. Giotto, St. Stephen. Horne Collection, Florence.

Photo Reali.

been executed about the same period as the frescoes in Sta. Croce; Mr. Horne himself thought it possible that the panel formed part of the altar-piece which, according to Ghiberti, Giotto made for the Badia where St. Stephen was amongst the most venerated saints. Less broad in proportion than the figures of the panels at Berlin and in the Uffizi, this magnificent figure has preserved more of the extreme neatness of design of the Paduan period showing however much more relief.

I see no reason to doubt Ghiberti's statement that he saw Giotto's models for the ornamentation of the campanile of Florence, on the contrary it is very likely that the great artist was too anxious to produce a harmonious ensemble not to indicate at least in what manner the tower, of which the construction had in such an honorific way been entrusted to his genius, was to be decorated. On the other hand it is more than likely that a professional sculptor was charged with the final execution of these figures for we have no proof that sculpture was one of Giotto's talents. It is quite admissible that Giotto may have chosen Andrea Pisano, the leading sculptor of the day, and to whom these reliefs are frequently attributed, for the execution of his models at Florence. Thus on what Ruskin calls the Shepherd's Tower and which he describes in his Sixth morning in Florence, we have compositions of Giotto but in their actual form they cannot be considered works of this master. Ghiberti does not tell us that Giotto made the models for all of these reliefs and I think that, notwithstanding the fact that Andrea Pisano probably executed all of them, we can distinguish two different styles.

The series begins with the Creation of Adam which shows us the Lord bending over the figure of the first man who seems to have just awakened; in the next we see the Creator bringing forth Eve from the side of Adam, while the third relief depicts the scene after the original sin, both now clothed and at work, Eve spinning and Adam tilling the ground. On the fourth Jabal is seen sitting with crossed legs in an open tent, three sheep and a dog before him, a composition evidently representing the herd's nomad life while Jubal as inventor of music is seen on the following bas-relief sitting before a curious piece of furniture blowing a strange looking trumpet.

The sixth work depicts Tubalkain as first smith turning an instrument on an anvil (fig. 100), while the last on the west wall shows Noah lying drunk in the vineyard. The south wall is decorated with the following: an astronomer investigating the stars, the building of a tower symbolising architecture in general, the making of pottery, riding, weaving, a charming and highly realistic scene of two women, one seated on a stool the other standing, the Law, or God giving the law, Daedalus trying the

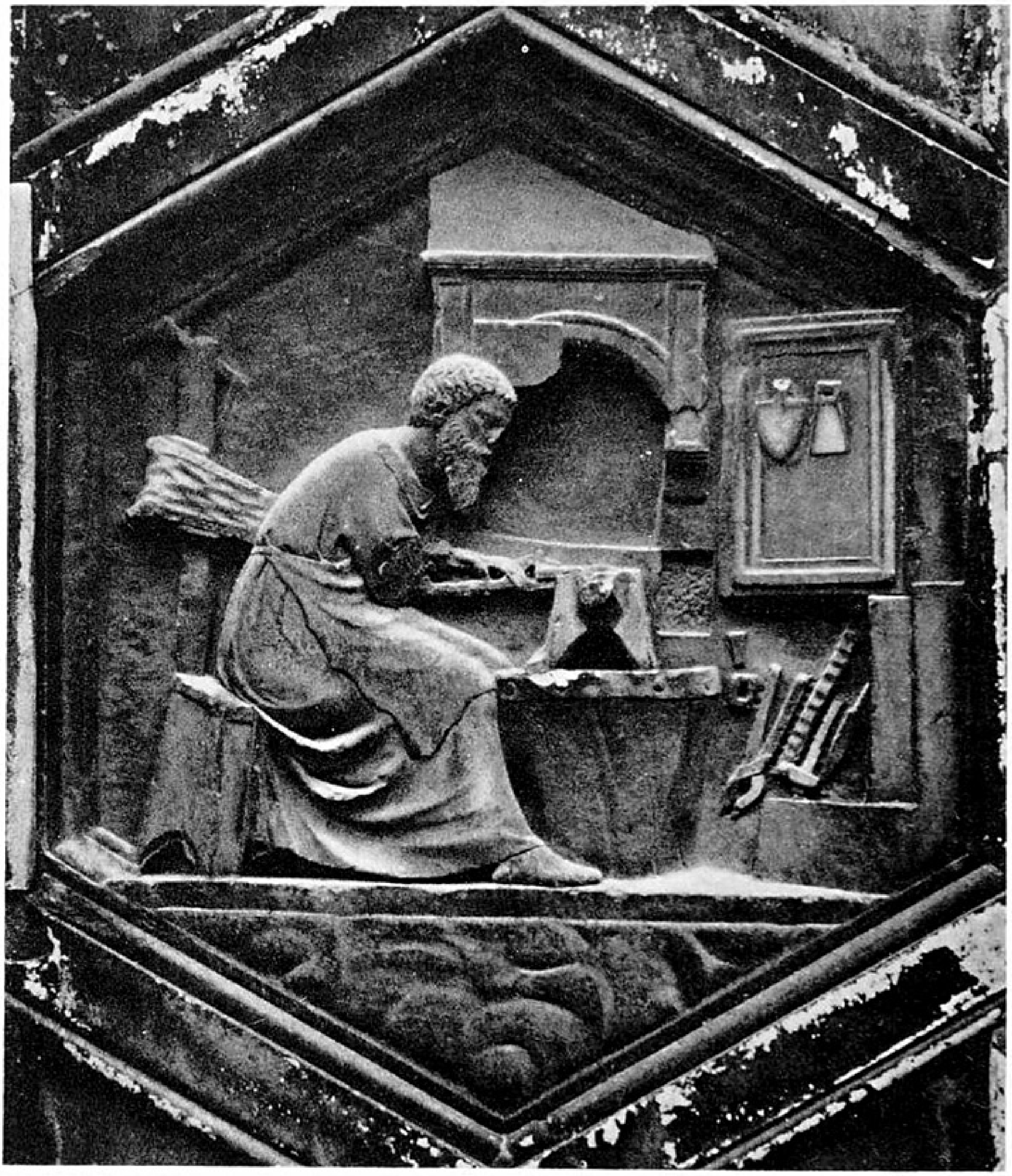


Fig. 100. Giotto, Tubalkain, relief on the Campanile, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

wings with which his son, Iscarus, attempts to conquer the air. On the east wall we find works depicting the conquest of water, men rowing in a boat, and civilization slaying inhumanity, Hercules vanquishing Anateus; then follow scenes of another sort, agriculture represented by a plough and oxen, and what Ruskin believes to be trade by a cart and horses. Above the door we see the mystic Lamb and on the north wall geometry, sculpture and painting (fig. 101), and the other five liberal arts, but these however are later works of Luca della Robbia which have possibly replaced the older ones.

Although we do not possess many authentic works of Andrea Pisano's, the bronze door of the Baptistery with its numerous reliefs gives us a clear idea of his style and if the standing figure of Christ in the Cathedral Museum which is generally attributed to him, be really his, then I think that we can be certain that the creation scenes are equally works of this artist. Although Andrea's style shows such resemblance with Giotto's that I think we can admit an influence of the painter on the sculptor (1), the latter's figures with their heavily shaped heads and necks have their own characteristics in proportion as well as in the draping, the long curved folds of which are freer than Giotto's.

If the painter planned all the reliefs executed by Andrea Pisano, it is obvious that in some of them his manner is more predominant than in others. The sculptures which belong more entirely to Giotto's style are those of Jabal, Jubal, Tubalkain, the Astronomer and some of the liberal arts, especially painting and sculpture.

It would be useless to attempt to detail the respective parts these two artists took in the execution of this decoration. We certainly are able to recognise Giotto's style especially that of his later manner — the one of the Magdalene chapel — in many of these reliefs which allow us to judge of the forms into which Giotto's art developed in his last years and which confirm my impression that this evolution consisted in a gradual increase of the monumental aspect.

---

(1) I have already remarked on this influence when publishing an account of a statue of the Madonna in the Providence Museum, U.S.A. which may with certainty be attributed to this sculptor; A Group by Andrea Pisano, Art in America, 1912, p. 225.

I should like to summarize in a few lines the general considerations which result from the study of Giotto's works.

Giotto, one of the greatest figures in Italian painting, cannot be explained without connecting him with the old Roman tradition chiefly on account of the spirit of his works which is that of popular narration. Examples of this are found in Rome in the remarkable frescoes of the 9th century in S. Clemente, and it becomes a regular tradition after the 11th century when it is

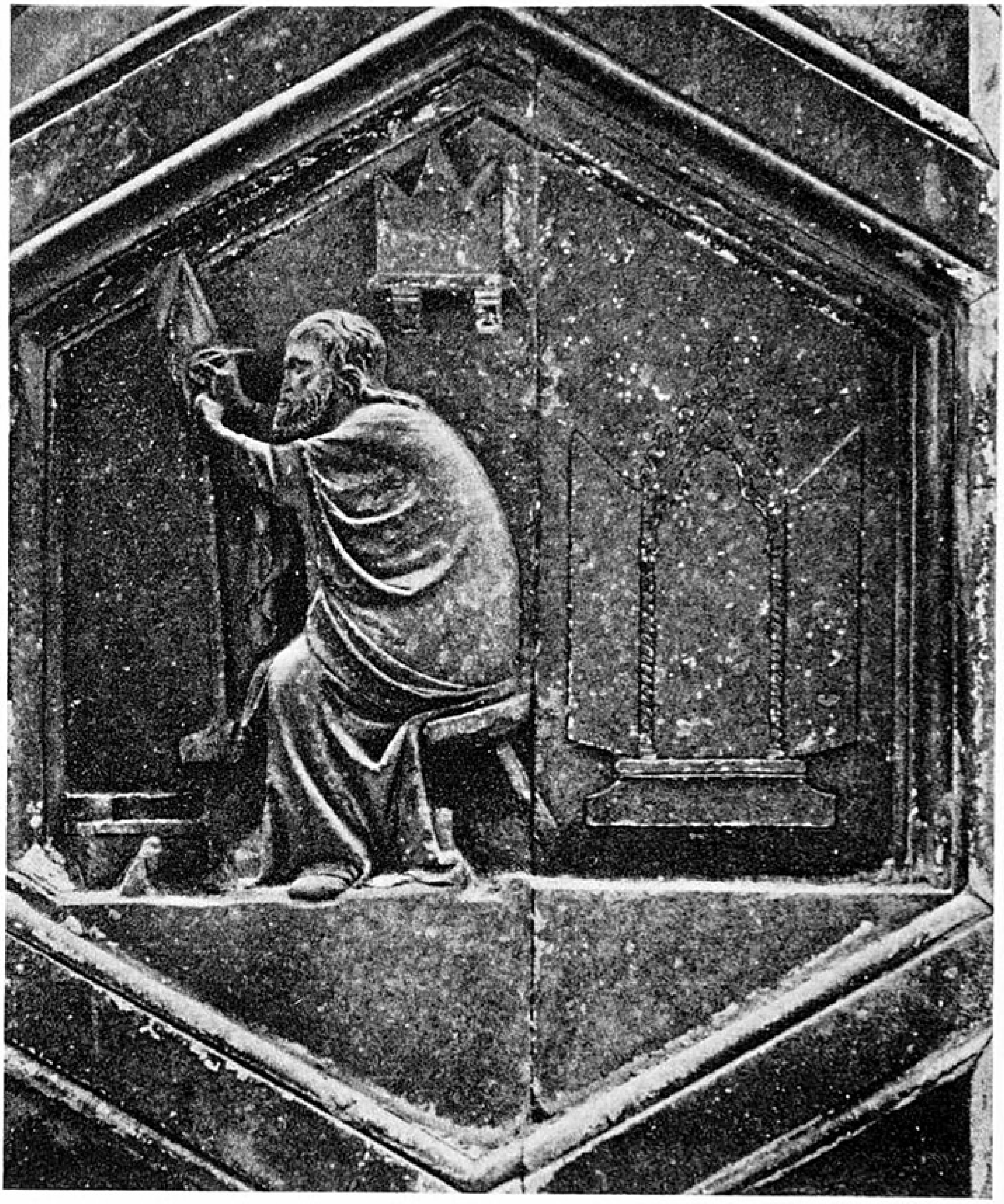


Fig. 101. Giotto, Painting, relief on the Campanile, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

apparent in other frescoes in the same church, those of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, S. Urbano al Cafarello and later in the paintings of Conxolus at Subiaco, in the narthex of S. Lorenzo Fuori etc. The chief element in these frescoes is that of life-like narration portrayed in a popular manner, the main object of the artist being to render his representations comprehensible with as few figures as possible, each of which however plays an important part in the action of the scene.

On account of the psychology of his works it is with this group of artists that we have to classify Giotto, for if not to the Roman school to what other could this great painter have belonged? Certainly not to that of either Siena or Pisa whose forms were more or less Byzantine, and Florence had not a very important school of its own (1); the ambulant Cimabue betraying in his works that he too was not foreign to Roman art.

What Giotto owes to Cavallini, and to what extent he was influenced by classical antiquity will be discussed in the following pages, but let us not forget that at the end of the 13th century Giotto made mosaics in Rome and on account of it comes under the same category of artists as Cavallini, Torriti, Rusuti and probably Cimabue, all of whom will be found to have worked at the ornamentation of the Upper Church of S. Francis at Assisi, and probably Giotto was active there at about the same time. These two facts therefore clearly indicate that at the beginning of his career we have to rank Giotto with the group of Roman mosaicists. In short it will be found that Giotto borrowed from the Roman popular narrative tradition as well as from the sculpturesque beauty of Cavallini, taking his concise realism from the former, which lacked aesthetic value, and combining with it the sense of beauty of the latter, who in his own art lacked dramatic and psychological talent. Thus, with this combination, Giotto produced his works which we know to be thoroughly artistic and at the same time full of appreciation for the picturesque value of human psychology and its expression which he, fully conscious and without any naïveté, executed in all its perfection, nor can we exaggerate the importance of the fact that Giotto before everything else is a painter of humanity. In other points, however, instead of attempting a realistic representation, he retains the primitive ideas, such as may be found in the backgrounds and surroundings of the personages in his scenes. Often certain accessory elements were required to render the narrative illustrated more comprehensible but Giotto seldom represents more than what is strictly necessary; for example a town near which an event takes place is depicted by one or two houses (St. Francis breaking with his father, the Massacre of the Innocents etc.), or if the legend mentions a particular building we do not find any others for the formation of a more complete scene (the Visitation, the Meeting of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate, the Virgin returning to the house of her parents (?), the Entry into Jerusalem); again the interior of a church or temple is sometimes only indicated by the presence of an altar (the Vision of the thrones, Joachim chased from the Temple, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, the three scenes of the betrothal of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple, at Padua etc.). If however an event takes place inside a building, Giotto represents the surroundings in more detail, but here also his methods are sometimes rather primitive, one instance of which we find in the fresco of the crucifix in the church of S. Damiano speaking to St. Francis which we see taking place through a hole in the wall; but it is evident that Giotto did not find the method, which only appears in this juvenile work, very satisfactory, for as a rule he leaves out the whole wall of an otherwise complete house in order that the scene may be revealed to the spectator (the Vision of the fiery chariot, the Annunciation to St. Anna, the Nativity of the Virgin, etc.). Sometimes the entire building, including the roof forms a frame around the composition (the Lord's Supper and the Feet-washing), while in one instance Giotto follows the very old system of representing the building in which the event takes place, as background to the scene (the Merchants driven from the Temple). Numerous examples however exist of well-designed interiors, generally seen from such a point that the ceiling is visible (the Confirmation of the rules of St. Francis, the Saint preaching to Honorius III, the Apparition at Arles, Christ teaching in the Temple, the Wedding at Cana, Christ before the highpriest, the Flagellation etc.), and frequently depicted at an angle to emphasize the perspective.

---

(1) v. Vol. I, p. 363.

If we compare Giotto's natural backgrounds with those of his predecessors we certainly find a great advance, but in comparison with his architectural ones he paid little attention to them and one cannot say that Giotto's works manifest a great love of nature. Amongst the great variety of landscapes which the painter must have known we find only one constantly repeated, the infertile rocks of certain regions of Central Italy with here and there an imperfectly grown tree (¹). He however often gives to the mountains their full mass whereas in the works of his predecessors their outline only formed a kind of limitation to the background. If Giotto had been a real lover of nature he surely would have sometimes chosen another and more picturesque surrounding for his compositions, but his bare rocks had the one advantage of requiring very little work. It would not always be easy to determine the botanical order of the trees and shrubs which Giotto depicts here and there to fill up an otherwise too bare background, and it is very true as Mr. Guthmann puts it "Giotto pays more attention to the ornamental value than to botanic reality" (²); on one occasion however we find a tree painted with great care and occupying an important part of the fresco (the Sermon of St. Francis to the birds).

The perspective in Giotto's paintings, though not always correct, also shows a great improvement on what we have previously found. He himself seems to have been well aware of the advance he had made in this one point for we often find him unnecessarily creating occasions in order to display his skill. Houses are often seen from the corner, but the corner is sometimes too sharp and those parts, which on account of their distance should be smaller, are often still too broad but never too high. Also when representing complicated structures with numerous surfaces or several buildings together, the perspective is not very often exact; he does not succeed in producing an ensemble but rather the effect that the buildings are seen from different points of view.

---

(¹) *v. Kallab,* Toscanische Landschaft Malerei, in XIV and XV Jahrh. Jahrb. Kunsthist. Saml. Allerh. Kaiserh. XXI, 1900, p. 35 et seq.

(²) *J. Guthmann,* Die Landschaft Malerei der Toscanisch u. Umbrische Kunst von Giotto bis Raphael, Leipzig, 1902 p. 11. Kallab considers that Giotto's landscapes are realistic transpositions of the traditional Byzantine.

In scenes of interiors such mistakes are much less frequent, for Giotto, aware of the importance of perspective, makes an effort to produce the right foreshortening and one never sees in his works the indifference on this point which characterized the painters of the 13th century; generally the shortcoming is only visible after minute observation.

Much has been written, especially by Herr Wulff and Herr Rintelen on Giotto's manner of depicting space; the latter author explains how the artist by placing the event inside the scenic surface gives action to every part of the representation. If space be obvious in Giotto's paintings, it is created by the action of the figures and not by the fact that the artist succeeded in expressing distance; consequently space is mostly observed in the direction in which the action takes place; with this we arrive at Giotto's weakest point and the one on which he was most dependent on his Italo-Byzantine predecessors. The action of his figures follows the direction of the surface of his paintings, the personages are depicted in profile and except for the Meeting at the Golden Gate never in depth, a fact which greatly influenced the composition of the scenes, and although on the whole very superior to anything we have seen up till now, Giotto's groups are frequently either long rows or such a conglomeration of figures that besides those in the front only the outlines of heads are visible. Giotto's rival Duccio was in this respect much less primitive.

Enough has already been said of the new methods employed by Giotto for the expression of space. The master was not always sure of himself; it was obviously a new attempt in which he sometimes succeeded and frequently failed, but the attempt was invariably made. The greatest difference between Cimabue's Madonna and that of Giotto when seen together is not so much in the more Byzantine type of the one and the more Italian aspect of the other but in the manner Giotto spaces his figures and places the various parts of the throne on different planes, while in Cimabue's picture this effect is almost negligible.

Cavallini, much more than Cimabue, attempted to represent relief but only in the figures, the compositions as we observed being rather lacking in depth and perspective. Giotto owes much to Cavallini but this is particularly noticeable in his frescoes of

Assisi and apparently in the works he made in Rome. At Assisi we find in the features the same manner of design almost entirely obtained by sharp opposition of light and shade which Cavallini, I suppose, acquired in studying autique statuary; there we also find Cavallini's round heads and peculiar proportions which may also be observed in what remains of the productions of Giotto's Roman period.

At Assisi, then, Giotto in his proportions and manner of obtaining strong relief betrays the influence Cavallini's art exercised upon him. At Padua however we find he has acquired more independence,his manner being more individual; his design, especially of the features, is more linear, the relief of the bodies, although not less perfect, has become more simple in conception and execution. Although the third dimension is always very efficiently and harmoniously expressed, Giotto has here abandoned the light and shade effects of Cavallini in order to obtain a much neater design and an altogether more synthetic rendering of form. As the master however preserved the same majestic proportions, the figures in which the relief is diminished naturally tend to become somewhat broad and even heavy, the general aspect on this account and because of their greater mobility reminding us less of classical sculpture than Cavallini's figures did. On the whole I find here, in proportions, draping and movement, most connection with the sculptural works of Arnolfo di Cambio, an artist of a previous generation (1).

Summing up, we might say that Giotto obtained the plasticity of his figures from Cavallini's examples which he considerably modified, perhaps not always improving upon them, while on the other hand in the expression of space and perspective he was greatly ahead of Cavallini. We have already seen how much in Giotto's art betrays his knowledge of Rome. His acquaintance with mediæval Rome we find in the characteristic church façade in the fresco at Assisi where the Pope in a dream sees St. Francis sustaining the falling building, or again in the frequent use of Cosmati ornamentation,while we never find in his works the mosaic decoration, corresponding to the Cosmati, then employed in Florence. Of classical antique inspiration — though somewhat modified – are the Corinthian columns, the horses of St. Francis' fiery Chariot, the genii on the apsidal wall of the Arezzo church, and on the façade of St. Anna's house in the scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity of the Virgin, also the small statues of animals on the temple from which Christ chases the money changers, the bust on the façade in the fresco of the confirmation of the Franciscan rules and the statues on the roof of Herod's loggia (Florence); all these elements have probably been taken from antique Roman models which Giotto must have seen during his visit to the Eternal City. It is only natural that borrowing such details from classical art, Giotto was also inspired by the more perfect design of the human body which it offered, and this influence is very evident in his frescoes in Sta. Croce.

---

(1) Arnolfo died probably in 1302.

But what the painter learnt from these models is little in comparison with what he owes to Cavallini who was his real master and whose style he follows and develops. When painting his earliest work – the St. Francis series at Assisi – Giotto was still a pupil of this Roman painter whose influence is even more marked in the bust of the angel, the only original part of the mosaic of the Navicella which remains to us and which shows an obvious connection with the paintings at Assisi; it is only later that Giotto acquires his own qualities and individuality. Cavallini's art was before everything else mystical though expressed in realistic and beautiful human form; in those scenes which we attributed to Cavallini personally, a certain sense of realism is always to be observed but it will soon be discovered that this painter was more at ease with his mystical figures of serene religious expression, such as the Apostles in the Last Judgment in Sta. Cecilia, Rome. Realism in different expressions and attitudes was limited by the small variety of subject which, as far as we know, Cavallini treated, and this allowed him to retain that serene religious note which characterizes his works.

I do not think we need take Cimabue into consideration for the formation of Giotto's art. Cimabue, whose peculiar style differentiated him from the Roman group of painters, although at the same time he more or less formed part of this school, possessed a sense of the dramatic which had developed in Tuscany, since introduced by Guinta Pisano and which, although anything but lifeless, does not show that variation and psychological study of diversity of expression which forms one of the chief features of the artists of the Roman narrative art. In this respect Giotto's immediate precursors were painters like Conxolus and the master who executed the figures of the four Church-Fathers in the Upper Church of Assisi, but he greatly surpassed them in the boundless variety of well-observed expressions and in the harmony which he knew how to create between facial expression and attitude. Giotto grasped the reality of life under all circumstances and in a simple unaffected manner presented it to the spectator. Cavallini's figures, no matter what the subject may be, always evince a religious spirit; Conxolus though more primitive in the design of the human body, was more accurate in the observation of expression, but with Giotto's compositions we arrive at a perfect combination of both; not only the principal action of the event is important but the effect it has on the bystanders and the different parts they play in it. Every figure on the scene takes part in the event depicted; typical examples of this will be found in the paintings of St. Francis renouncing his father and the Death of the knight of Celano, this latter scene is certainly of the artist's own invention for the text gives no details.

As Herr Rintelen says, Giotto's narrations are architectural, each moment comes to its full value, each figure is what it should be with all its energy. Giotto was a perfect narrator; notwithstanding his fidelity to iconographical types he became so bound up in the various stories that his hand faithfully followed his imagination and so prevented him from relating them illogically, a fault which many of the other painters of his time committed. If the same people appear in successive composition, they are always easily recognisable, nor does the painter forget to depict the same house identically in different scenes, thus giving to the series a logical succession which enables us to understand the story without any knowledge of the text. Also the painter took the greatest care to make each event clear to the spectator, and in order to attain this end he frequently added figures to those mentioned in the text (¹) or changed them in such a manner that

---

(¹) This is especially marked in the St. Francis cycle at Assisi in scenes 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 15. In the last, the Sermon to the birds, Giotto has borrowed the figure of the monk from the Master of St. Francis' example in the Lower Church.

the picture became more comprehensible (¹). In illustrating a story in which a voice is heard the painter always expresses it by an image or if a vision is seen he adds a figure who points at it and thus attracts the attention of the public. We find this at Assisi in the fresco of the dream of St. Francis but evidently in order to avoid repetition it is absent in the scene of the Pope's dream. I have already quoted many examples in demonstrating how the figures alone form the reality in Giotto's compositions and how the mise-en-scène only served to surround them or add some detail to the narrative. They were indicated and symbolized and not depicted as realities. Once he established the composition of a scene, Giotto repeated it more or less faithfully, such as St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, the Saint breaking with his father, but occasionally he improves his original composition as is very obvious in the scene of St. Francis before the Sultan which at Florence is so much more dignified than the representation at Assisi.

Giotto invariably follows the same system of indicating the principal person of a composition, which consists in making the other figures look in his direction or even in making gestures towards him, thus for example in the various Presentations in the Temple, the Babe by this means becomes the central and most important figure of the scene, as too in the Flight into Egypt this result is obtained by Joseph looking over his shoulder at the precious load on the donkey's back, again in the Resurrection of Lazarus this ghastly apparition becomes the chief figure of the scene by the obvious excitement it arouses amongst the by-standers; sometimes such evidence of emotion is quite natural but on other occasions, as in the first two instances, it is obviously the painter's intention to attract the eye of the public to the principal figure.

Giotto's compositions however are neither artificial nor rigid, on the contrary his strongly developed sense of reality and his keen observation of humanity prevented him from following the schematic system of his predecessors, to whom however he was

---

(¹) As for example where the painter changes on his own authority the Seraphim from whom St. Francis receives the stigmata, into the figure of the crucified Saviour.

faithful in the iconography of these images. It is clearly seen that the artist had a preference for figures in profile, which however did not hinder him from depicting persons from all standpoints, even — and in this case he is the first to do so — from the back. In the St. Francis cycle at Assisi there are several frescoes in which all the figures are entirely seen from the side, but in later works this changes and the faces alone are depicted in profile. His design of the nude is peculiar in the somewhat heavy limbs, the ankles being invariably too thick, the feet broad and the arms rather short. One of Giotto's important achievements was to establish the type of crucifix which, after him was repeated throughout the 14th century and for the greater part of the 15th. He introduced the realistic conception of the Crucifixion which was entirely lacking in the crucifixes of the 13th century, in those of the 14th the figure of the Crucified becomes astonishingly real and the surrounding small scenes or figures are for ever abolished. This change however, as has already been mentioned, cannot be entirely attributed to Giotto.

The great care and attention which Giotto paid to the architecture in many of his pictures makes one less surprised to find him at the end of his life in charge of the construction of the Cathedral and campanile of Florence. His detailed representation of architecture makes one think that even long before this period Giotto must have been interested in and perhaps employed in this branch of art.

# CHAPTER II.

## GIOTTO'S ASSISTANTS AND IMMEDIATE FOLLOWERS.

### THE FIRST CONTINUER OF THE ST. FRANCIS CYCLE.

I am of opinion that the continuation of the St. Francis cycle at Assisi was executed by two different artists, one of whom may be held responsible for the scenes 20—24 while 25—28 may be attributed to the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece and will be discussed together with the other works of this artist.

The 20th scene of this series depicts the death and funeral of the saint. In the foreground the body lies on a bier and is surrounded by ten brothers, kneeling or sitting on the ground, behind the six around his head is a large assembly of monks in the midst of whom a priest holds the service for the dead and two brothers on either side carry large candles; above in a mandorla supported by four angels a bust of the saint is borne to heaven, escorted by three angels at each side. I am inclined to admit that in this fresco Giotto may have helped his assistant in depicting the monks around the bier, several of whom are seen from the back; but the figures behind and those in midair have not so much in common with the great artist, whose precise, strong design and characteristic conception of the human structure are here entirely absent, but this helper obviously learned from his master the art of depicting human sentiment which will be found well expressed in the figures of this scene.

(21). The death of Brother Augustine at the same moment as St. Francis, and Bishop Guido of Assisi dreaming of the saint form the subjects of this fresco which is of very weak composition; even the meaning of the scene would be difficult for a spectator, unfamiliar with St. Francis' biography, to understand. On the left, through the missing wall of a building shaped like a church and decorated with statues, we see Brother Augustine sitting up in bed, surrounded by several monks, stretching out his arms towards the vision of the saint being taken up to heaven. The vision itself however is not depicted in this scene, the painter evidently thinking that it was unnecessary to repeat the upper

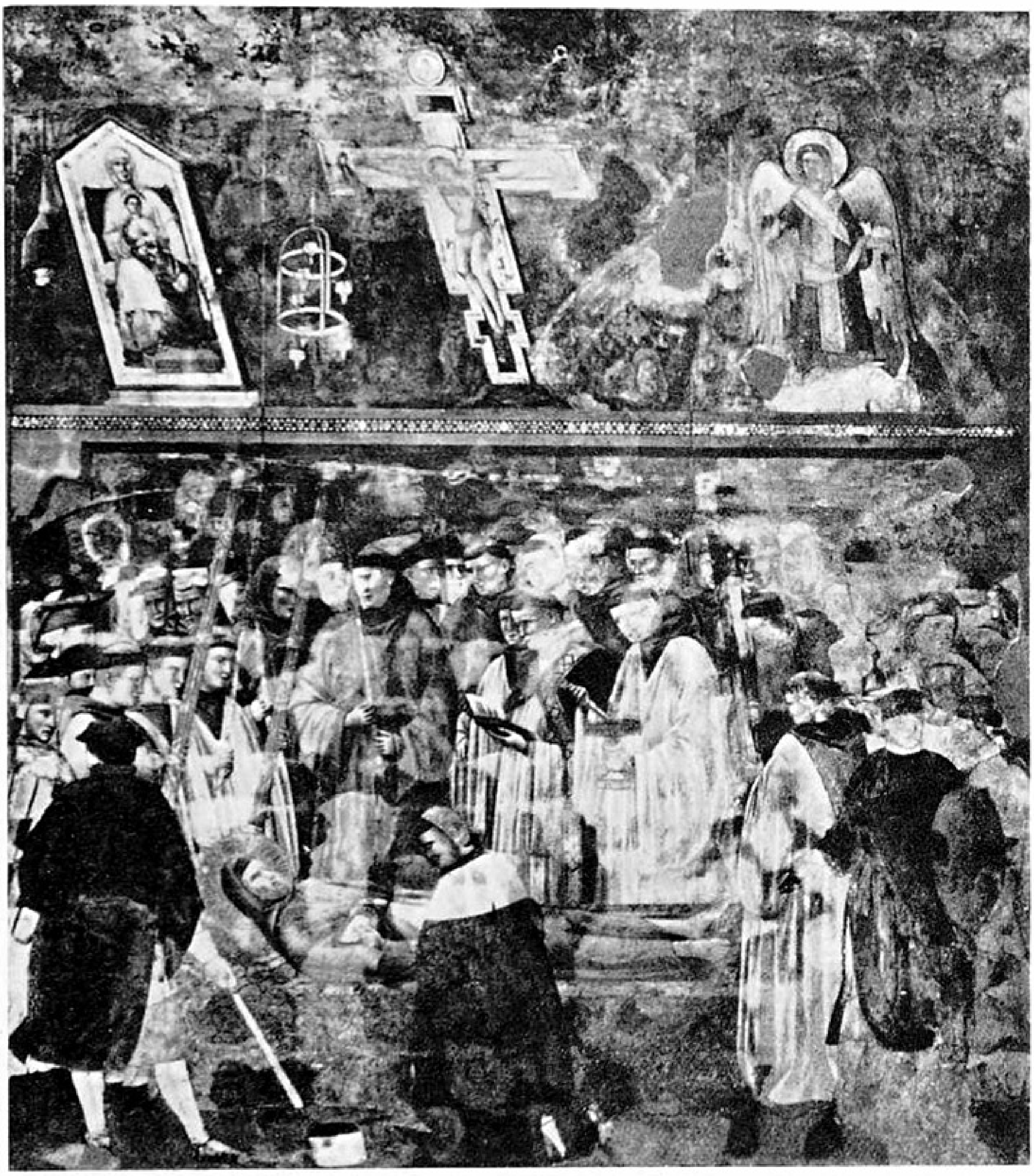


Fig. 102. An Assistant of Giotto's. Hilsonymus convincing himself of St. Francis' stigmata. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Alinari.

part of the previous fresco. To the right and partly hidden behind the building, Bishop Guido is depicted asleep in an attitude somewhat resembling that of St. Francis in the third fresco, and that of St. Elizabeth at the birth of St. John, in the Peruzzi chapel. The wall behind is decorated with a hanging curtain, while over the top of the building the roof of a small house is visible. Both parts of this painting are very inferior to the corresponding ones in the Bardi chapel, Florence.

(22). The same remark may be applied to the scene in which we see the knight Hilsonymus kneeling before the dead saint and convincing himself of the reality of the stigmata (fig. 102); amongst the densely packed crowd of monks behind the bier one can distinguish the officiating priest and his four assistants carrying candles. Although little care has been taken in the composition of the monks, some of the faces are very expressive, while the figure of the man standing to the left in the foreground with his back to the spectator is well designed and skilfully executed. The event seems to take place in a church, the only evidence of which however is the presence of three pictures, a Madonna, a crucifix and an archangel placed above on a cross beam.

(23). The next fresco depicts the funeral procession of St. Francis stopping outside the convent and St. Clare and her nuns coming out to grieve over the dead saint (figs. 103 and 104). Against the prettily ornamented façade of a church from which a group of nuns emerges, St. Clare is seen bending over the dead St. Francis and gazing fondly into his face while two other nuns devoutly kiss the wounds in his hands and feet. On the left a small boy is seen climbing on a tree, obviously to get a better view, a detail which is frequently met with in scenes of the Lord's Entry into Jerusalem. In front of the three stands a large crowd of people but here they are not massed together but well separated and individually treated; those behind however are only indicated by the tops of their heads. The expression of distress on the faces of the kneeling nuns and the calm suppressed grief of the other assistants are admirably depicted; the attitude of the two bearers who are seen bending in order to lift their burden and continue on their way again, is also well observed. In the design of the figures however, especially in the faces, there is something which is entirely foreign to Giotto's art. The design is somewhat harder than in the master's works, the faces are rather flat and many figures lack the mass which Giotto so well knew how to give them. The great merit of this representation is the manifestation of a sense of poetry which the painter possessed quite independently of Giotto.

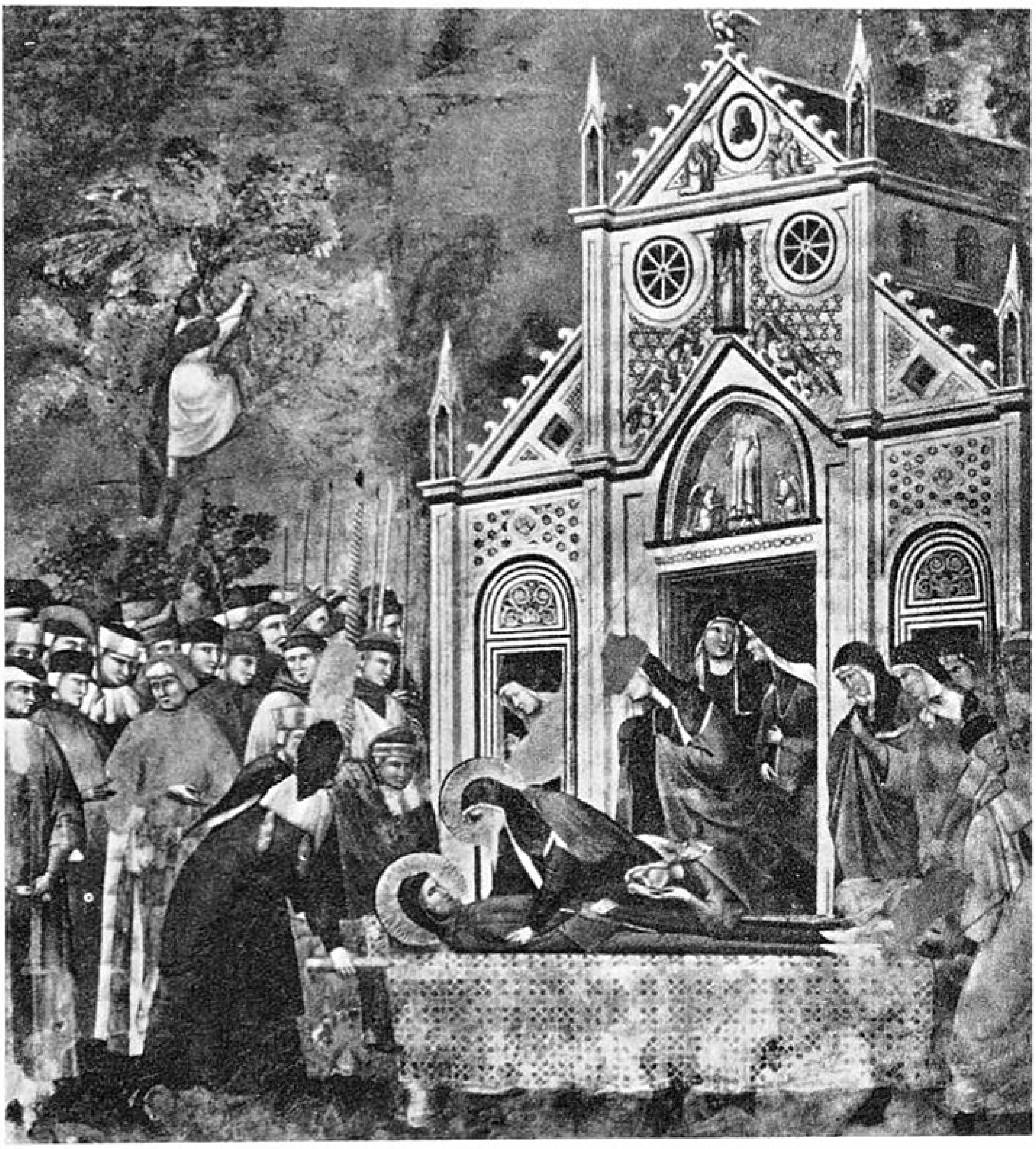


Fig. 103. An Assistant of Giotto's, the Funeral of St Francis. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

(24) Of the canonisation of the saint which Pope Gregory IX personally performed at Assisi in 1228 only a fragment remains showing clearly some bishops, monks and other dignitaries

seated in rows and a group of people below them; two women each holding a child are seen from behind.

The faces almost all express keen interest but do not show much variety. Although of good plastic effect and clever light and shading, the outline of the figures is somewhat heavy.

Art historical writers are not unanimous in their opinion of these paintings, several such as Herr Wulff attribute the entire series to Giotto; Prof. Venturi finds that in fresco no. 20 Giotto reveals himself more clearly, but does not believe that all these paintings of the continuation are by the master; while Herr Zimmermann thinks they are by Giotto, but on account of their more complicated composition, inferior to the preceeding nineteen. Mr. Berenson attributes all nine to the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece but finds that in the first six the artist has been more influenced by Giotto.

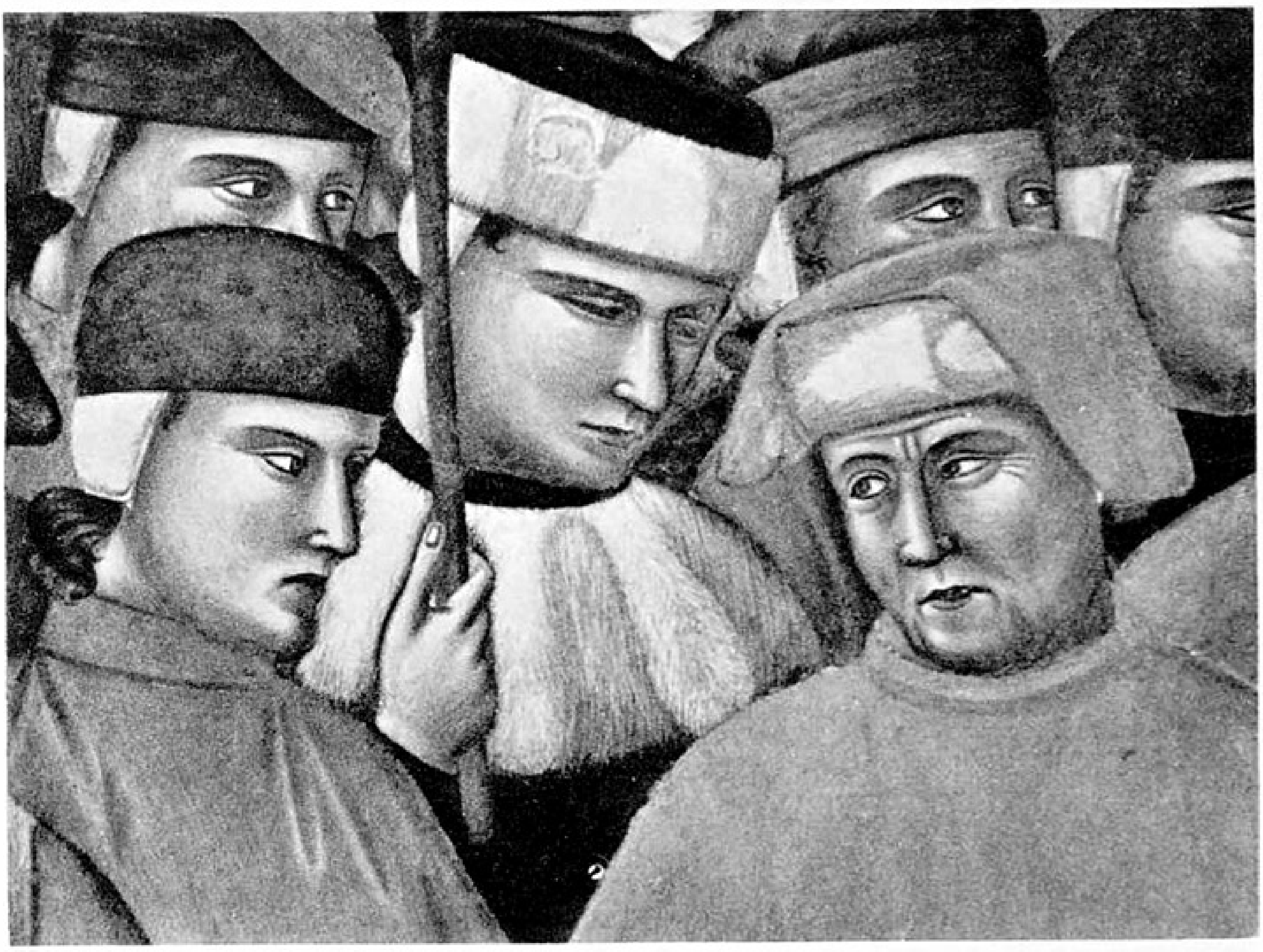


Fig. 104. Detail of fig. 103.

Photo Alinari.

The painter who executed the frescoes 20—24 is the one whose style most closely approaches Giotto's Assisan manner and I would even go so far as to admit that the pupil received assistance from the master in some of the paintings, especially in the 22nd in which Hilsonymus assures himself of the reality of the stigmata and in which we find faces familiar to us since the beginning of the cycle. The proportions, the treatment of the drapery and the relief effects, however, show enough difference for us to suppose that they are the products of another artist. On the other hand, I do not exclude the possibility of Giotto's having superintended, or even having taken part in, the execution of these five scenes.

In technical achievements, like space and perspective, and in the manner of representing interiors, this artist faithfully followed Giotto's example.

I believe that to the same hand we may attribute the large panel from the church of S. Francesco in Pisa, now in the Louvre, of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, in which the three scenes on the predella illustrate the Pope's dream of the saint supporting the church, the Confirmation of the rules and the Sermon to the birds (figs. 105 and 106). In composition these scenes bear a considerable resemblance to Giotto's at Assisi; the absence of the reading monk is the chief difference in the principle representation, but at Florence Giotto himself has not depicted this figure.

The three predella panels are almost copies of the corresponding scenes at Assisi differing only, in the representation of the Pope's dream, in the presence of St. Peter, who stands behind the Pontiff indicating to him the saint, more or less in the same manner as the Lord in the third fresco at Assisi points out the reward which awaits St. Francis for his generosity. Another change in the same scene — one might call it a correction of an illogical mistake — is that the saint is not placed on the platform of the falling building he supports.

Taking into account the difference between a well-preserved panel and much damaged and restored frescoes and allowing a certain interval between the execution of the one and the other, I think we are justified in our attribution of this picture to the direct follower of Giotto, the artist whom we hold responsible for scenes 20—24 of the St. Francis cycle. Here too we feel the direct inspiration and supervision of the master, and also, as in these five frescoes, the larger proportions of the figures and

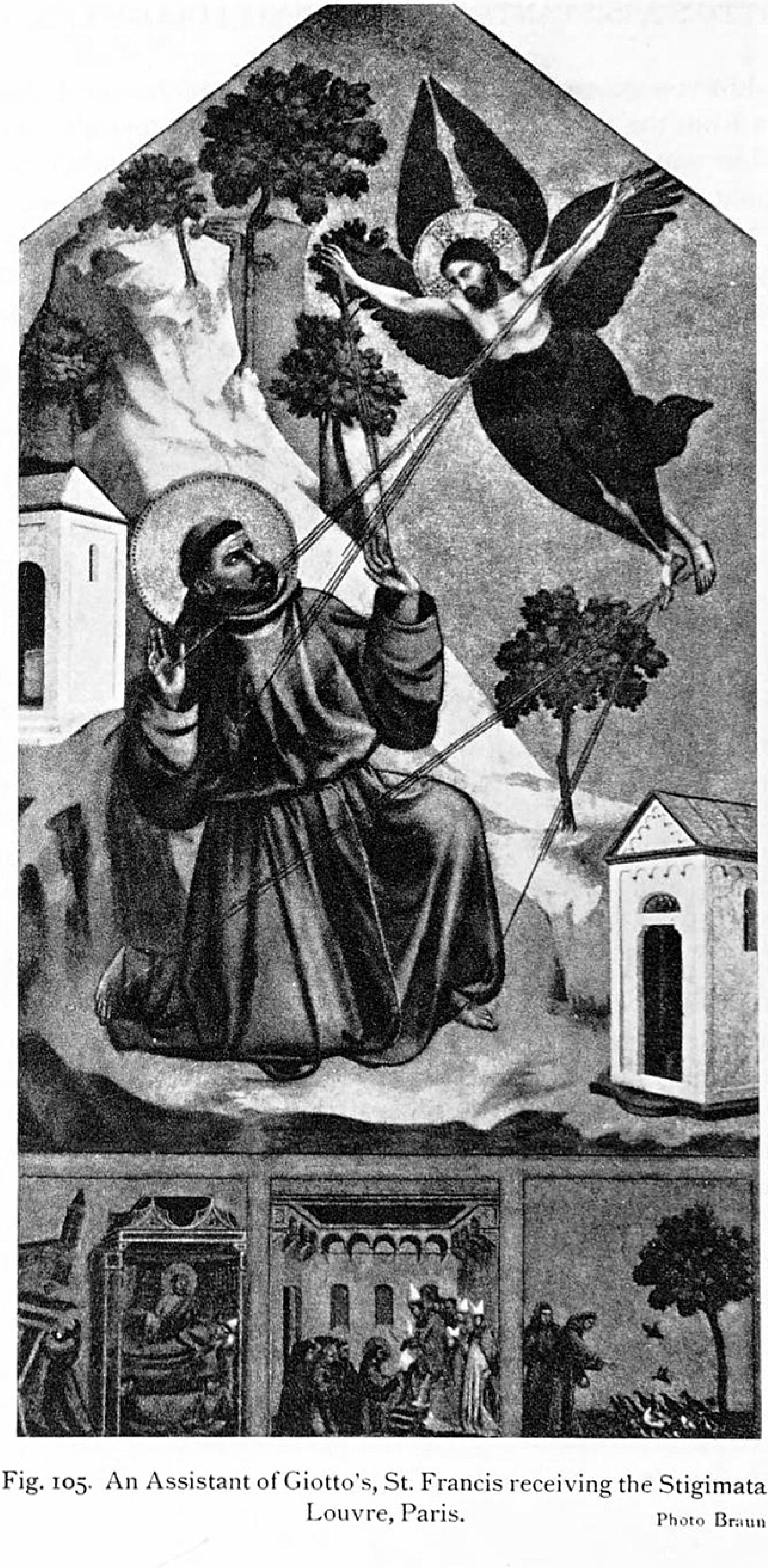


Fig. 105. An Assistant of Giotto's, St. Francis receiving the Stigimata
Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.

the form of tree are different from what we have found in Giotto's own works.

The signature "*Opus Jocti Florentini*" which seems perfectly genuine, may very well only indicate that it is a product of Giotto's workshop.

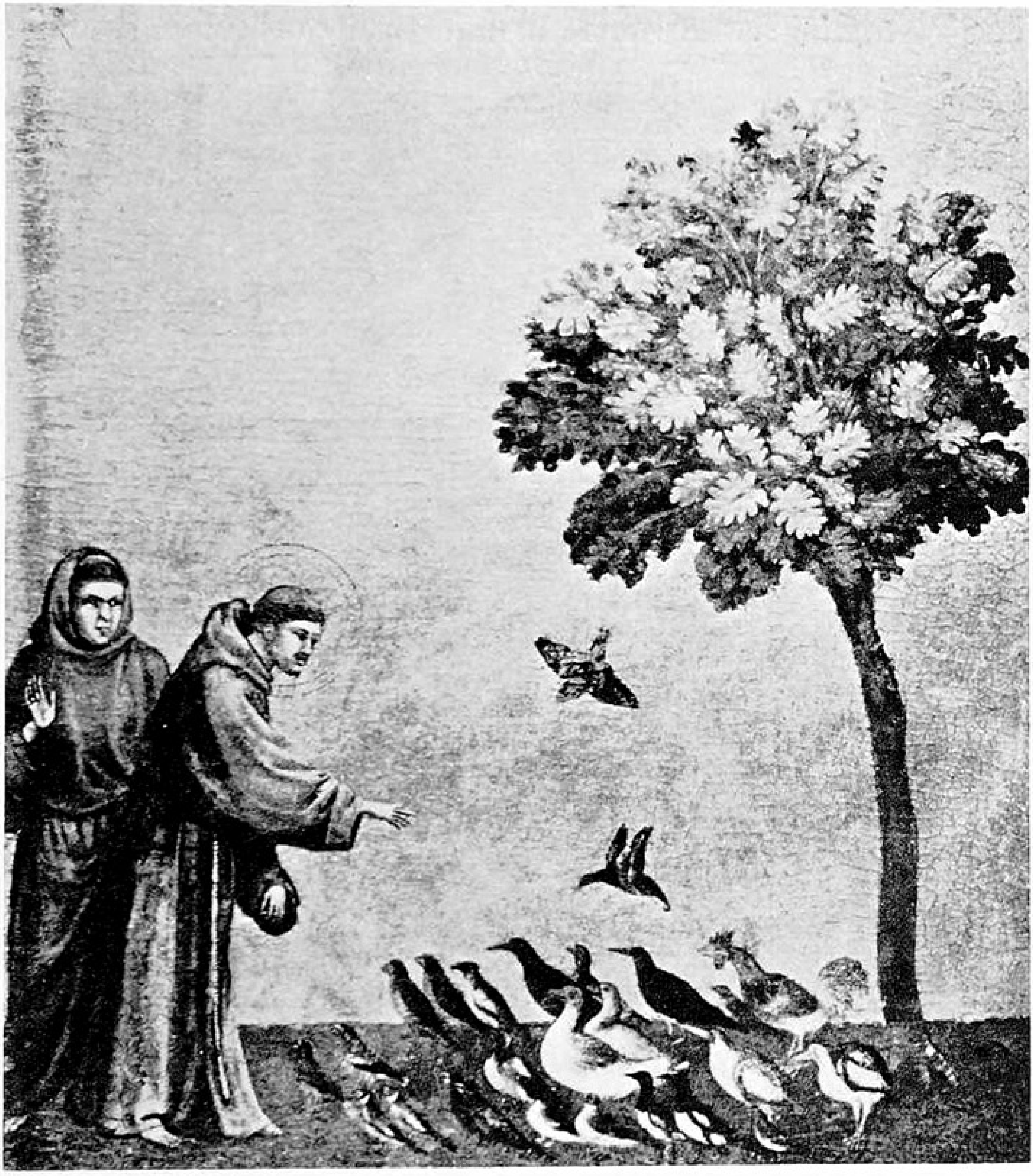


Fig. 106. Detail of fig. 105. Photo Bulloz.

THE MASTER OF THE SIX SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

The painter to whom we owe a set of six panels, probably only part of a longer cycle, illustrating the Life of the Lord, which Mr. Sirén has grouped together (¹) approaches Giotto at least as closely as the first continuer of the St. Francis series. This author however attributes these works to Giotto himself to whom Mr. Berenson had previously ascribed two of them, the Presentation in the Temple, of the Gardner collection, Boston, and the Last Supper in the Ältere Pinakothek of Munich (no. 643) (fig. 107); the others represent the Adoration of the Magi which forms part of the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, New York (G 433 S—2, fig. 108); the Crucifixion (fig. 109) and the Descent into Limbo, also in the Gallery of Munich (nos. 667 and 5295) and the Entombment in the collection of Mr. Berenson at Settignano.

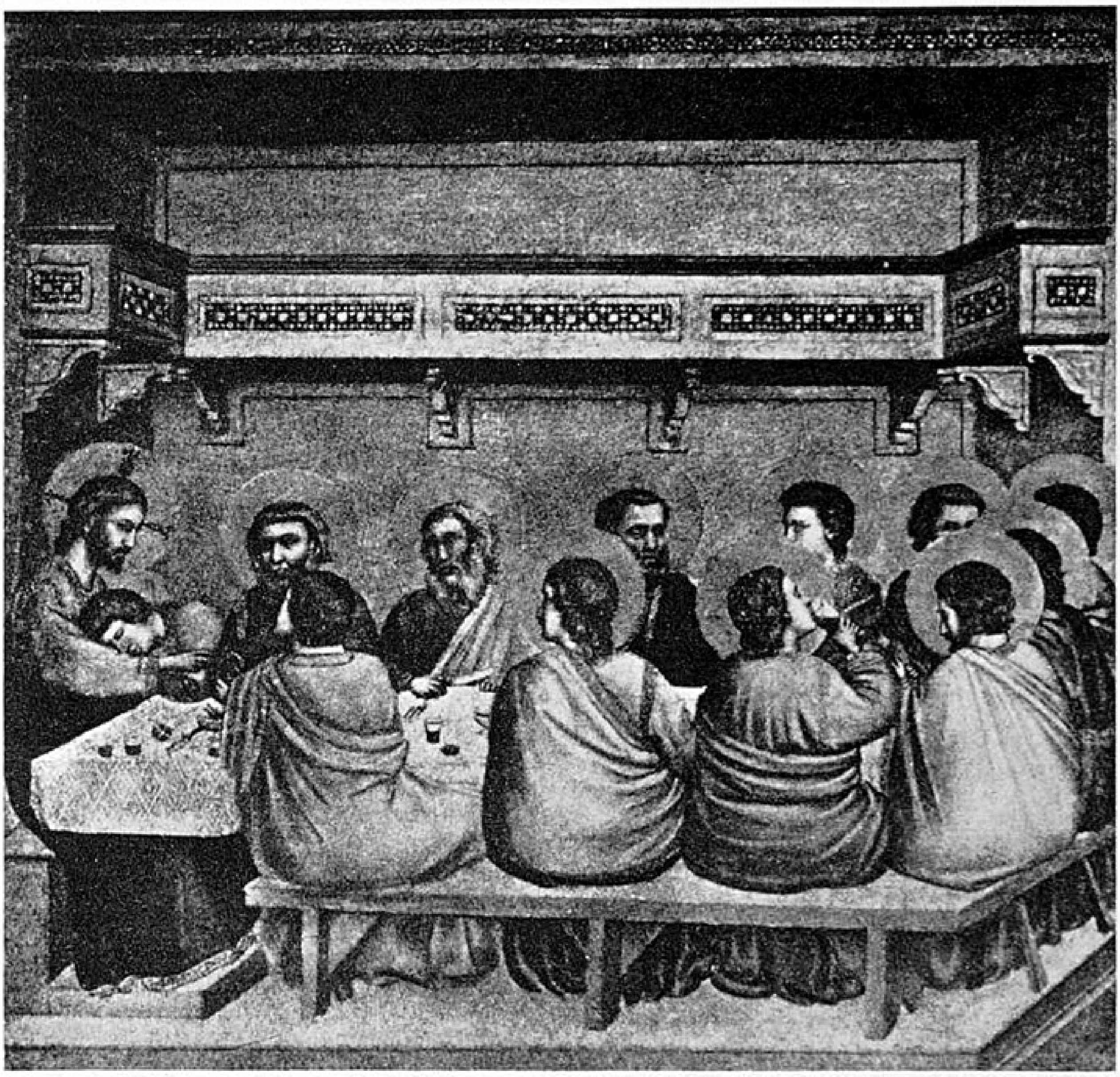


Fig. 107. An Assistant of Giotto's, the Last Supper.
Ältere Pinakothek, Munich. Photo Hanfstaengl.

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 79; *E. Jacobsen*, Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XX, p. 426.

I do not think that we can attribute these paintings to the hand of the master himself but believe we shall more closely approach the truth in considering them a product of his immediate surroundings, — perhaps even of his own workshop — executed about the same time as the frescoes of the Magdalene chapel of Assisi. The artist however possessed a certain amount of individuality; his forms are sturdier and squarer than Giotto's and notwithstanding the heavy draping, generally without the exaggerated broadness — except perhaps the seated figures in the Last Supper — so characteristic of Giotto's later manner. The types of the faces are Giottesque but rather more sentimental and less

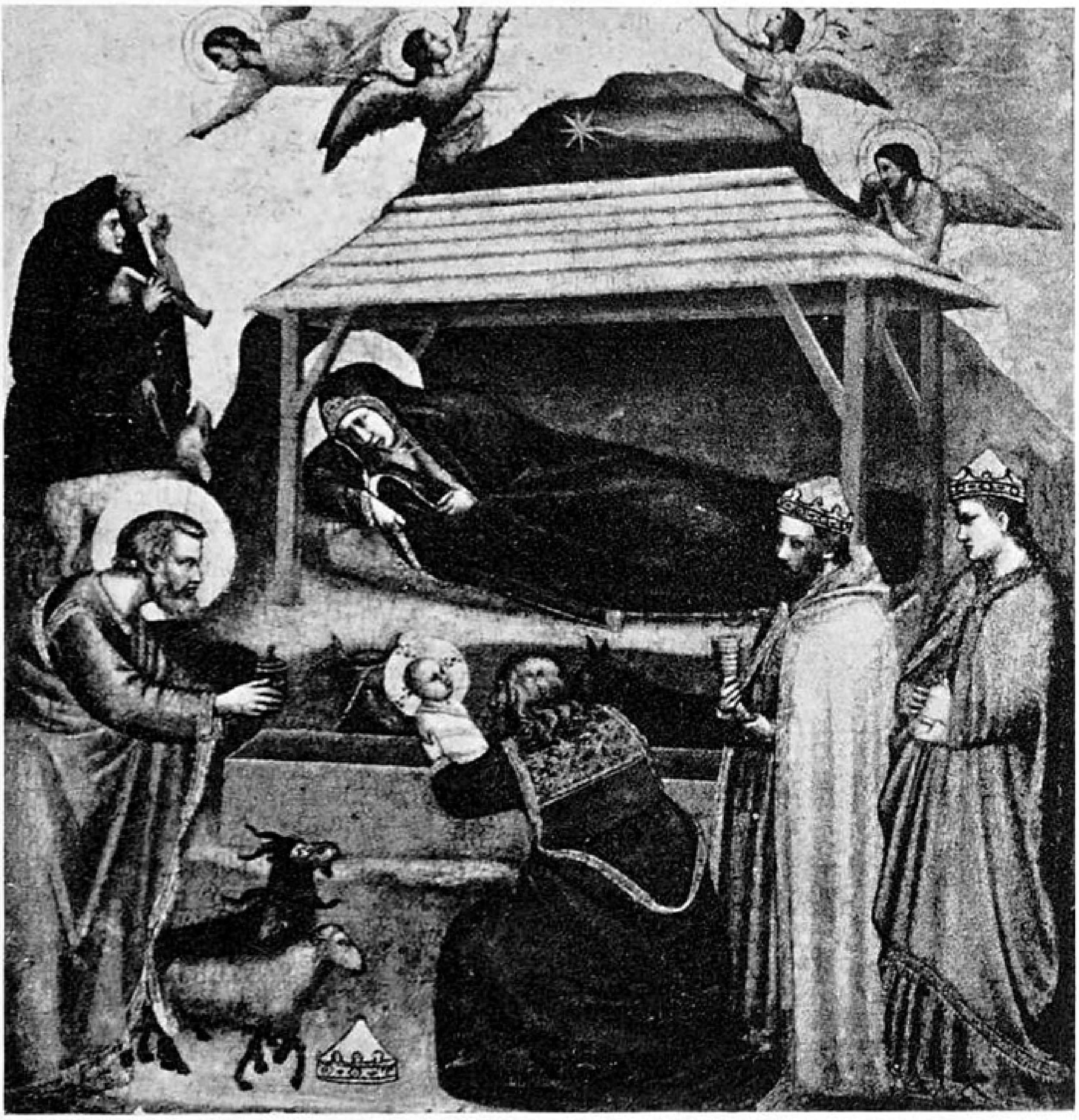


Fig. 108. An Assistant of Giotto's, the Adoration of the Magi. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

violent in expression, the artist having sacrificed something of the dramatic realism to the harmonious beauty of the features, as will be made obvious by comparing Mr. Berenson's particularly beautiful panel with the Entombment at Padua, which, besides, are of two quite different types. Finally the colours are clearer and show more variety than we find in any of Giotto's works. On the other hand the technique of the design and composition, as well as the manner of placing the figures in their surroundings, are the same as the master's. The background of the Last Supper is identical with that in the fresco of the Wedding at Cana in Padua; we find the same attempt at

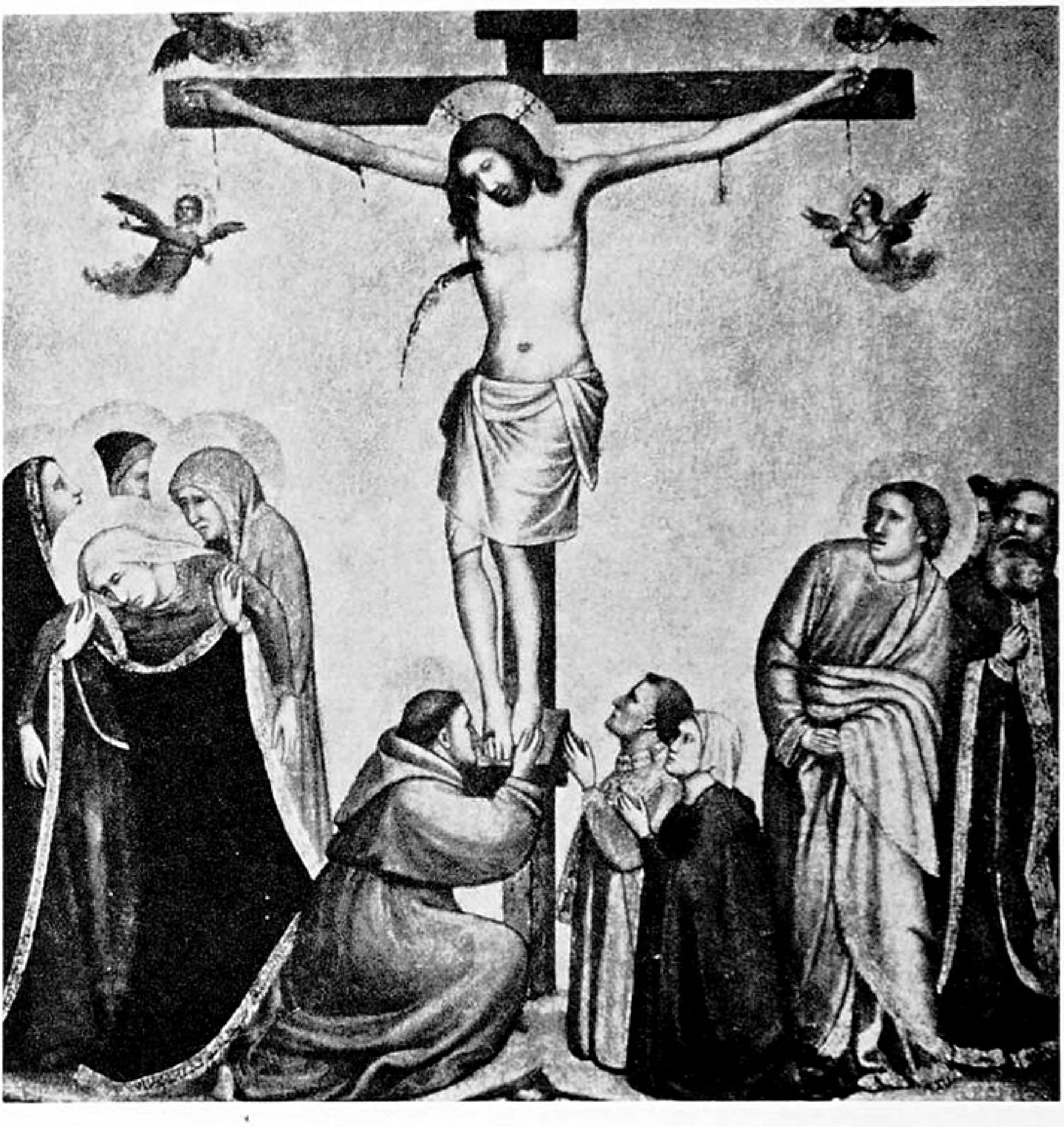


Fig. 109. An Assistant of Giotto's, the Crucifixion. Ältere Pinakothek, Munich. Photo Hanfstaengl.

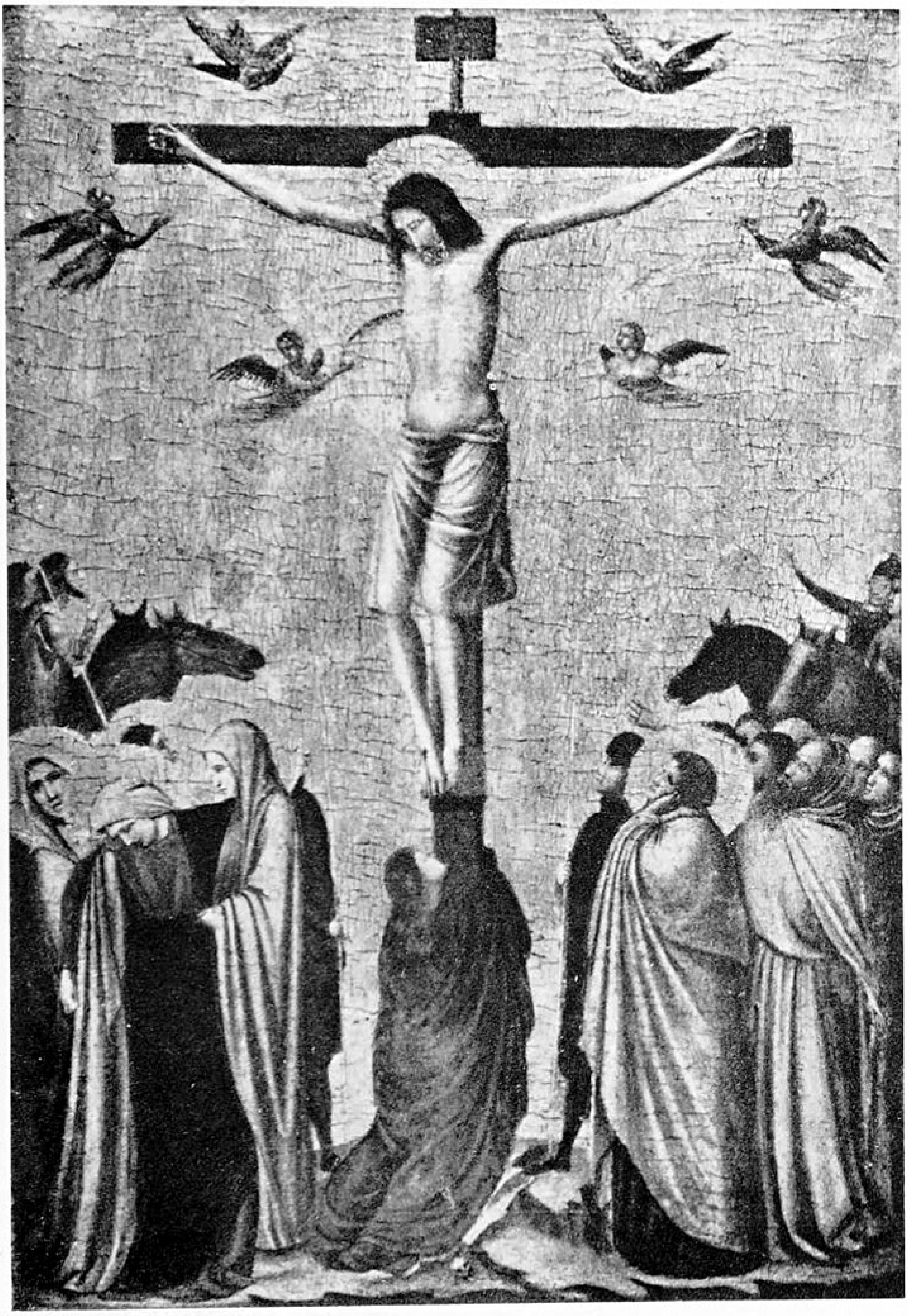


Fig. 110. An Assistant of Giotto's, the Crucifixion. Gallery, Strasbourg.

perspective but the artist has not succeeded so well as Giotto in depicting the distance between the two rows of figures sitting facing each other at table. Curiously fantastic is the Dantesque landscape of the Descent into Hell in which we see Satan collecting the bodies scattered on the rocks.

I believe we may attribute to the same artist two small panels representing the Crucifixion, one in the Gallery of Berlin (plate II) the other in that of Strasbourg (fig. 110) (1). They are obviously of other stages in the career of the painter whose manner underwent the same transformation as Giotto's, with whom he must have collaborated for a considerable time.

In these panels of Berlin and Strasbourg the forms are more elongated, especially those of the former which I consider the earlier of the two, corresponding in style with Giotto's art between the Paduan and Florentine stages, while the other might be the outcome of Giotto's influence during the first years of his activity in Florence. I fully realise that my attribution must remain hypothetical but, although the proportions have changed, we find so much of the same spirit, taste and artistic aspiration, not to speak of the resemblance of type, most obvious in the central figure and the fainting Virgin, that I do not hesitate to express my conviction on this point.

I think we might attribute to the same master, although again not without hesitation, the crucifix in the church of S. Felice in Piazza (fig. 111) (2) which was certainly made after the model Giotto left at Padua. The central figure, although of a more pronounced anatomical design, obviously belongs to the same type as those which we find at Munich, Berlin and Strasbourg by this artist. On the upper extremity of the cross, the pelican is depicted in its nest feeding its young, while the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John are represented at the sides, the latter betraying a strong resemblance to the figures on the six panels which were first mentioned.

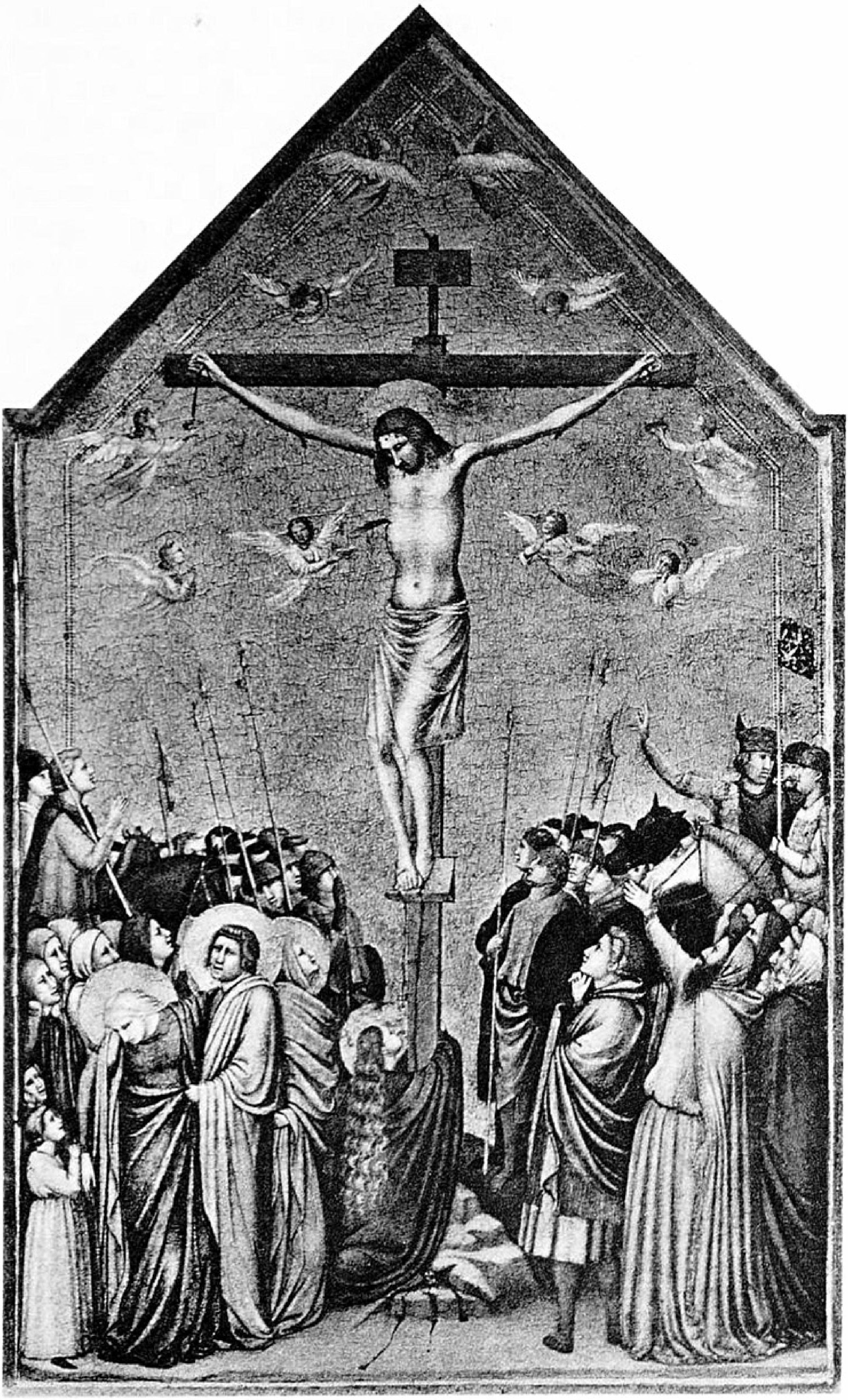
Another work which might possibly be ascribed to this artist is an extremely fine half-length figure of the Madonna in the collection of Mr. H. Goldman, New-York (fig. 112) (3).

---

(1) *O. Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 123, for some inexplicable reason connects these panels with the incapable local artist and distant follower of Giotto's who decorated the vault of Sta. Chiara, Assisi.

(2) *O. Sirén,* op. cit., also includes this work.

(3) *W. R. Valentiner,* The Henry Goldman Collection, New York (privately printed), 1922, no. 1, attributes this picture to Bernardo Daddi.



THE CRUCIFIXION

*By a follower of Giotto, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.*

*Photo Hanfstaengl.*

In the evolution of the artist, I think we should not be far wrong in placing the crucifix after the panels of Berlin and Strasbourg.

The frescoes in the church of S. Marco at Jesi seem to be by a close follower of this painter. There remain only the Annunciation, a very much repainted representation of the Death of the Virgin, the Crucifixion and two angels carrying a little model of a church which is supposed by certain writers to be a presentment of the Ssa. Casa of Loreto. The Crucifixion is a dramatic composition like those of Berlin and Strasbourg, with men on horseback, the Magdalene at the foot of the cross and the soldiers gambling for the cloak of Christ. Some of the figures show also a certain connection with the manner of the Master of the Vele d'Assisi to whom Prof. A. Venturi attributes them (¹), but on the whole, I find them more approximate to the works of the painter under discussion, particularly to his Crucifixon at Strasbourg.

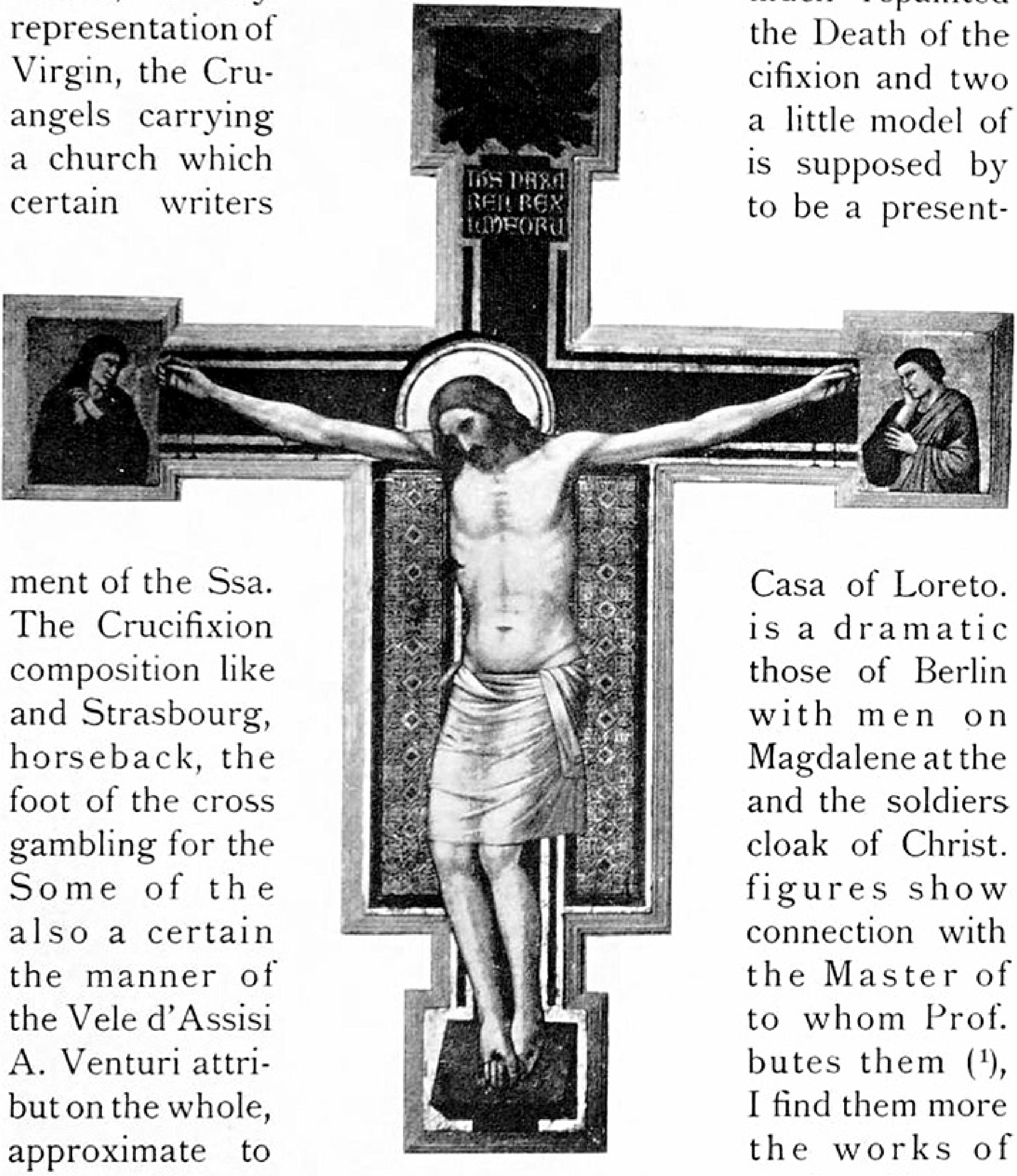


Fig. 111. An Assistant of Giotto's, Crucifix. S. Felice in Piazza, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

---

(¹) *A. Venturi*, Affreschi del pittore delle Vele d Assisi, L'Arte, 1911, p 25. *Cavalcaselle* believed them to be by Francescuccio Ghissi; see also *C. Anibaldi*, La chiesa di S. Marco di Jesi e i suoi affreschi Giotteschi etc., Picenum, July, 1910. *The same*, Un affrescho Lauretano Giottesco, etc., Citta di Castello, 1912.

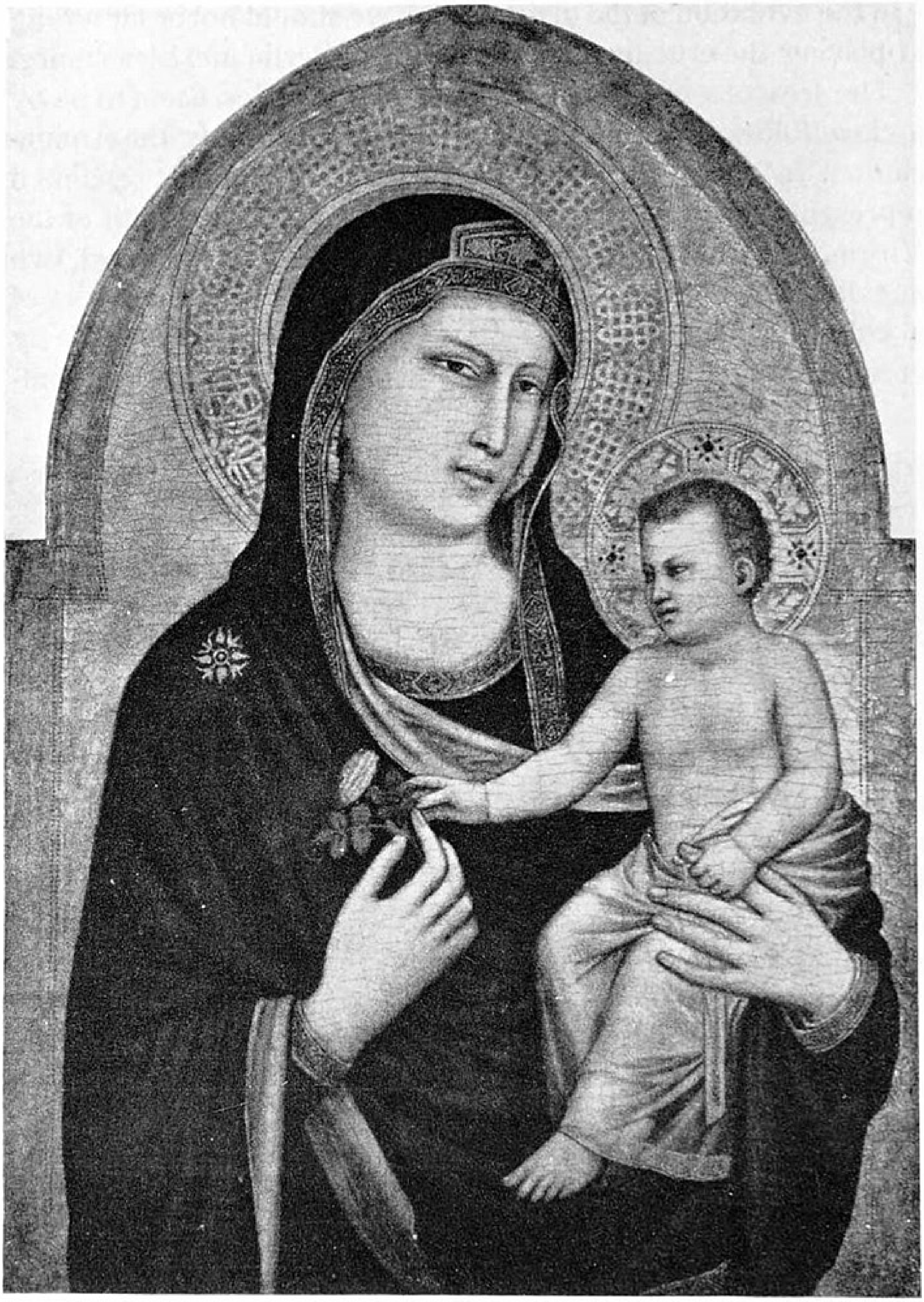


Fig. 112. An Assistant of Giotto's, Madonna. Goldman Collection, New York.

## THE MASTER OF THE VELE D'ASSISI.

The altar polyptych, the pieces of which now adorn the walls of the sacristy of S.Pietro,Rome, has, until recently, been claimed by many historians of art as a work of Giotto's, and was supposed to be the altar-piece which Cardinal Stefaneschi ordered him to execute and under which the date, once partly visible, was apparently of about 1320, but this opinion has now been almost entirely given up (¹). Prof. Venturi, who, in his "Storia d'Arte", attributed this work to Giotto and helpers, has also since changed his mind and now places the panel nearer Daddi, and Mr. Berenson is of a similar opinion. As I have already said I believe this picture to be amongst those which, though executed by a pupil, Giotto passed off as his own, but the temperament of this artist has much in common with Daddi's.

This work in its entirety consisted of three large panels and six smaller parts which formed the predella, but now only three of the latter remain. The larger pieces are ornamented on both sides; on the central one we find the Lord on one side and St. Peter on the other, both enthroned, on the left wing the crucifixion of St. Peter and on the back SS. Andrew and John the Evangelist, while on the right the martyrdom of St. Paul is represented on one surface and SS. James and Paul on the other. The figures depicted on the predellas are the Virgin and Child, ten Apostles and SS. Peter, Paul and Stephen.

As to the first and most important panel, the Lord is represented seated on a high Gothic throne inlaid in marble, He raises His right hand in benediction and in His left holds a book against His knee; the donor with clasped hands is seen kneeling at His feet while on either side of the throne kneel eight angels, a variation of a composition already known to us through Cimabue's Madonna (fig 113). In a medallion at the apex of the panel we see a half-length figure of God represented according to an apocalyptical vision, holding a globe and keys and with a sword in His mouth, while lower down, between the lines which form the Gothic trefoil, are two small heads and on either side in the frame three miniature figures of Apostles.

The serious and imposing expression of the Lord is rendered all the more obvious by the tender grace of the surrounding angels. Their attitudes, and that of the central figure, as well as

---

(¹) Messrs *O. Siren* and *J. B. Supino,* still include it in the list of Giotto's works.

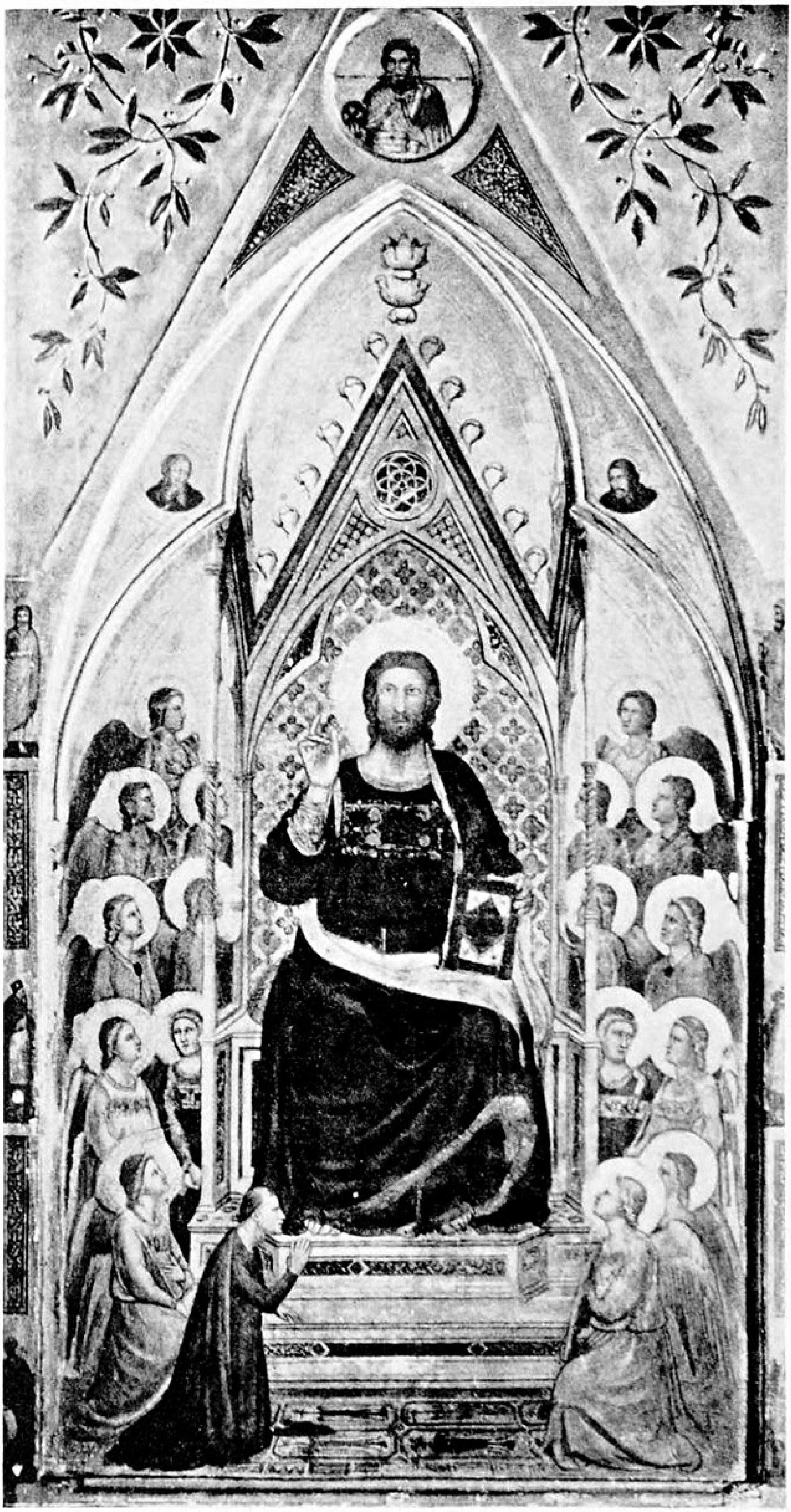


Fig. 113. Maestro delle Vele, the Lord enthroned, part of the polyptych. S. Pietro, Rome. Photo Anderson.

the disproportion in their respective sizes, on which Cavalcaselle remarks, remind us somewhat of the archaic tradition but without its rigidity.

On the other surface of this panel we see St. Peter, tonsured and dressed in sacerdotal vestments, holding an enormous key in one hand. At his feet kneels the donor offering to St. Peter, to whom he is presented by St. George, a small model of the polyptych; opposite is another kneeling figure with a richly dressed priest standing behind; on either side of the throne is depicted an angel whose attitude is very similar to those we find in the panels of the Madonna of Cimabue and his followers. The medallion above encircles an angel. This painting is considerably more damaged than the one on the other side, especially the colour, which is almost entirely reduced to a dark brown. The face of the saint however is still distinguishable and wears a grave but spiritual expression.

The crucifixion of St. Peter (fig. 114) shows a curious resemblance to the same scene in the Upper Church of Assisi; as in the fresco, so here too, the event is depicted taking place between the pyramid of Cestius and Nero's lighthouse tower; we find the same in Grimaldi's designs of the old Vatican church which were more or less faithfully copied in the basilica of S. Piero-a-Grado near Pisa; thus we have four somewhat similar examples of one composition, a fact which leads us to believe that we are here dealing with an older iconographical type. One of the most imposing figures is seen on the right of the cross, a woman with her back to the spectator, a position rarely found before Giotto but frequently met with in his school as an outcome of the attempt to produce natural grouping. On either side following the mob are some soldiers, while behind are four figures on horseback. The body of St. Peter betrays a careful study of anatomy and the downward direction in which he hangs has been taken into consideration as can be seen from the arms and loin cloth; a less original artist might have depicted a crucified figure only inversed. Cavalcaselle, who believed this panel to have been executed by Giotto, remarks that the only indication of suffering is seen in the contraction of the toes and muscles of the feet. A winged and bearded saint holding an open book, and an angel with clasped hands descend from heaven towards the scene,

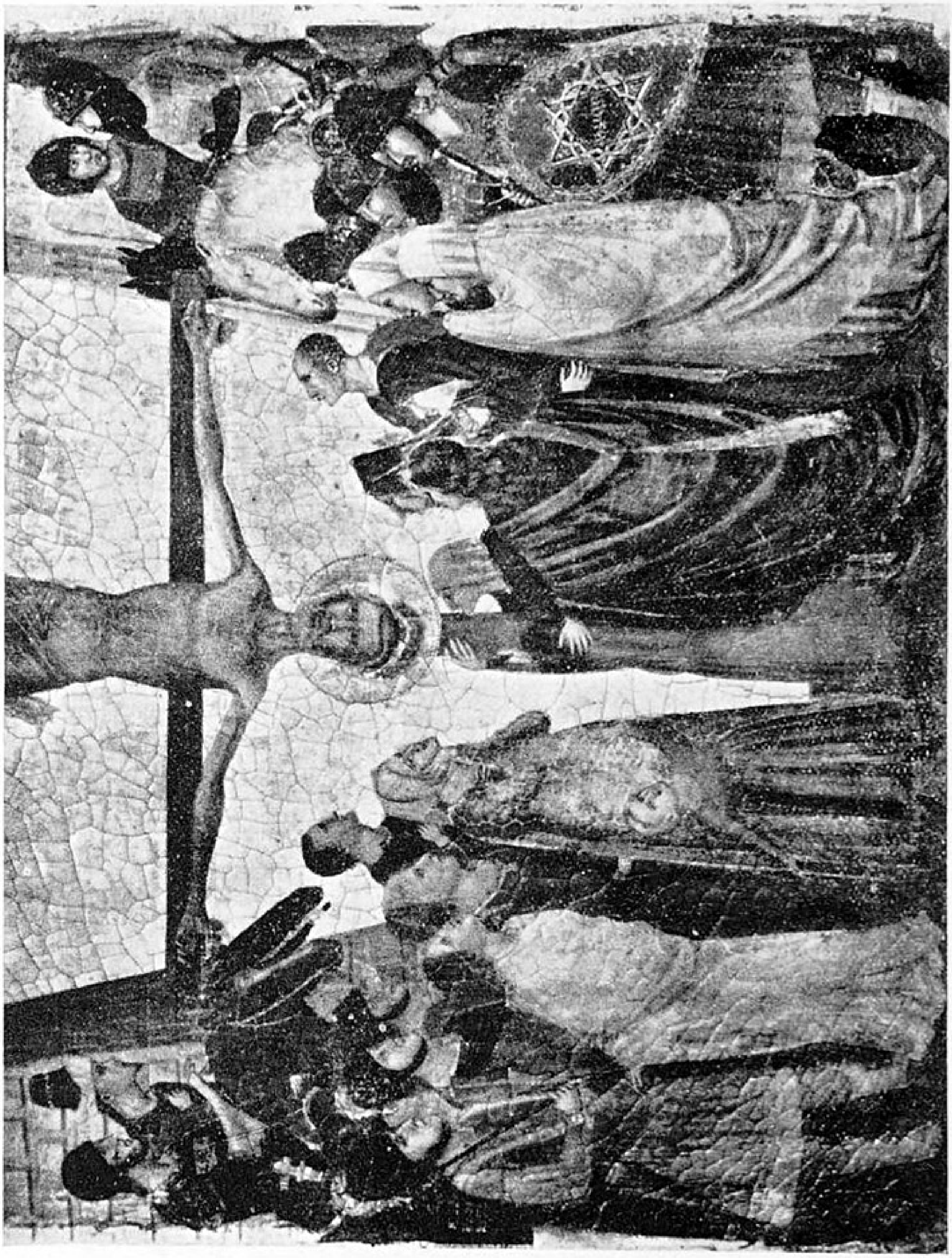


Fig. 114. Maestro delle Vele, detail of the Crucifixion of St. Peter, part of the polyptych. S. Pietro, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

while above them a half-length figure of the martyred saint in a mandorla is carried away by six angels, four of whom hidden behind the graceful forms of the first two, are only indicated by their heads and wings As in the central panel, the frame is ornamented with two heads of prophets and six small figures

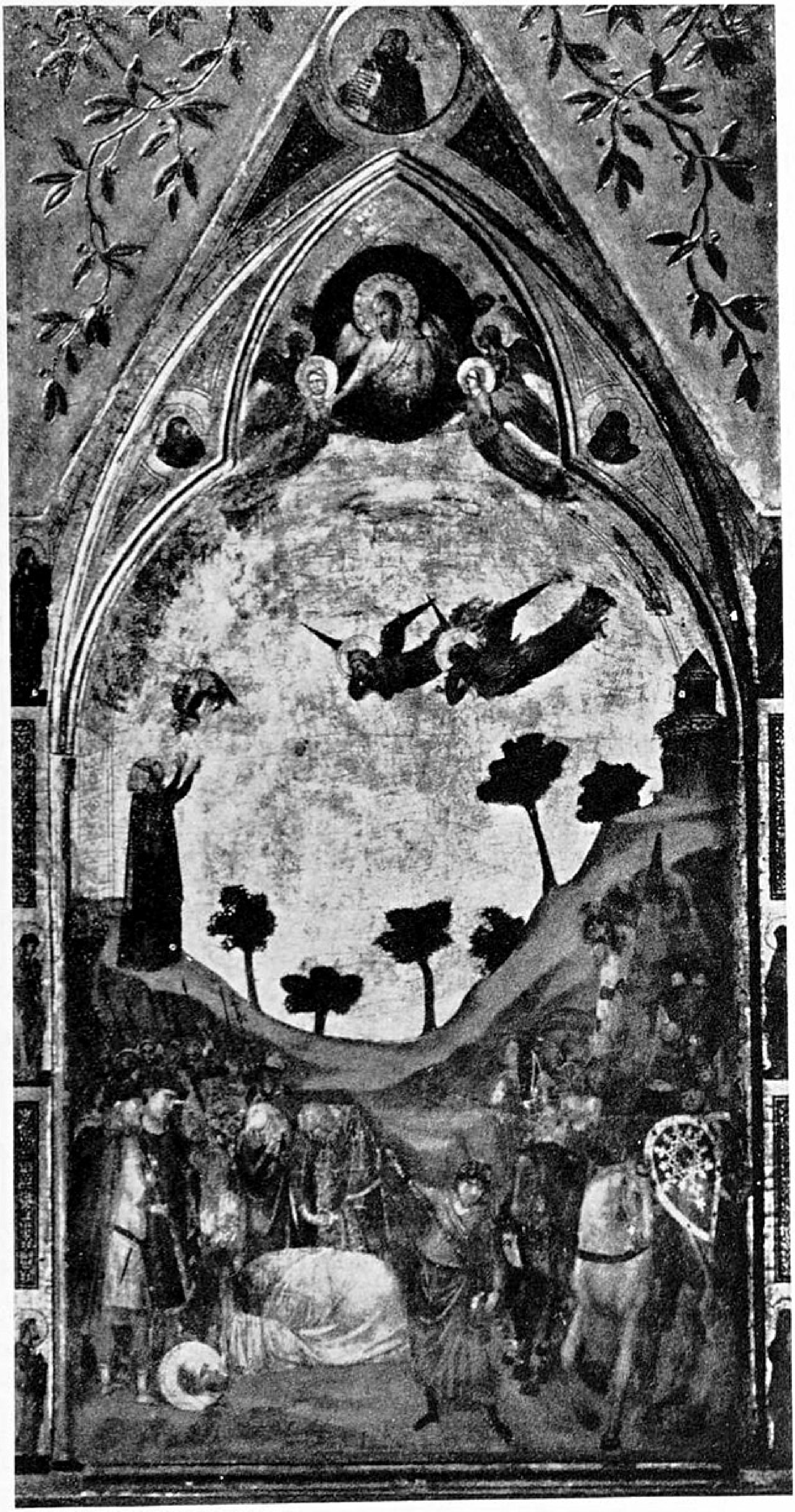


Fig. 115. Maestro delle Vele, the Martyrdom of St. Paul, part of the polyptych. S. Pietro, Rome. Photo Anderson.

of saints; a bust of Abraham with a sword prepared for the sacrifice of Isaac is depicted on the medallion above.

The martyrdom of St. Paul (fig. 115) may also be said to manifest a few elements in common with the fresco in the old basilica St. Peter and the copy in S. Piero-a-Grado, such for example as the attitude of the executioner, the angels in the sky and the rocky landscape with a few scattered trees, but the differences are much too numerous to call it a similar composition. Near the body of St. Paul, whose nimbussed head has just been severed, stand two women demonstrating their grief by violent gestures, and two men looking thoughtfully down at the remains of the saint. Soldiers, some on horseback and some on foot, approach from either side, one holds a richly ornamented shield, very much resembling one held in the crucifixion of St. Peter. In the centre of the foreground the executioner is seen replacing his sword in its scabbard. The two-storied tower, to the right of the hilly background, might perhaps have been meant to represent Castel S. Angelo. Above the trees we see two angels flying downwards making gestures of great distress at the sight of the scene of martyrdom, while still higher St. Paul, carried to heaven in a similar manner as his brother saint, throws his cloak to a woman who stands on the hill to the left. The medallion at the top is occupied by a patriarch holding an inscription; while the framework around the panel is ornamented as the others are with two heads of prophets and six figures of saints.

Of the four saints on the back of these panels each is surrounded by a Gothic shaped projecting frame, in the apex of either panel is a half-length figure of a saint and in the medallion above an angel. SS. Andrew and John cannot be appreciated to their full value on account of the darkness of the panel, the wide folds of the garments help to increase the majesty of these dim figures. SS. James and Paul are more visible, their refined faces wear a calm and noble expression.

Perhaps the most beautiful part of the whole work is that portion of the predella on which is depicted the Madonna, holding the Child Jesus, enthroned between two angels and two Apostles (fig. 116). The curved throne is quite different in type to what is found in the paintings of Cimabue and his followers, but in a picture of the Torriti-Cosmati group in the Hamilton collection,

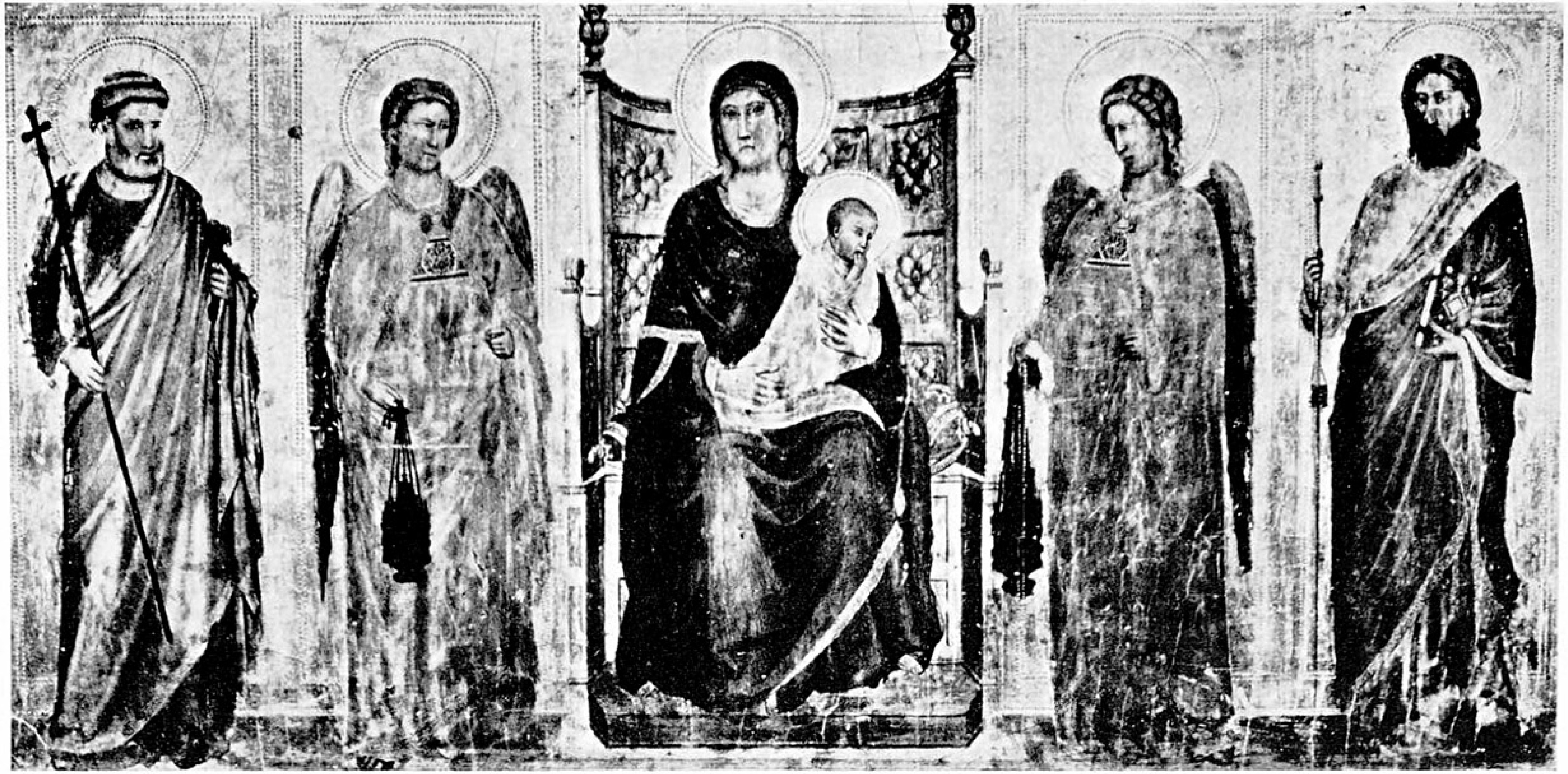


Fig. 116. Maestro delle Vele, the Virgin between angels and saints, part of the polyptych. S. Pietro, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

New-York, a similar form of throne, but of a more pronounced model, will be seen (1). The Virgin wears a grave and even melancholy expression on her beautiful features as if foreseeing the ordeals her Child will have to undergo; He as yet is quite unconscious of His fate as He lies in His Mother's lap in a very natural manner sucking His fingers; the attitude of the Infant is here quite new, never having been seen in any of the older works. The serious majestic angels who carry censers are neither abstract spectators, nor celestial servants, but seem to understand and participate in the sorrows of the Virgin. The two Apostles are clothed in tunics which hang in broad folds. This is perhaps the first instance where the Infant Christ is depicted as a helpless Babe on His Mother's knee and not, as has always been the case up till now, as a child of a few years of age.

Although no one can deny that the author of this work belongs to Giotto's group we find in him an artist whose temperament differs considerably from that of Giotto's, as did also his manner. Like the previous painter, so too this one has a tendency to depict serene, beautiful features, which curbs his feeling for dramatic reality. His knowledge of Giotto's art does not betray itself in the choice of his types and proportions but in the rendering of relief, the forms in general and the depth. If, for instance, we compare the manner in which depth is depicted by means of the perspective of the throne combined with the lateral groups in Giotto's Madonna, and that in the panel of the Lord in S Pietro, we see that though the principle is the same our artist does not obtain the same effect, or obtains it in a much less perfect manner. The rows of angels one above the other produce a certain rigidity which is utterly absent in Giotto's picture of the Virgin and which disposition in no way contributes to produce the effect of distance; the artist also fails to obtain this effect in the scene of the crucifixion of St. Peter and succeeds but little better in the martyrdom of St. Paul.

A marked feeling for gracefulness is one of this artist's chief characteristics, and this trait is very opposed to Giotto's strongly built figures, epecially as this elegance gives rise to a design which is sometimes incongruous. Another typical element is the regular oval of the faces which are more elongated than Giotto's, while the design of the faces, although not without relief, is flatter than his. There is a striking absence of angularity in his productions, a tendency to rounded forms pushed to the extreme.

---

(1) v. Vol I, p. 503.

The polyptych in Rome offers us an example of a youthful work of an artist whom we meet again when his forms have become firmer, his design stronger and his artistic career probably at its climax. As specimens of this stage we have the decoration of the vault over the high altar and of the right transept in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi (1).

The frescoes above the altar (2) are divided by diagonal lines, and are triangular in form; each is enclosed in an ornamented frame between which intervenes a decorative border, somewhat resembling the design of the frames, so that the paintings are separated one from the other by three ornamental zones.

These allegories represent the Wedding of St. Francis with Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, and the Glory of the Saint. They must have been painted after the St. Francis' frescoes in the Upper Church for several reminiscences of this cycle will be found in the details.

The central group of the first allegory is placed on a prominence and is formed by the Lord uniting St. Francis and his bride, on whose finger the saint slips a ring (fig. 117). Poverty is symbolized by a thin and haggard young woman clothed in rags, with flowers behind her head; above these figures two angels are seen carrying to heaven the saint's cloak and the model of a palace in indication of his renunciation of all earthly belongings; the outstretched hands depicted at the apex of the triangle show how willing Christ is to receive these offerings. On either side of the central figures is a large assembly of angels, in front of those on the left a young man is seen giving his coat to a beggar, while one of the angels touching his arm tries to draw attention to the edifying scene in the centre. At the other side an angel

---

(1) *B. Khvoshinsky and M. Salmi,* Pittori Toscani dal XIII al XVI secolo II, Roma, 1914, p. 11, have already attributed the St. Peter altar polyptych to the "Maestro delle Vele d'Assisi" to whom they also ascribe some works which I am of the opinion were executed by Bernardo Daddi.

(2) For the significance of these allegories see *Thode* op. cit., p. 519 et seq. and *Venturi,* Le Vele d'Assisi, L'Arte, 1906, p. 19.

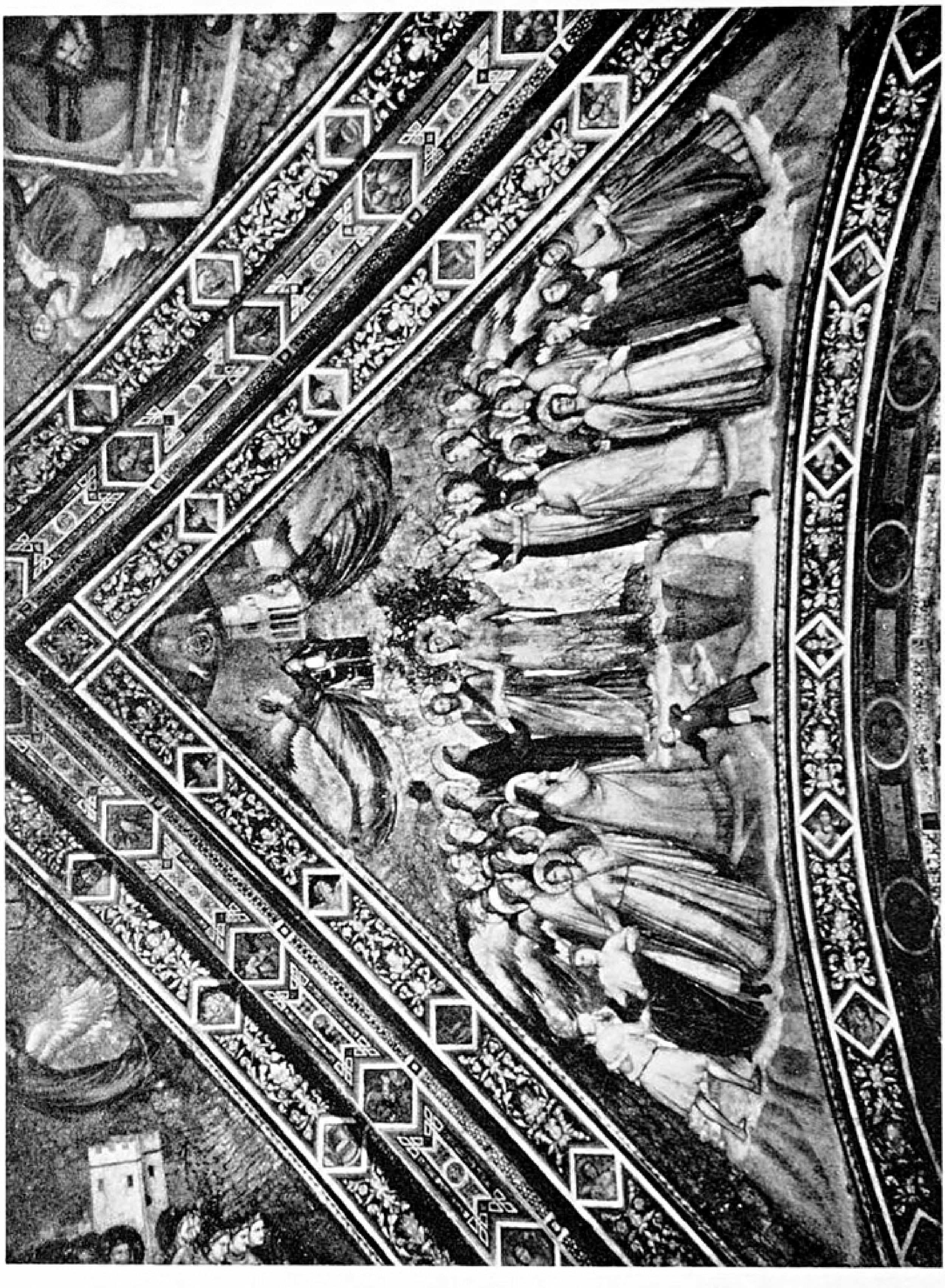


Fig. 117. Maestro delle Vele, the Wedding of St. Francis with Poverty. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

obviously attempts to persuade a man to give up earthly joys, as the falcon on his hand indicates (hunting often signifies worldly pleasures) and to follow St. Francis' example, but he and his companions, one grasping a money bag, the other, a monk covering his chest with his hand as if to protect himself, only show their desire to escape. A dog, the dog of poverty, climbs on the eminence where the central figures stand, while a small boy with a stick tries to chase it away; another boy is seen throwing a stone with great force in the direction of those who do not wish to abandon their earthly belongings. The well observed realistic attitude of this last boy is one of the best points in the painting whose composition suffers much, as do the other three, from the triangular shape of the fresco which gives a pyramidical aspect to the picture that a cleverer artist might have avoided. The faces, except that of the miser with his bag of money, have little or no expression; most of the figures have the appearance of walking in a dream; they are not monumental but handsome and graceful while the two flying angels are somewhat heavy.

The chief characteristic of the fresco representing Chastity is its utter lack of ensemble (figs. 118 and 119). In the background is depicted a fortified castle with one large central tower on which is placed a flag, and two smaller lateral ones; through an open window of the high tower we see the bust of a woman with folded hands — St. Castitas — to whom two flying angels bring a crown and a palm. In front of the castle, three different events take place. On the left a monk between a man and a woman comes towards St. Francis who holds the middle figure by the hand; two angels, one of whom presents a cross to the new comer, stand behind the saint, they are followed by two long-bearded old men with wings carrying shields. Without any trace of a separation from this scene is depicted the baptism of a young man whose naked body is half visible above the baptismal font which is placed between two angels, one of whom holds him while the other pours water over his head, two angels behind the latter stand ready with a monk's habit in their hands, while two women, Purity and Courage (SS. Munditia and Fortitudo) leaning over the castle wall offer him a flag and a shield; more to the right is a group of old men with long beards and wings, each holding a shield, the head of a younger man can be distinguished in their midst. In the corner to the right, angels with the instruments of the Passion are seen driving away two black devils one of whom has fallen on his back, while in front of this, Penitence, represented as a cowled monk, chases with a three thonged whip the naked, claw-footed,

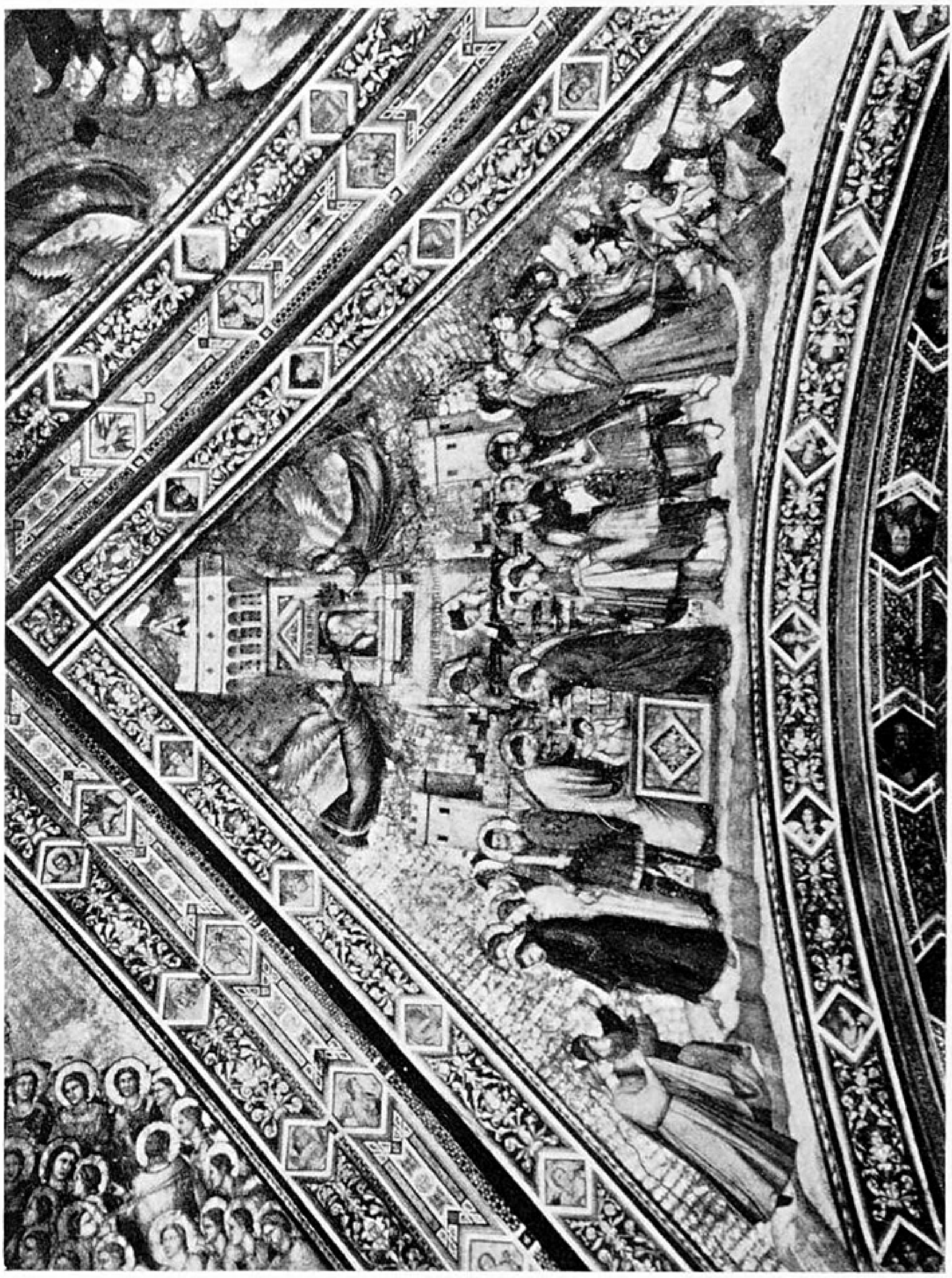


Fig. 118. Maestro delle Vele, the Allegory of Chastity. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Anderson.

Amor (sensual love) who is covered with symbols, he has angels' wings, roses in his hair, a string of hearts around his neck and at his side a quiver, while his eyes are blind folded; in this representation much is taken from the antique God of Love. Behind these last figures Death is represented by a black skeleton. It

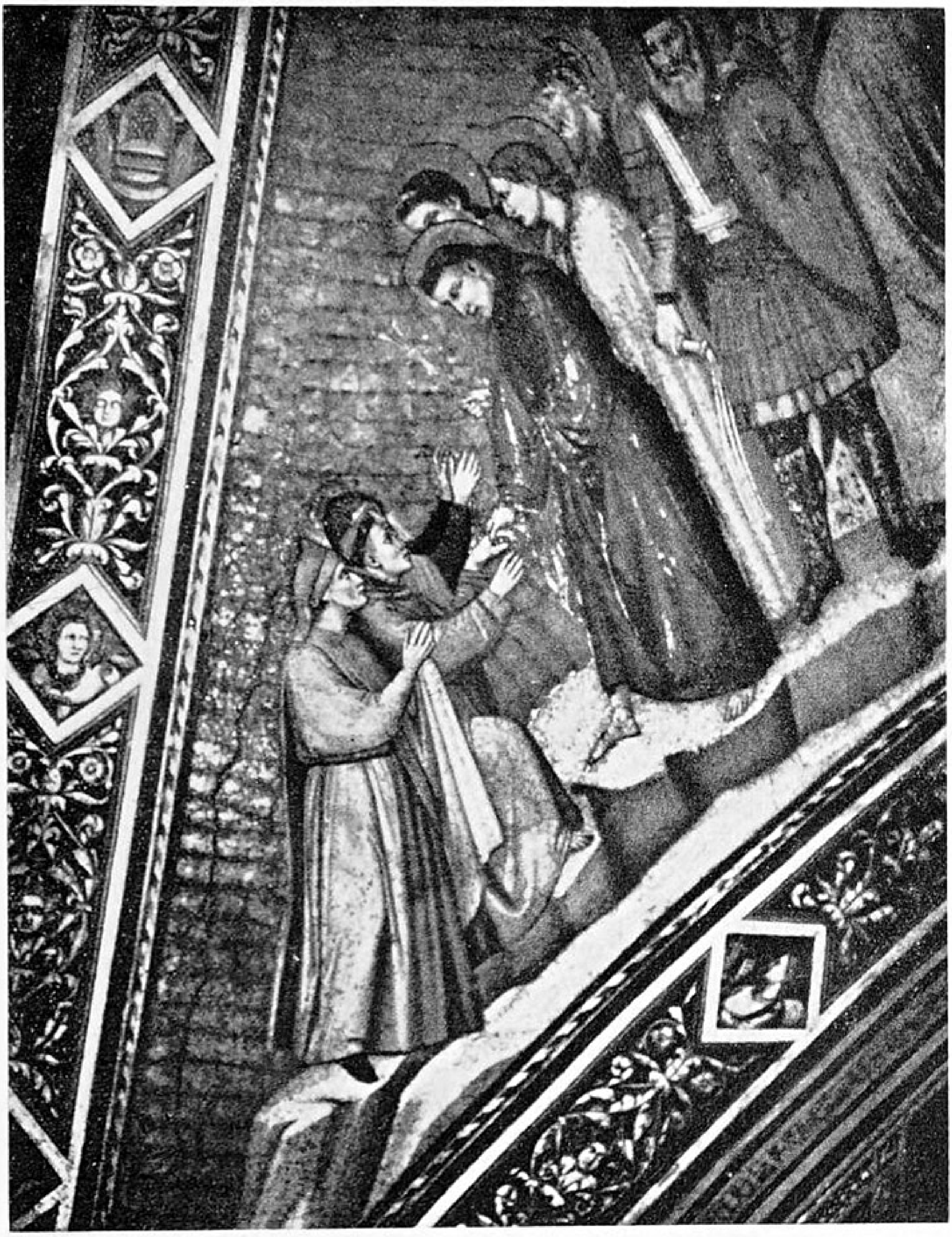


Fig. 119. Detail of fig. 118. Photo Benvenuti.

is obvious that too many ideas had to be portrayed for the artist to produce a harmonious picture; one is also struck by the marked disproportion between the castle and the human figures, especially St. Castitas whose head alone almost fills up the window of the tower.

The Allegory of Obedience does not suffer so much from confusion, although here too a more pleasing composition would

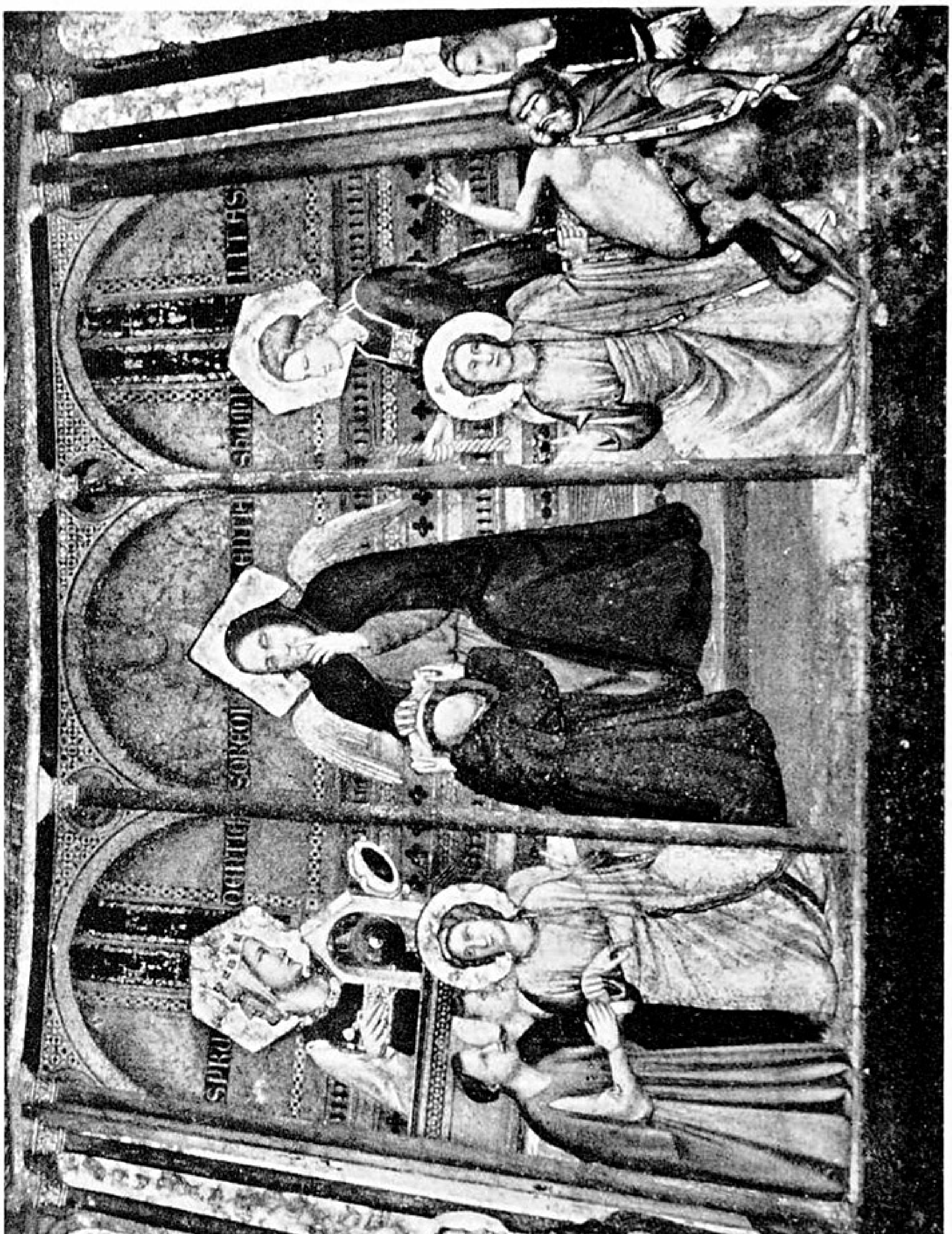


Fig. 120. Maestro delle Vele, central part of the Allegory of Obedience. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

have been possible (fig. 120). On the roof of a building St. Francis is depicted standing between two kneeling angels. Below and within the building whose façade is composed of three arcades resting on columns, we see through the central arch an old winged friar — St. Obedientia — seated with the finger of his left hand on his mouth in sign of silence as with his right he places a yoke on the shoulder of a young monk who kneels before him and who supports it with both hands. Seated on the left is St. Prudentia whose crowned head has two faces, one young, the other old; before her is an astronomical instrument while in her hands she holds a compass and a mirror. As pendant to this figure St. Humilitas is represented as a shy young girl kneeling with a candle in her hand. These last two figures have both six sided nimbi, while the old monk has a rectangular one placed diagonally. In front of St. Prudentia kneel an angel, a young man and a young woman, the first, holding the man by the hand, points towards the central group. Opposite is another kneeling angel who seems to attempt to tranquilize a fantastic being whose fat, naked chest and bearded face are human, the rest animal and who makes violent gestures of protest. On either side beyond the building is a group of kneeling angels who show little animation or variety. The whole scene takes place on a slightly raised platform which, as well as the building, is ornamented with marble mosaic work.

From the apex of the fresco depicting the glory of St. Francis (fig. 121) hangs a red flag decorated with a cross and seven stars below which the saint, with rays of light streaming from his body, is seated on a large covered throne the back of which is ornamented with twisted pillars; in one hand he holds a cross, in the other a book; his dress is of a tasteless checked material. The saint is surrounded by a host of rejoicing angels, some turning round, some talking, some gesticulating and some blowing trumpets. Four angelic figures with eyes uplifted to the sky form a separate little group below the throne of St. Francis to whom their backs are turned.

Of the three decorative zones which separate these pictures from one another, those adjacent to the frescoes are composed of a symmetrical floral design in the centre of which is placed a head, between diagonals containing busts of angels, monks or saints; the ornamentation of the central zone is somewhat different, the diagonals are larger and besides angelic busts, also contain men on horseback, birds and other figures.

As I have already said, I believe that this artist can be held

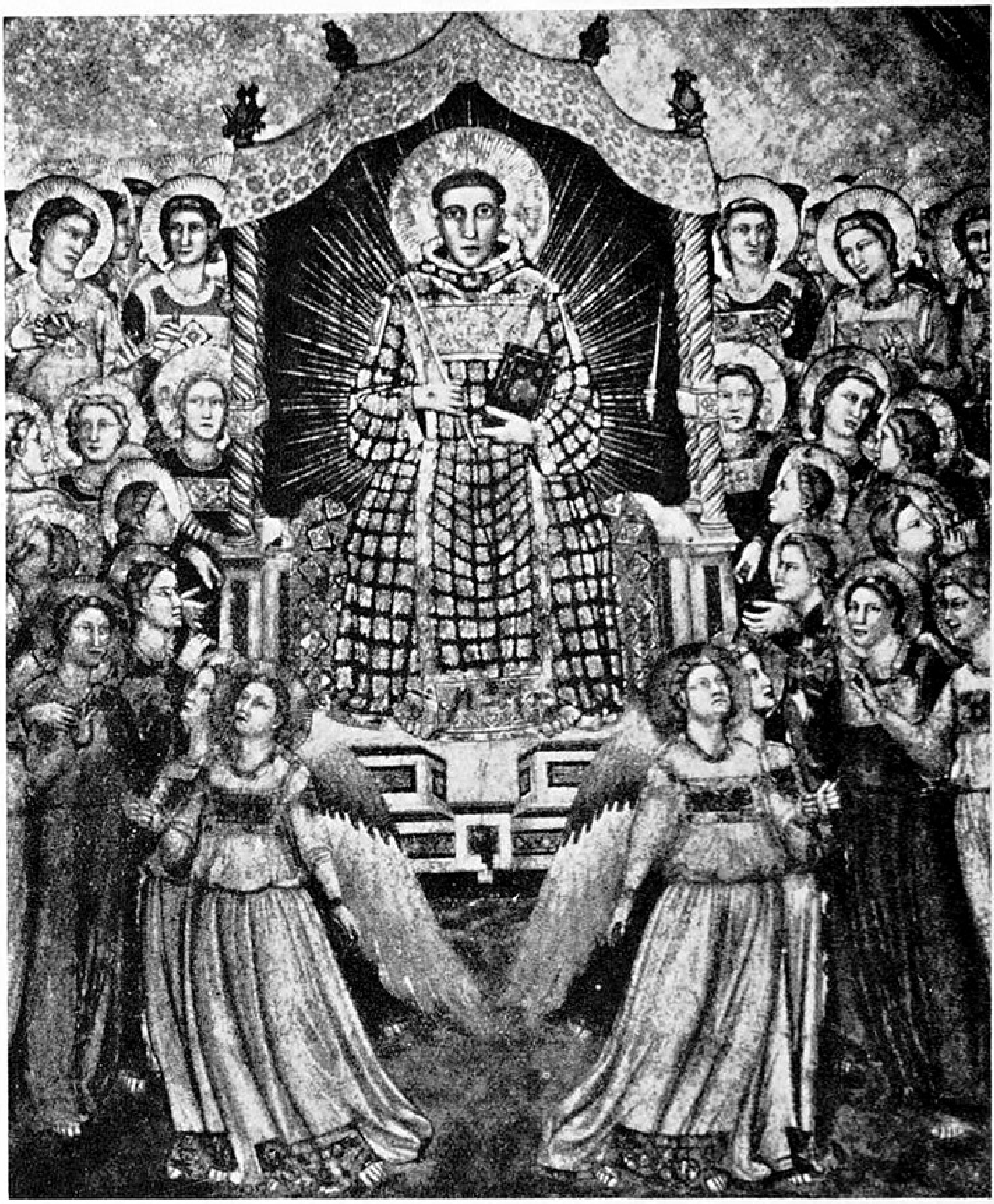


Fig. 121. Maestro delle Vele, central part of St. Francis in Glory. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

responsible also for the Annunciation and the scenes from the childhood of the Lord in the right transept as well as the miracle of St. Francis on the left wall above the little stair.

(1) The first of these representations, like the Annunciation at Padua, is placed on either side of a gateway (fig. 122). It is the weakest fresco of this series. The Virgin has risen from her elaborate throne in front of which is placed a lectern; from the left advances the angel near whom we find a curtain, a reminiscence

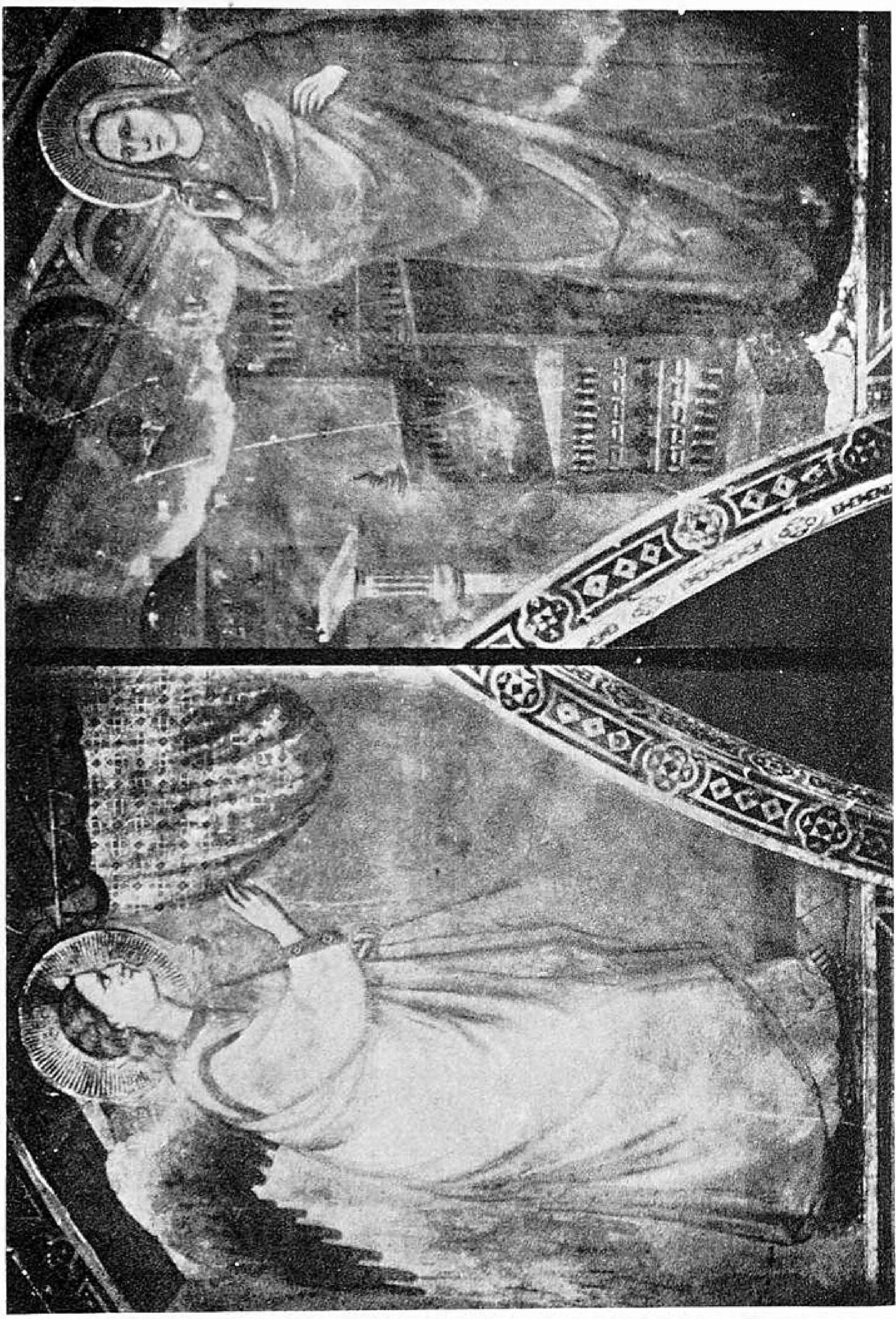


Fig. 122. An Assistant of the Maestro delle Vele, the Annunciation.
S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Benvenuti.

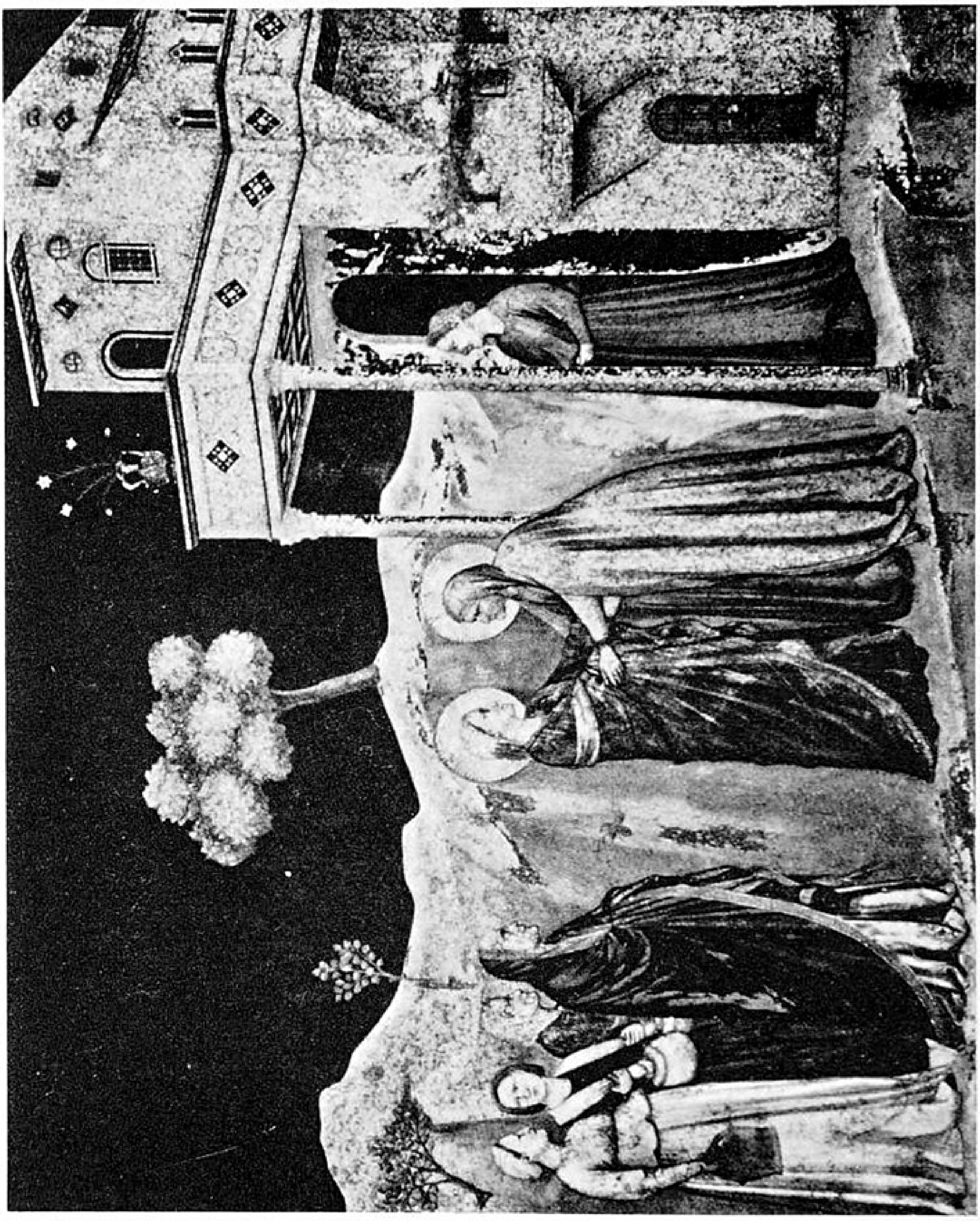


Fig. 123. Maestro delle Vele, the Visitation. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Alinari.

of the old Oriental emblem of the mystery. Both figures are heavy and without charm.

(2) In the fresco of the Visitation (fig. 123) an important part of the background is occupied by a very handsome piece of architecture, evidently the house of St. Elizabeth, while the rest is filled up with hills and a few scattered trees. The meeting of the two holy women is witnessed by five others, four of whom

follow the Virgin while the fifth emerges from the house behind St. Elizabeth. The figure immediately behind the Virgin is that of an elderly woman of broad and stately stature and somewhat larger than the two who follow, conversing in a friendly way together and bearing gifts to the mother of the future saint; between them and the elderly woman, the head of a fourth, somewhat resembling the latter, is visible. One gets the impression that the two women carrying the gifts, as well as the one behind St. Elizabeth, are servants. The intense but unexaggerated sentiment expressed in the faces of the two holy Mothers is very beautiful; the Virgin, who, in her first surprise after the Annunciation, has gone to Elizabeth, is met by a profound look of understanding. Although this is not the impression of the event one gathers from the Gospels which Giotto so closely follows in his representation of this scene at Padua, it is all the same utterly human and manifests a deep psychological comprehension. A detail which is very foreign to Giotto's synthetical sense is the little vase of flowers on the balcony of the house. This composition which shows some important differences from Giotto's fresco at Padua, corresponds however to a fine Giottesque drawing in the Uffizi, to which we shall return later on.

(3) The Nativity is seen taking place under a shelter, over the roof of which two groups of angels looking heavenward approach each other, while underneath the angelic figures of two other groups look down upon the Virgin and Child; one angel from the side of the hut announces the news to two shepherds who stand on the left, the one nearest making gestures of surprise, the other leaning on his stick and listening quietly (fig. 124). The Virgin is depicted sitting up on a mattress looking more or less sternly at the Babe Whom she holds with both hands; beyond her is an enormous manger over which look an ox and an ass. In the foreground Joseph sits on the left in his usual meditative attitude; in the centre, the bath of the Child has just been completed, for one of the two women at the side of the bath is seen holding the already swaddled Child on her lap, while in the right corner of the fresco is a small flock of sheep and rams belonging to the shepherds. This scene is very incoherent, the various elements being detached from one another. It differs from Giotto's composition at Padua in the

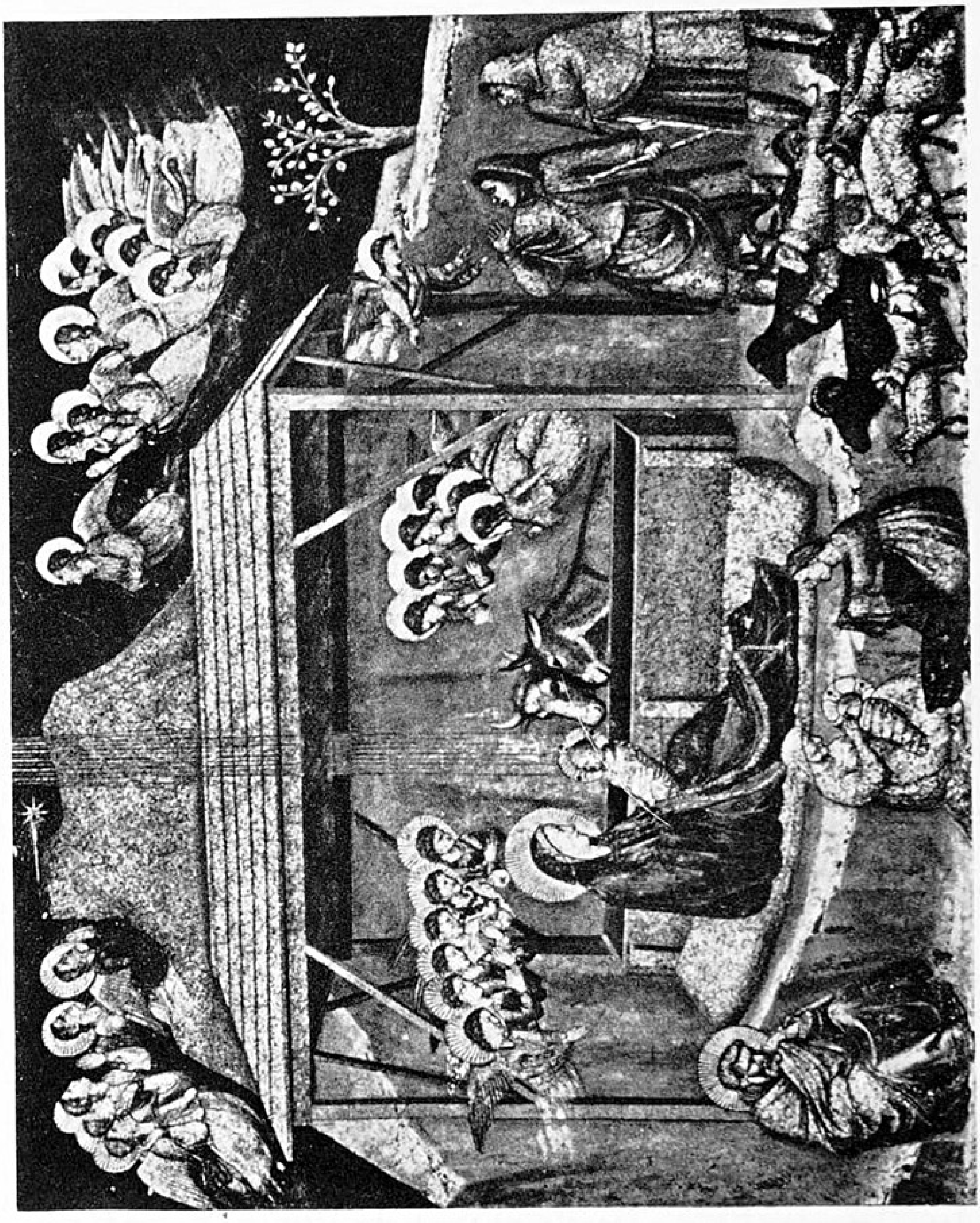


Fig. 124. Maestro delle Vele, the Nativity. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Alinari.

presence of a greater number of angels and the bath of the Child, but the essential points are very similar; comparing the one with the other we are most struck by the marked rigidity of the scene at Assisi.

(4) The same shortcoming will be found in the Adoration of the Magi in which, however, several of the faces are more expressive (fig. 125). Although the hut is still visible on the left, the

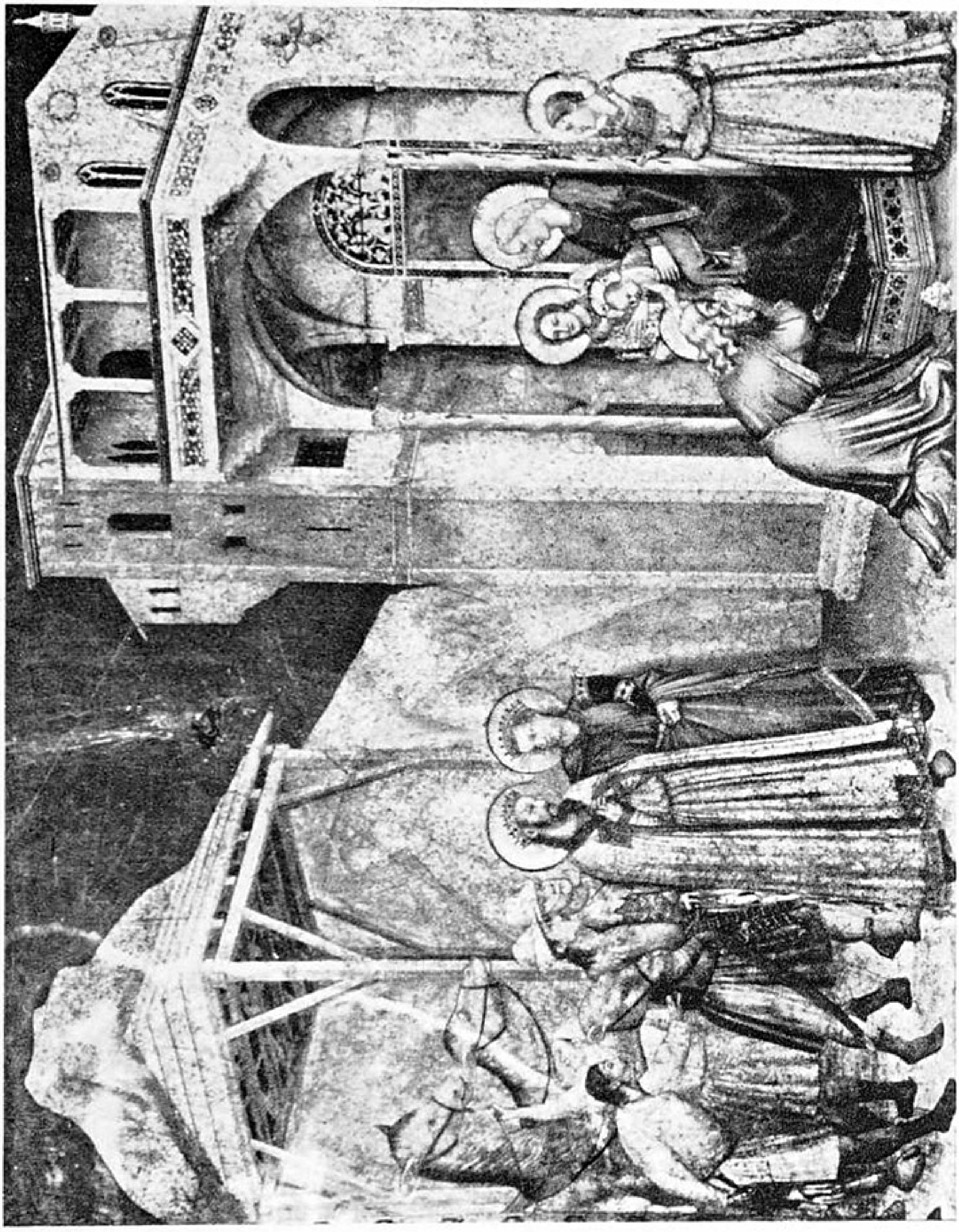


Fig. 125. Maestro delle Vele, the Adoration of the Magi.
S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

Mother and Child have left the site of the Nativity — thus differing from the corresponding scene at Padua which is shown taking place under the shelter — and are now seen in the porch of a handsome house the drawing of the various floors of which is quite out of proportion. The Virgin is seated and holds the Child in the centre of her lap; the Infant Christ bends forward and lays his hand protectingly on the head of the old bearded Mage who kneels before Him, devoutly kissing His feet. On either side of the Virgin stands a holy woman. Quite apart from this little group are the other figures of this scene; foremost amongst them are the two other Wise Men, one of whom looks towards the adoring Mage. Behind them are four men, evidently servants, for two are depicted looking after the camels, one stretching his hand towards the head of one of the beasts in a manner that reminds us of the representation at Padua, but without the same realism. This detail of the camel, the attitude of the Wise Man kneeling before the Infant, and the rock behind the shelter, are the only points which this painting has in common with Giotto's Adoration at Padua.

(5). The Presentation in the Temple is seen taking place before the altar of a beautiful Gothic church; besides the four principal figures which do not differ much from those of Giotto's composition in the Scrovegni chapel, we find here a considerable number of assistants. On the right of the altar, Simeon, looking heavenward, holds the Babe, Who is depicted in a remarkably natural manner; behind, the prophetess Anna is seen unrolling the scroll which at Padua she carried bound up. On the other side the Madonna stretches out her arms towards her Child; Joseph, carrying the pigeons, is partly hidden behind a pillar, he is followed by a group of five persons, one a young girl. Near Simeon a kneeling woman holds her arms out longingly in the direction of the precious burden in the old man's arms, while two aged men more in the corner look with grave reverence towards the Child Christ.

(6). The Flight into Egypt (fig. 126) is depicted against a rocky background between two fortified towns; one of the trees in the landscape reminds us of the legend related in the apocryphal Gospel of Matthew of how a palmtree on the Lord's demand bent down in order that the Virgin might refresh herself with its fruit; the presence of the two angels above the tree can also be accounted for by this text, which tells us that a branch of the palm was taken to heaven by an angel. In the foreground we see the little procession led by Joseph who turns round to look at the Virgin and Child seated on the donkey's back; they are followed by a youth, and a young woman who carries a staff in her hand and a

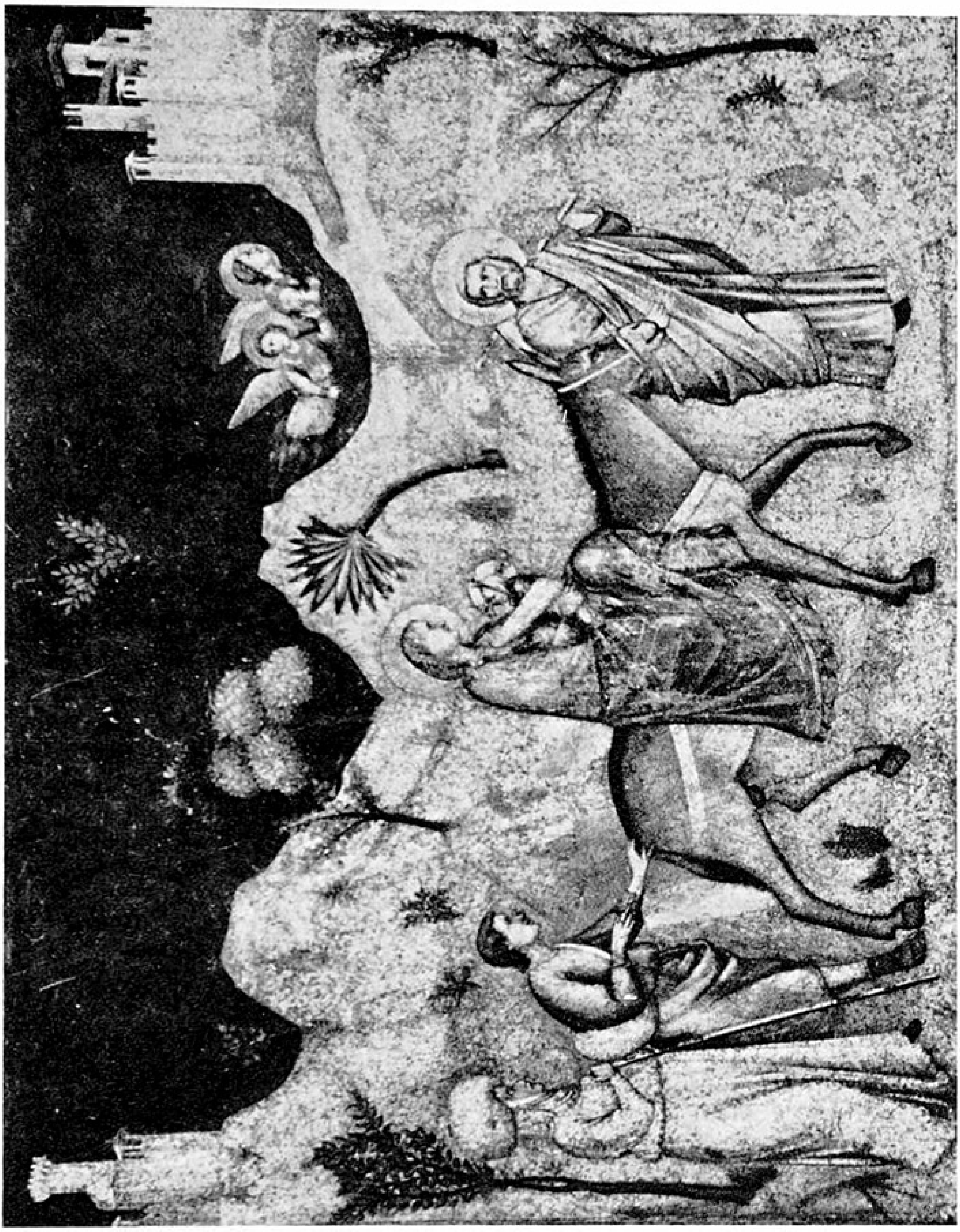


Fig. 126. Maestro delle Vele, the Flight into Egypt. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Alinari.

bundle on her head; their presence may be considered a detail taken from the same apocryphal Gospel which mentions that the Virgin had, as companions on the journey, three young men and a girl; Giotto follows this text more exactly in his fresco at Padua. The representation of the mountains and towns of Egypt in the background has also been derived from the same source. There are in this picture some elements which manifest a surprising gift of observation and portrayal of realistic details. The donkey is as well designed and natural as Giotto's; only a profound study of animal anatomy and movement could have produced this almost perfect image. Further the attitude of the Virgin seated sideways on the donkey, the gesture of the man behind – that of a cattleman driving his animals — and the carriage of the woman with the load on her head (a sight still frequently met with in the country parts of Italy) are all details which are perfectly reproduced; but on the other hand, the Child is very much too small.

(7) The Massacre of the Innocents strongly resembles Giotto's Paduan composition (fig. 127). To the right and left some mothers are seen seated on the ground, grieving over their murdered babes while between them a large number of dead children lie heaped, one on top of the other. Behind the women, the soldiers continue their horrible deed, one holds an infant in the air by his arm ready to pierce him with a sword, another drags a child by his leg away from the mother who clasps it in anguish to her breast, other women show in gestures and expression their horror of the barbarous proceedings. Some mounted soldiers are seen on the right, while four men stand on the balcony of a building to the left, one of them directing the soldiers below(1). Except for the poor mothers, the other spectators show utter indifference to this cruel deed. We have to admire in this fresco, the excellent composition, the extremely adequate gestures and expressions, the perfect design and natural little naked bodies of the dead children as well as the remarkable perspective of a figure bending down to cut off the head of one of the murdered innocents.

(8) On the way to the Easter celebrations, often erroneously called the Return from Egypt(2); is here represented with a certain lack of clearness, and might, in fact, be the picture of any group of walking figures. The background is filled with imposing and tasteful architecture most of it consisting of a fortified town in which we see an Oriental dome, while in the wall is a large gateway.

On the right corner of the foreground Joseph is depicted leading the young Christ, now a handsome boy, by the hand;

---

(1) This is Herod who, according to the Sriptures was certainly not present, but who is frequently represented in illustrations of this event; *van Marle,* Recherches sur l'iconographie, p. 14.

(2) *Idem,* p. 14.

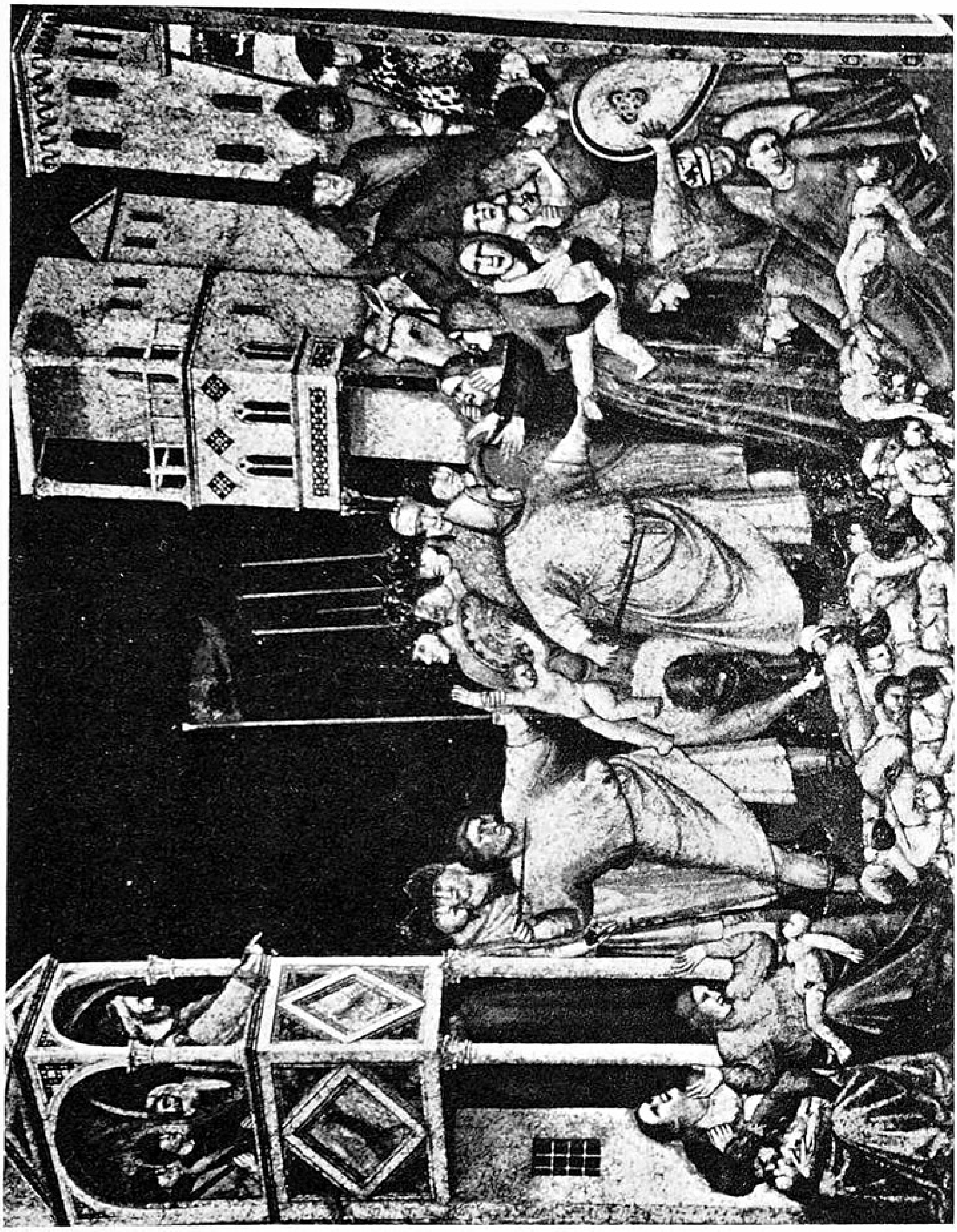


Fig. 127. Maestro delle Vele, the Massacre of the Innocents.
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

they appear to be conversing together; close behind is the Virgin Mary who is followed by three other women. The peculiar shape of this fresco which partly surrounds an architectural arch, may account for the shortcomings in its composition.

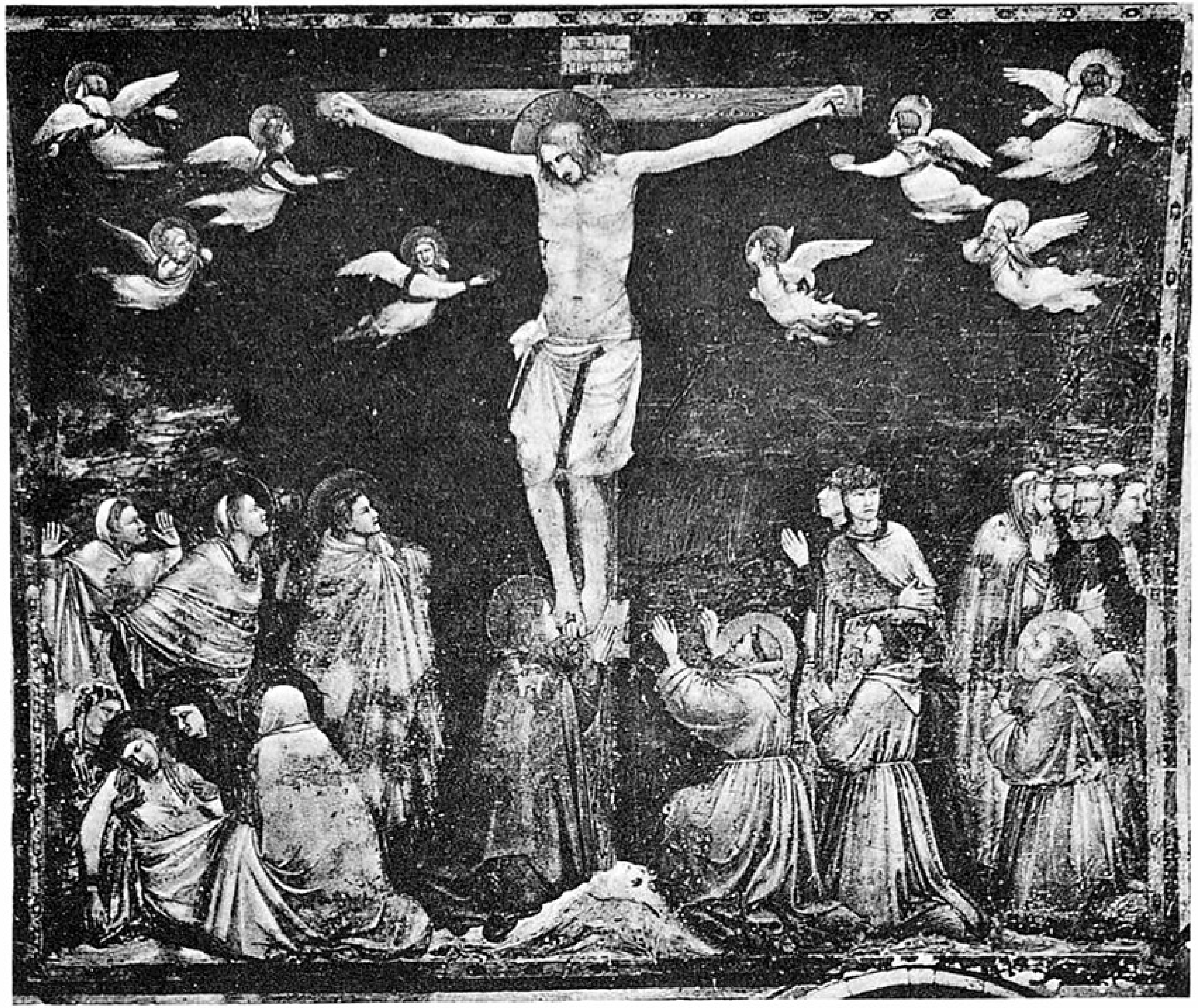
(9) The Lord at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple is here described in a very simple composition, strongly resembling

Giotto's at Padua. In the interior of a Gothic church the young Christ seated on a broad chair in the centre is seen with one hand uplifted; three elderly men, all intently listening, sit at either side; opposite, with their backs to the spectator, are six others, while a thirteenth is seen in profile on the right; the Virgin and Joseph in search of their missing Child have just entered from the left and, only observed by one of the auditors, look towards the young Teacher Whose words, as is evident from their expressions, attitudes or gestures, seem to interest and impress the listeners; the one immediately to the right of Christ is depicted in a very characteristic but natural attitude. In spite of the extreme simplicity of the composition, this fresco is one of the best of the whole series.

(10) The Crucifixion (plate III) is the scene which least resembles Giotto's composition at Padua although the central figures and the angels around do not show any striking difference; Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the cross is slightly more turned, she is followed by St. John and two women (¹) while in front of them kneel three other women who support the swooning Virgin. On the left are five kneeling monks amongst whom may be recognised St. Francis, with his arms outstretched towards the Lord very much in the same manner as when he receives the stigmata, and further behind St. Antony of Padua. Behind them on the extreme right of the fresco a group of men are about to leave the dramatic scene, one of them who looks back resembles very much the type of Joachim that Giotto depicted in the Arena chapel; nearer the cross two other men, both wearing helmets, stand close together, the one behind, except for his profile and hands which are clasped in prayer, being entirely hidden by the second figure whose sad, distant gaze is expressive of deep thought. The group about to depart and the meditating figure which is found in older examples no doubt illustrate the Gospel of St. Luke XXIII, v. 47—48: "Now the centurion seeing what was done glorified God saying: Indeed this was a just man. And all the multitude of them that were come together to that sight, and saw the things that were done returned

---

(¹) One of the holy women stretches her arms down and back in a gesture very similar to one we find in the Crucifixion scene of the polyptych in the Sacristy of St. Peter's, Rome.



THE CRUCIFIXION

*By the „Maestro delle Vele" in the Lower Church of St. Francis, Assisi.*

*Photo Anderson.*

striking their breasts". That the centurion was accompanied by another figure is found mentioned in St. Matthew XXVII, v. 54.

I do not think that Mr. Perkins exaggerates in saying that this is one of the most perfect representations of the Crucifixion that Christian art had known until then, and it has not since been surpassed in dignity and expressiveness.

The broad and sculptural St. John is the best figure in the fresco, the two women behind are more excited in their sorrow, but the unconscious Virgin is very realistic. The mysterious look on the face of the centurion, whose mind is troubled by doubts, is well depicted, and the anatomical design of the dead body of Christ is not less perfect than Giotto's at Padua, while the expression in His face might be called the personification of the final words of the Saviour "Consummatum est".

In the same corner of the sanctuary we find two other works from this artist's hand, one the somewhat fantastic representation of St. Francis as a young and beardless man, raising one hand and placing the other on the shoulder of a crowned skeleton standing close by. The second, and more important, depicts one of the miracles of St. Francis, combining in the one fresco two different moments of the story (fig. 128).

The legend, found only in Bonaventura, relates how the wife of a notary one day went to church and left her child at home, but the boy's desire to accompany her was so strong that he threw himself out of a window. The mother's cries of despair at the loss of her child attracted the neighbours, amongst whom was Brother Raho, who asked the father if he believed that St. Francis was able to revive the child. When he replied that he was convinced of the possibility of such a miracle and would be for ever the servant of the saint if it were accomplished, the monk and his companion began to pray, asking the public to join with them, whereupon the boy came to life. In the fresco we see, to the left, the child falling head first from a tower-like building and on the right, unobservant of the accident, a crowd of people in prayer in front of a church; the women kneel around the monks while the men, with but one exception, stand at the sides. All are very devout and the deeply religious spirit of the scene is well expressed. In the sky the head and shoulders of a flying angel are seen.

Several of my predecessors have attributed the frescoes which adorn the altar vault and the right transept of the Lower Church to two different hands, and originally I held the same opinion, but after a minute study of all the figures I have, to a certain extent, changed my mind. I do not deny the presence of different hands but am convinced that there was only one leading painter. I do not think that Prof. A. Venturi is right when he, as it were, allows in the painter's work only one type of face and discovers two principal artists, where there is only question of two diverse types of features produced by one leading painter.

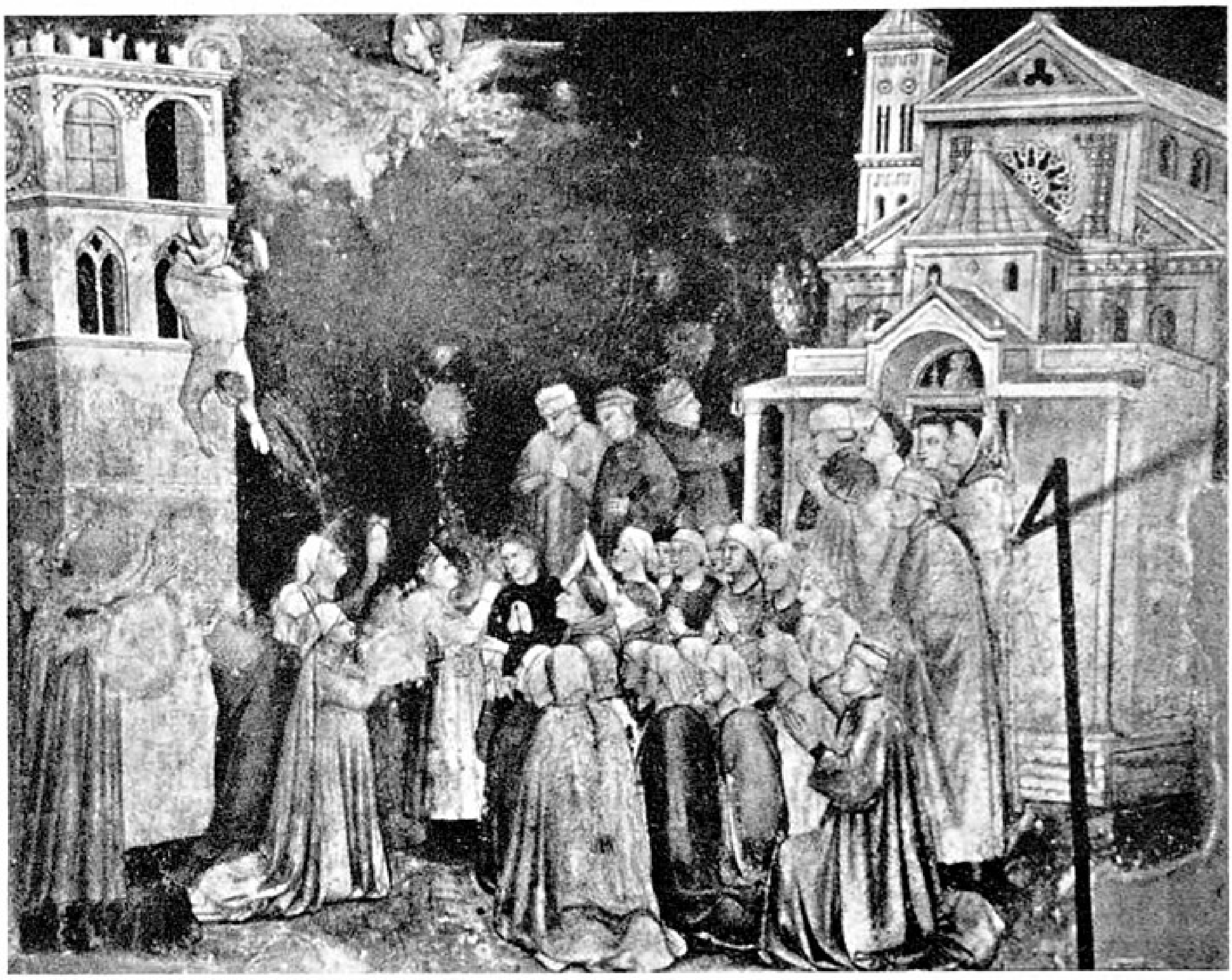


Fig. 128. Maestro delle Vele, the Death and Resurrection of a child.
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson

The sentiment and artistic aspiration is identical throughout the work and I do not find a difference of interpretation — the one dramatic and the other more peaceful — in these frescoes but a variation only where the subject makes it necessary.

What I feel inclined to admit however is that the artist was considerably assisted in his enterprise, probably by two different painters who were sufficiently dominated by his art not to allow a manner of their own to appear, following faithfully, although not always with the same facility, their master. When Mr. Berenson, who also supports the hypothesis of two different artists having worked at these frescoes, points out that almost all the triumph of St. Francis and the figure of the saint between two angels in the upper part of the allegory of Obedience seem different from the others, I quite agree with him, because I think these are the parts in which the painter was least assisted; but to them we should add the Crucifixion and the Massacre of the Innocents, which I believe also to have been executed without any aid. Besides this, I imagine that the master painted — perhaps corrected or repainted — a great number of the faces and sometimes entire figures in the other frescoes, in which we find his own hand so frequently and so intermingled with the products of his assistants that we can only conceive of a very close collaboration.

Taking the Crucifixion — which seems to me the master's best production — as starting point, we find throughout the allegories and the other scenes the same characteristic faces, which, as I have already said, can be divided into two principal types. The help, however, given by the assistants is so considerable that in many instances we might almost speak of school work. This is particularly the case with the Annunciation which, in its dark corner and almost invisible, seems to have been left entirely to a pupil.

The connection with the altar-piece in St. Peter's is very evident, The Roman panel should be considered an earlier work and, as it were, an introduction to the frescoes at Assisi, but even then we do not obtain the absolute certainty that they are by the same master, although it seems probable. The spirit has remained the same and the types have not changed; the latter is abundantly clear if we compare the features of the Madonna of the altar-piece with those of the converted centurion in the Crucifixion of Assisi, the female figure who in this same fresco is depicted on the left, her arms thrown backwards, with the one who in the same attitude occupies the same place in the Crucifixion of the polyptych, or again the woman with the white head-dress in this panel with those in the miracle of St. Francis in the Lower Church. The faces of the angels grouped around the Saviour or standing next to the Madonna and the types of the younger Apostles in the Roman panel correspond with those of the angels at Assisi, the adorer at the feet of Christ with the kneeling figure to the left of the allegory of Obedience, while the undulating landscape which forms the background of the beheading of St. Paul, has many points in common with the one in the fresco of the Visitation. We find the same taste for the regular non-angular shape of face and frequently the somewhat vacillating gracefulness of figure very foreign to Giotto's sturdiness, but which we may perceive in the works of Bernardo Daddi. The curiously shaped feet of the executioner in the picture of St. Paul's martyrdom is a detail which we also meet with in the allegories of the vault and other scenes at Assisi.

This artist's connection with Giotto is less evident in his frescoes in the Lower Church than in his polyptych at Rome, although he is faithful to his master's composition with regard to isolated pieces of architecture and in his attempts at perspective, where he succeeded better than in his rendering of space and atmosphere.

The change in the aesthetic ideal, which seems to have caused the decrease of dramatic power, and the elegance of line produced at the cost of an organic synthesis, seem to point to an influence from Siena.

The similarity between the figures in this part of the decoration of the Lower Church and those still existing of the frescoes in the chapel of the Bargello at Florence did not escape Mr. Berenson. The fragments on those battered walls which give us an impression of the original aspect of the frescoes, are however, so few that we can only form a conjectural opinion. Some of the pieces, nevertheless, assure us that their author possessed a similar temperament to the painter who executed the above mentioned frescoes and attempted to produce similar types and features.

For a long time and from a very early date these paintings which were executed probably before the fire of 1332, have been attributed to Giotto. Even Antonio Puccí, Giotto's contemporary, composed a poem on "Il ritratto di Dante dipinto da Giotto" (¹) which on account of the red cloak and book under his arm mentioned in the poem, would correspond with the repainted figure

---

(¹) *A. D'Ancona e O. Bacci,* Manuale della letteratura italiana, Nuov ed., I. Firenze, 1918, p. 553.

of the divine poet in the fresco of this chapel. Villani however states very precisely that the portrait of Dante by the hand of Giotto was on the altar panel of this chapel (¹) and the artist executed it with the help of mirrors. That an altar panel existed in this chapel is confirmed by an inventory of 1382. Milanesi's first commentary on Vasari's "Life of Giotto" was a protest, based on the above arguments, against the authenticity of the portrait of Dante in this chapel as a work of Giotto's. Ghiberti only says that Giotto worked in this chapel (²) and although the way in which the reference is made, leads us to believe that we are here dealing with frescoes, I hardly think that this deduction can be taken into consideration against Villani's precise statement (³). Antonio Billi and the Anonimo Gaddiano, who copied the former authority, seem to refer to this fresco in speaking of Giotto's portrait of Dante. Gelli is not very precise although he also mentions a portrait of the poet in this chapel, so too Vasari whose imagination leads him to baptise other figures here as well-known Florentines of the same period. As to the conformity of the figure with Pucci's poetry the fact that it is considerably repainted gives rise to the question whether the text may not have inspired the restorer whose desire was to replace the portrait of the lost altar-piece. These paintings, once covered by white-wash, were discovered in 1841 and the present aspect of this figure is typical of that period; on the other hand a tracing made of the figure before the restoration shows us it to be the same person but the resemblance to the cast of Dante made at his death does not seem to me very striking.

Documentary research does not result in any certainty, so that our arguments have to be looked for in the appearance of the fresco itself.

A critical examination can only convince us of the fact that here we are not dealing with a work by Giotto himself but rather with a production of the artist whose paintings at Assisi

---

(¹) In his book on famous Florentines: Pinxit insuper speculorum suffragio semetipsum sibique contemporaneum Dantem in tabula altaris capella Palatii.

(²) Dipinse nel palagio del podesta di Firenze, dentro fece el comune, come era rubato, e'lla capella di sancta Maria Maddalena; ed. *von Schlosser*, p. 36.

(³) Mr. *von Schlosser* however in his notes on Ghiberti attributes this fresco to Giotto.

we have just discussed, or if not of his then of another artist whose style was very similar.

In the same palace Vasari saw some lost frescoes, of which Ghiberti also speaks, which he attributed to Giotto, depicting "how many robbed the town" and an allegory of the city as a Judge assisted by Courage, Prudence, Justice and Temperance, all personified and holding emblems.

In the chapel of the palace the entrance wall which was originally adorned with a representation of the Last Judgment, still preserves traces of Hell. Opposite, we find the fresco of Paradise, parts of which are still clearly visible and which comprises the portrait of Dante mentioned above. To the right there are remains of scenes illustrating the life of St. Mary Magdalene; these are continued on the window wall where we also find two other scenes and the figure of St. Venantius, showing probably the date 1337 ([1]), but which do not belong to the rest of the decorative scheme. A great movement of veneration for Mary Magdalene occurred at the end of the 13th century; a mystery play in her honour dates from this period, and in 1280 Charles of Anjou had a sanctuary made for her at Marseilles; this veneration probably accounts for the two series of paintings concerning the saint, the one at Assisi and the second in the chapel of the Podesta's palace, Florence. The condition of these frescoes is so bad that they have frequently been wrongly interpreted. I believe that they illustrate the following events: on the right wall, the Magdalene on the floor washing the feet of Christ, the Resurrection of Lazarus (the two sisters seem to follow the Lord), one scene entirely obliterated, the Holy Women at the Sepulchre, Noli me tangere (fig. 129), the attitude of Christ half turning His back on Mary is very similar to the one at Assisi, the saint in solitude in the desert, the saint covered only by her hair praying in a grotto while angel appears to her; taking the communion from Maxim; being blessed by the bishop and being taken to heaven by angels. The window wall preserves part of the miracle of the Princess of Marseilles, and a woman dancing at a feast; the latter has been thought to represent the dance of Salome but, as Prof. Thode remarks, is more likely to be a scene from the life of the saint

---

([1]) *Vasari-Milanesi,* I, p. 419.

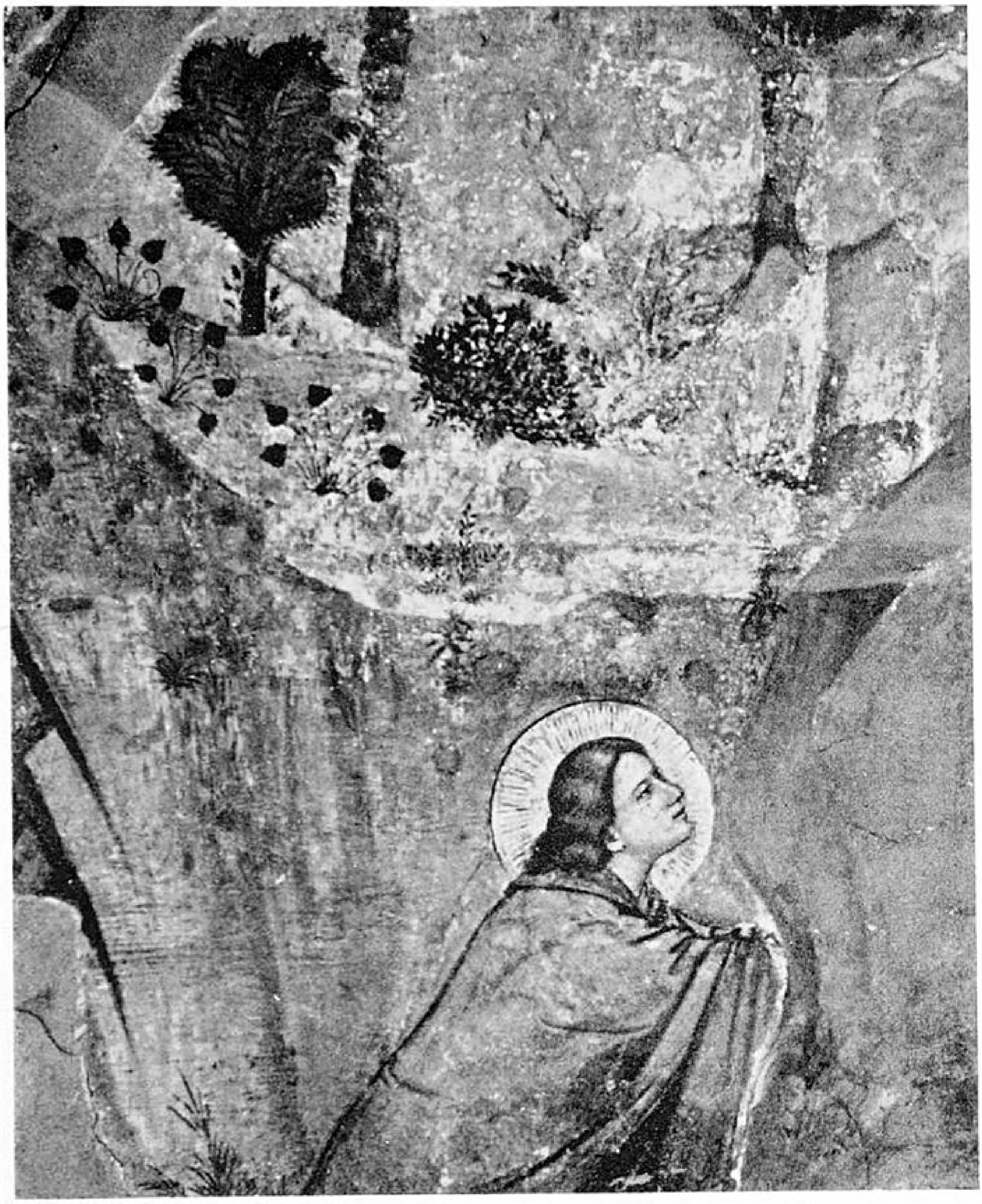


Fig. 129. Maestro delle Vele, detail of Noli me tangere. Bargello, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

before her conversion(¹). All these paintings are full of sentiment and seem to be the work of a great draughtsman; as far as the mutilated condition allows us to judge, these frescoes are again not entirely free from a Sienese influence which was quite foreign to Giotto and which here too reminds us sometimes of Daddi.

Of the Last Judgment only a small portion of the Hell has been

---

(¹) In: Reminiscenze pittoriche di Firenze, Florence, 1845, near page 117, we find unreliable reconstructions of the miracle of the Princess of Marseilles and the Magdalene taking Communion.

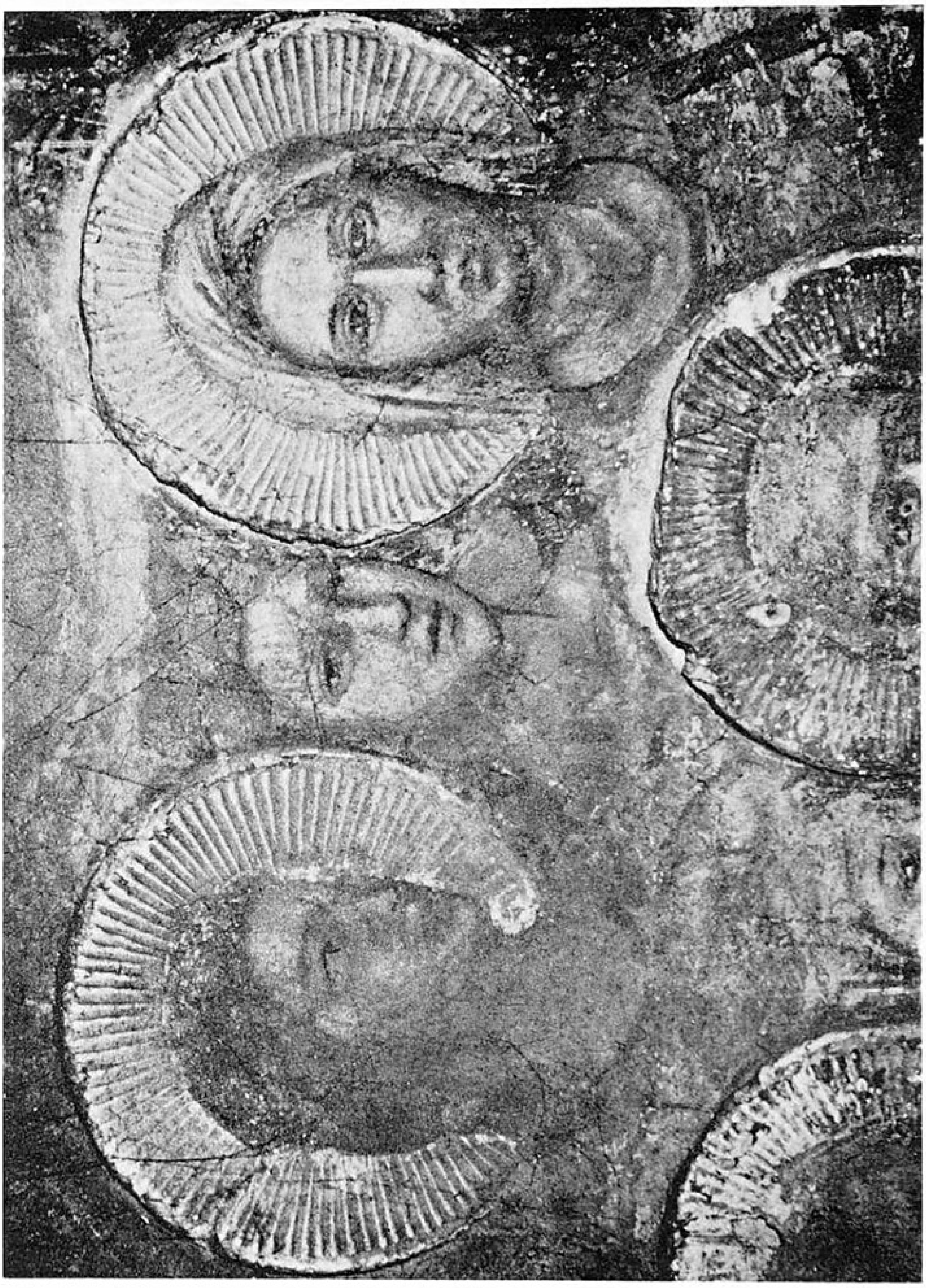


Fig. 130. Maestro delle Vele, detail of the Last Judgment. Bargello, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

preserved, showing an enormous Satan holding two condemned souls in the usual surrounding of torturing demons. It is always possible that this decoration did not represent the Last Judgment but only Hades as pendant to the Paradise on the opposite wall, which is composed above of Christ in a mandorla between angels and Apostles; lower down at both sides stand groups of saints (fig. 130), while on the lowest zone are depicted many figures in contemporary costume, some of which help to confirm our hypothesis that this is a work of that master whose paintings at Rome and Assisi we have just dealt with.

### THE PSEUDO MAESTRO STEFANO.

Cavalcaselle attributed the frescoes illustrating the life of St. Nicholas in the Sacrament chapel of the Lower Church to Giottino but nowadays this theory has been abandoned. Mr. Berenson believes the artist who decorated this chapel to be the same as the one who continued the St. Francis series in the Upper Church which, as will be remembered, he ascribes to one artist. Without falling in with this hypothesis, I agree that there is a strong resemblance between the frescoes of St. Nicholas and the first five scenes of the continuation, which, however, have little in common with those by the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece; Herr Suida has already objected to Mr. Berenson's attribution.

Prof. Thode was of opinion that Giotto himself painted this series of frescoes which Prof. A. Venturi ascribes to a pupil whose style most closely approached his master's, but to me there is a distinct difference between Giotto's works and the frescoes of this chapel, which difference is, in my opinion, due to a Sienese influence.

This chapel was frescoed before 1316 because its founder, Gian Gaetano Orsini, who became a cardinal that year, is depicted still as a deacon(1). As to the painter we know nothing, but the hypothesis that it may have been Maestro Stefano, according to the Anonimo Gaddiano, a contemporary of Giotto's and father of Giottino, is not altogether to be excluded; if any of the pictures attributed to Giottino be really from his hand, then it is very probable that his father painted in the manner of the decoration of the Sacrament chapel, a manner obviously descending from Giotto's and just as obviously leading to Giottino's (2).

---

(1) From this fact alone it becomes practically impossible that the author of this series is the same as the Giottino of 1369 as *Cavalcaselle* seems to assume, II, p. 197.

(2) Mr. *Sirén* has already drawn our attention to the place this artist occupied between Giotto and Giottino.

Maestro Stefano was a contemporary of Giotto's (¹) and must have been a well-known painter because in Sacchetti's Novella 136, he is mentioned amongst the greatest Florentine painters, along with Cimabue, Daddi and Buffalmacco; besides this he was one of the five artists proposed for the altar-piece of 1347 in S. Giovanni-fuor-Civitas, Pistoia, and his address in Florence is there mentioned as being "Chasa di frati predicatori".

Villani praises him greatly and calls him the "ape of nature" which expression is repeated by Landini. Ghiberti—whose opinion is transcribed by Billi and the Anonimo Gaddiano—and Vasari attribute several works to this artist, amongst them a Crucifixion and a picture of St. Thomas in the first cloister of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence; a fresco of the former subject is really found there but it is considerably repainted and certainly was not executed by a great and immediate follower of Giotto. Both authors tell us that the painter executed an important Celestial glory in the choir of the Lower Church of Assisi. Ghiberti also speaks of three frescoes in the cloister of S. Spirito, Florence; Vasari of those representing the martyrdom of St. Mark in the Asini chapel of the Sta. Croce; the same tells us of Stefano's activity in Milan, Pisa and Rome, and ascribes to him the frescoes of the S. Jacopo chapel in the Cathedral of Pistoia which he might have executed in 1346; this statement is contradicted by Ciampi who however associates this artist's name with frescoes, now effaced, in the Belucci chapel of the same building (²).

The only certain fact we know about Stefano Fiorentino is that he was active in 1347 at which date he was recognised as one of the five best Florentine painters (³); all sources agree that he was one of Giotto's important pupils and this may possibly be the case, but none of his authentic works is known to us.

Following Mr. Sirén's example, let us then call the painter who decorated the S. Sacrament chapel of the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, Maestro Stefano. The decoration consist-

---

(¹) He certainly could not be Giotto's grandson, the son of his daughter Catherine and the painter Ricco di Lippo, born in 1333, also called Stefano and registered in 1368 as *Baldinucci* tries to prove I, p. 212; the Giotto who was the master of this Stefano was our Maestro Stefano's son or Giottino. *Billi* calls him a relation of Giotto's.

(²) *v. Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 172.

(³) *Idem*, p. 126¹.

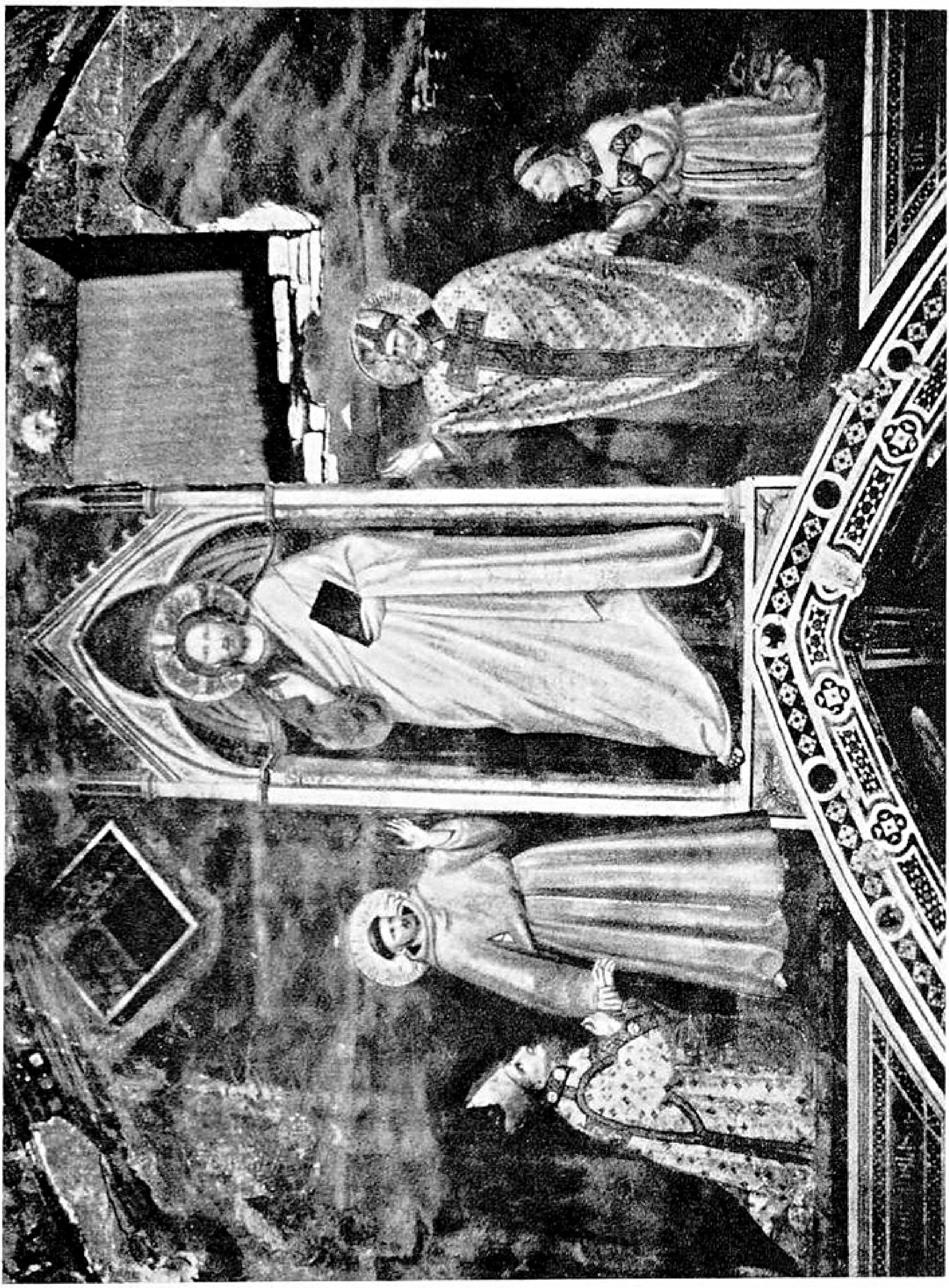


Fig. 131. Maestro Stefano, centre of the Lord between two saints and kneeling adorers. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

ed of twelve scenes — three of which have disappeared — from the life of St. Nicholas according to tho Golden Legend, twenty-six saints and Apostles, twenty-three of which remain, and a picture of the donor being presented to Our Lord. This last scene we find on the upper part of the entrance wall (fig. 131); Christ standing in a Gothic tabernacle is depicted holding a book in one hand and uplifting the other; on the left St. Francis and on the right St. Nicholas each in a similar attitude present a kneeling suppliant to the Lord, St. Francis, the Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, and St. Nicholas his brother Gian Orsini, the founder of the chapel; these figures on either side are followed by three kneeling bishops, only recently discovered. The features of Christ, whose expression is somewhat absent, are very beautiful, the eyes of the two saints penetrating and the faces of the two donors anxiously imploring, but the composition is over symmetrical and the folds in the robe of the central figure too regular.

Below this representation we see on the left Mary of Egypt clothed in her hair standing praying in a grotto, and on the right, St. John the Baptist with uplifted hand, against a rocky background. Below each, another figure of a saint is depicted; inside the entrance arch are six pairs of saints while on either side of the chapel we find a group of two and another of three figures, the latter on the damaged left wall having entirely disappeared.

The frescoes illustrate the life of St. Nicholas as related in the Golden Legend. The first scene, on the wall to the right of the vault, shows the story of how the saint saved a poor man from condemning his daughters to prostitution, on account of his poverty, by placing in his room one night a packet of gold wrapped in a piece of linen, thus enabling him to abandon his terrible plan and give his oldest daughter in marriage; two similar gifts given in the same way saved the two other daughters. We see on the fresco the interior of a building in which the father and three girls are sleeping, while the saint, a young man quite in accordance with the text, is depicted handing one of his precious parcels into the room. The painting evinces much kindly sentiment in its very simple composition. Below this is represented the episode in which sailors in peril appealed to the protection of St. Nicholas but of the original painting the ship alone remains visible. The next two incidents are portrayed in the best frescoes of the whole series, the first under the vault on the left shows us St. Nicholas just in time to prevent the execution of three innocent soldiers condemned to death by a corrupt consul (fig. 132), while in the second we see the saint forgiving the repentant judge (fig. 133). In the background of the former of these two paintings a very complicated building, evidently a cathedral with mosaic decoration, is depicted; slightly to the left, the executioner is ready to bring down the sword on the head of the first victim

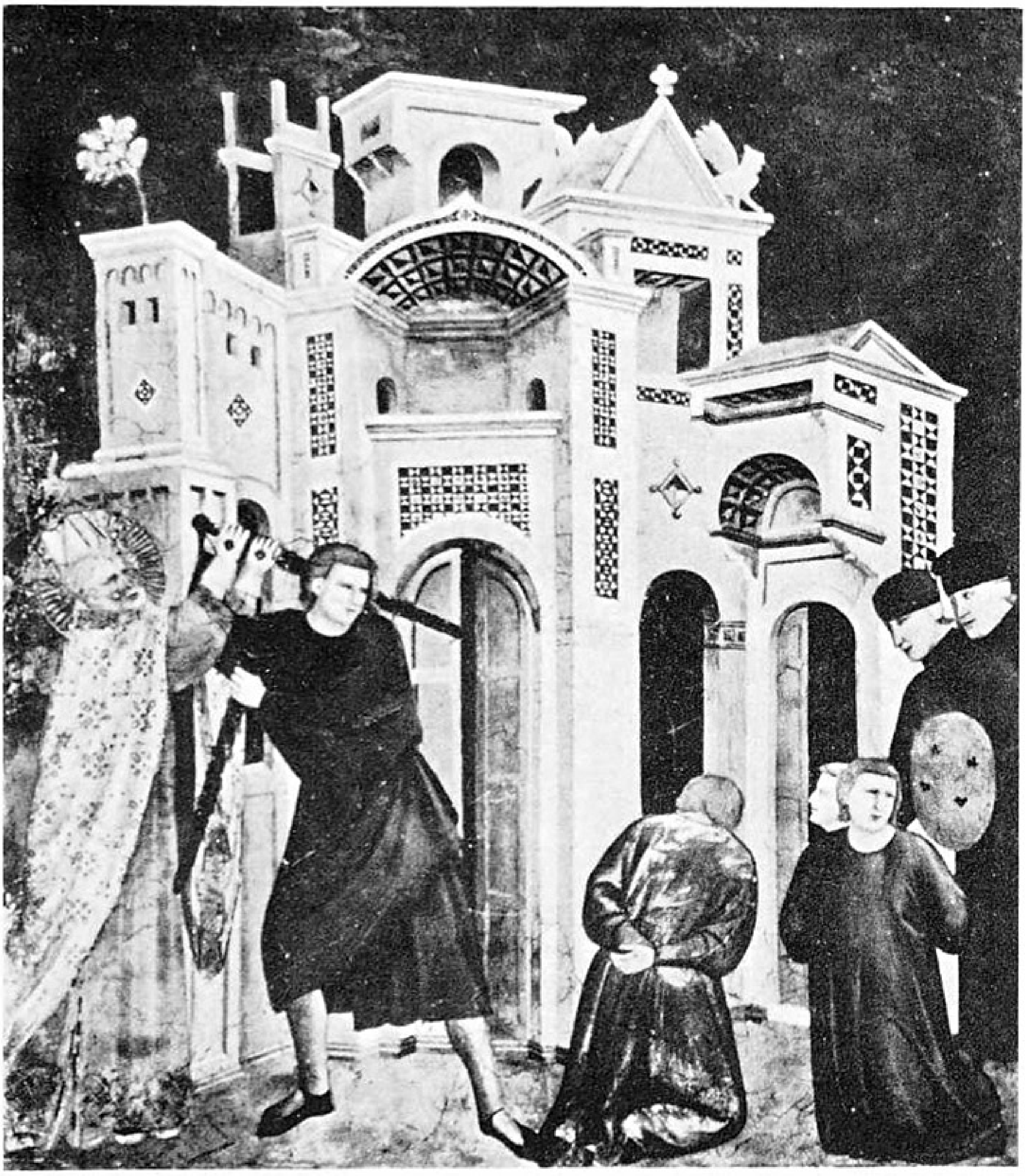


Fig. 132. Maestro Stefano, St. Nicholas prevents an unjust execution. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

but St. Nicholas, approaching from behind, grasps the handle with both hands and thus prevents the unjust act from taking place; all three condemned soldiers kneel on the ground, he who was to have been the first victim with his back turned, the other two close together, one of very pitiful expression faces the spectator and except for the face, which we see in profile, entirely

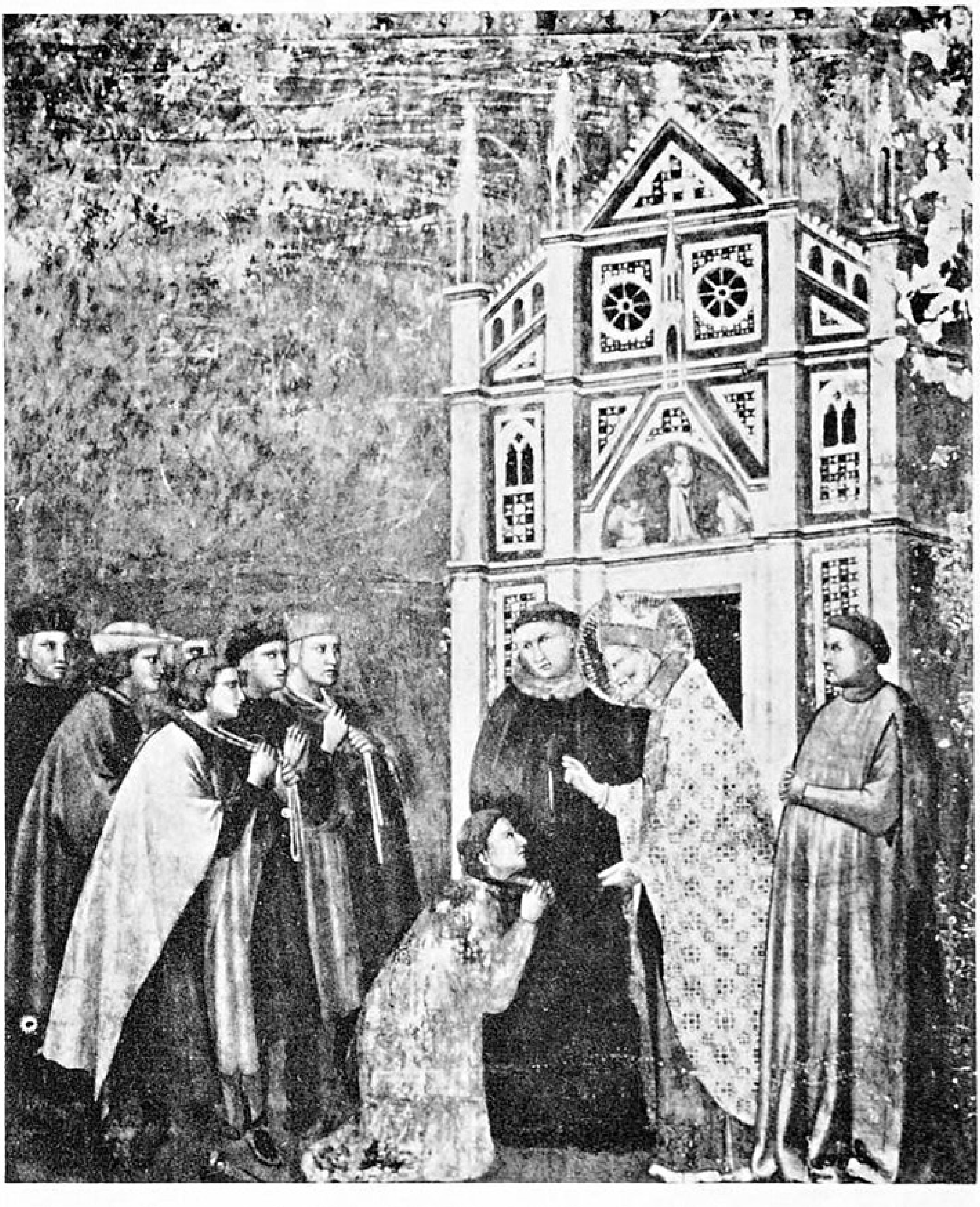


Fig. 133. Maestro Stefano, St. Nicholas forgives the repentant judge.
S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

conceals the third soldier. The two figures on the right are certainly two of the three princes, who that day were the guests of the holy bishop and to whose suite the soldiers belonged; the painter has here, as in every detail of the fresco, followed the text of the Golden Legend.

Lower down on the right wall we find the continuation of the story; as the Golden Legend gives no precise description of this scene, the composition is the outcome of the painter's own imagination. Against the façade of a cathedral ornamented in marble St. Nicholas, accompanied by two church dignitaries, is seen absolving the consul who kneels before him, guilt and anxiety written on his face; behind him stands a group of figures amongst whom are the princes, and the soldiers who had been condemned, holding cords around their necks. Although these frescoes, especially the latter, are not in good condition, some similarity with the last scenes of the St. Francis cycle, especially with the frescoes 20 to 25, is very obvious; we find the same peculiarly penetrating eyes, the well observed and spontaneous movements such for example as the force the executioner puts into his action and the resolute manner by which St. Nicholas prevents the stroke, while the attitude of the holy bishop in the other scene, the imploring consul and the two placid priests are full of natural reality.

The event illustrated in the next fresco, in which only the outline of a boat can be distinguished, cannot be identified as there are, besides the one already mentioned, three other episodes connected with a ship in the life of St. Nicholas. The fresco just opposite continues the previous story of how some princes, falsely accused of high-treason, are put in prison, but St. Nicholas appearing to the Emperor Constantine in his sleep and to the prefect also, reproaches and threatens them until the innocent are set free (fig. 134). Under a balcony we see the Emperor lying asleep in a confused and not very natural attitude, the bishop flying down towards him and gesticulating with both hands is a somewhat rigid figure; below in a wooden cage the prisoners are seen through a barred window. This painting, as well as those which follow, was executed by the same hand but with less care than the two frescoes illustrating the story of the innocent soldiers or of those of the large solitary figures, many of which betray considerable artistic sentiment. The ornamentation of the vaulted part of the wall terminates in the representation of two young Apostles.

The lunette on the right wall is decorated with one of the saint's miracles, the resuscitation of a young girl who is here depicted seated, her mother kneeling in prayer behind her and her father standing by with clasped hands. Below this we find another of St. Nicholas' miracles, narrated in two scenes; the text tells us of how the son of wealthy parents was taken as a slave

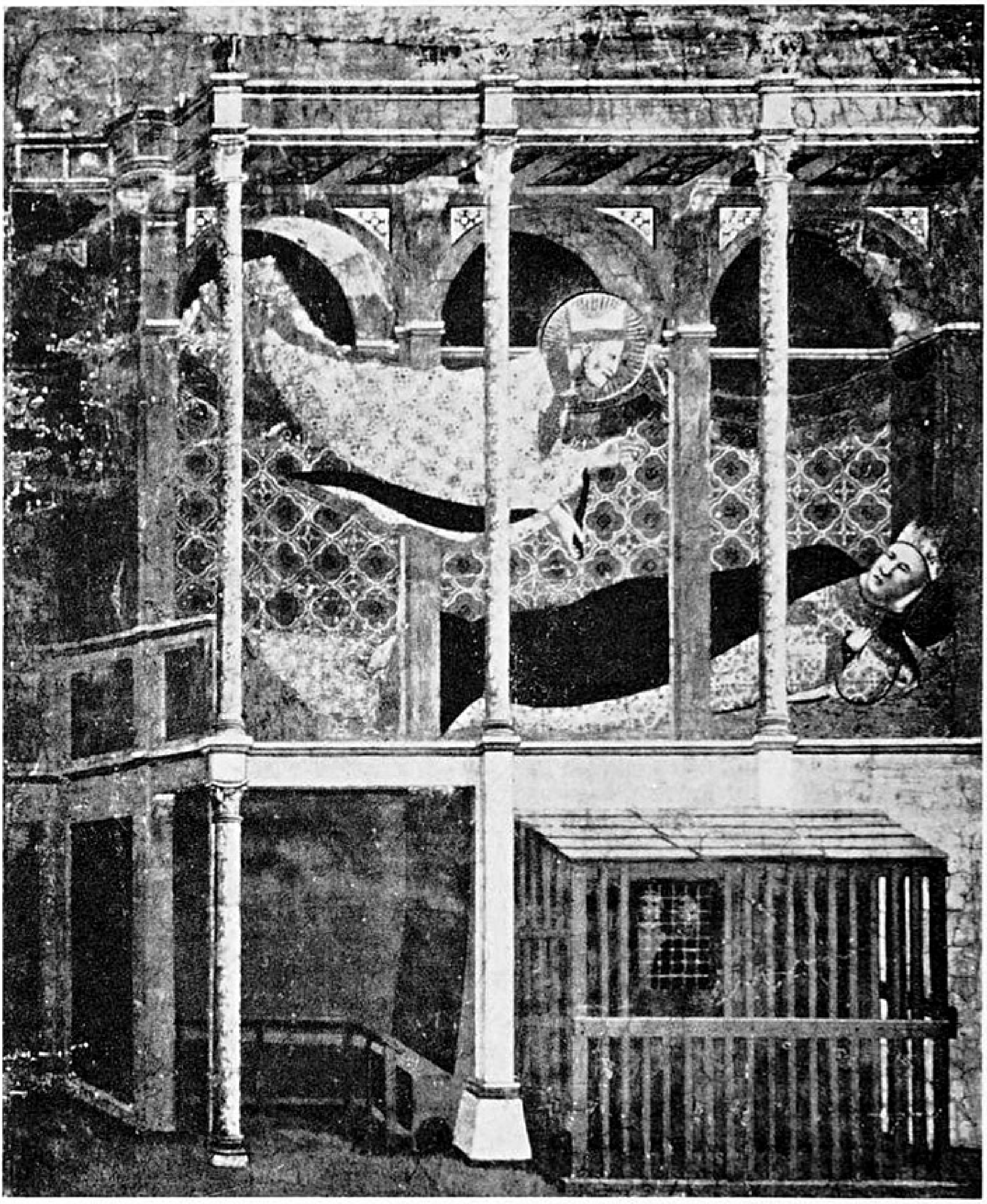


Fig. 134. Maestro Stefano, St. Nicholas informs Constantine of the innocence of some princes. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

by the King of the Agareniens and on St. Nicholas'day (December 6th); thinking of his parents as he served the king he was suddenly overcome by great sorrow, and being obliged to confess the reason of his distress the tyrant answered: "Your Nicholas may do what he likes, you will remain here as my slave". At that moment a strong wind arose, blew down the palace and carried the boy to the threshold of a chapel which his parents had built in honour of St. Nicholas; they are seen in the midst of celebra-

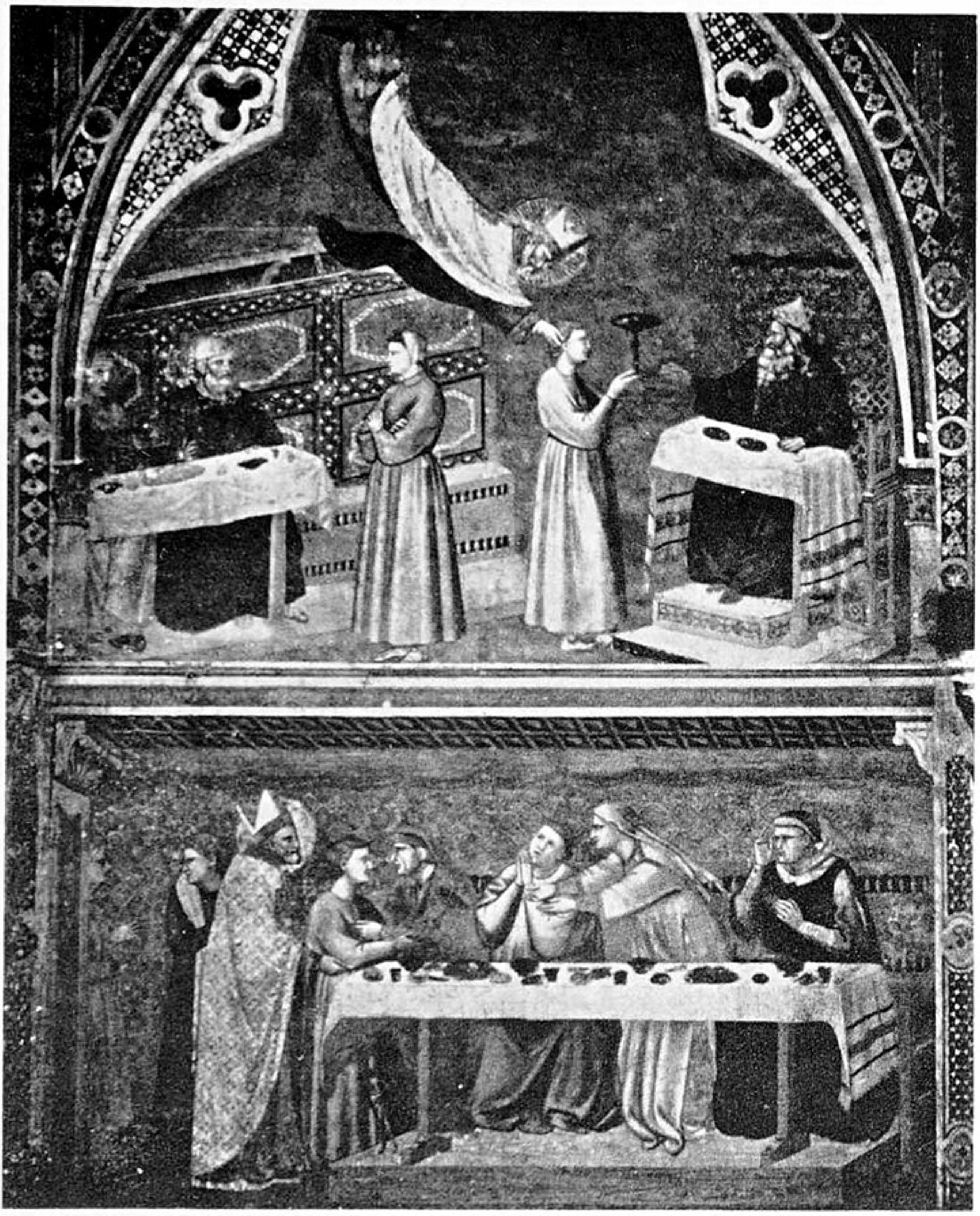


Fig. 135. Maestro Stefano, St. Nicholas frees a child from bondage and brings him back to his parents. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Alinari.

ting the anniversary of the saint (fig. 135). The first scene shows us the slave handing a cup of wine to the king, an old white bearded man with a sharp face, who is seated at table and is about to take the glass from the hands of the boy; at another table on the left two courtiers are depicted at a meal waited on by a second servant who stands with folded arms. St. Nicholas appearing in mid-air grasps the boy by the head.

In the fresco below the holy bishop is represented conducting the boy literally into the arms of his father who, seated at table with three other persons, turns to embrace his son; the figure next him clasps his hands in a prayer of thankfulness; then follows a woman, evidently the mother, who stands up in great excitement and eagerly stretches her hands out towards the boy; the fourth person at the table, an elderly man, is seen making gestures. Two servants behind the saint talk together, obviously about the miracle. These representations, although the outline is rather hard and the composition of the first somewhat lacks ensemble, are full of life and spirit. On the same wall are still found the stately figures of St. Peter, St. Andrew with cross and scroll, and a fair-haired Apostle who formed part of the group of solitary figures already mentioned. In the lunette of the opposite wall an amusing incident is illustrated; the story relates how a Jew who had placed an image of St. Nicholas in his house to guard his treasure during his absence was so furious because one day he found his riches all gone — this holy bishop being also the patron saint of thieves — that he beat the statue with a stick. St. Nicholas appears to the thieves, complains of having been so cruelly treated for their sake and urges them to restore the stolen goods to the owner, which they do.

The moment the artist has chosen to depict is when the furious Jew violently beats the bust of the saint. The next two divisions are now blank, and the figures of saints which originally formed pendants to those on the other side, have also disappeared from this wall. On the right of the entrance arch we find SS. Antony of Padua, Francis with a book and a cross, Adrian, George with spear and shield standing on a dragon, Agnes dressed as a queen and holding a lamb, and Rose. On the left are the Bishops Rufinus, Nicholas, Sabinus and Victorinus, and SS. Clare and Elizabeth of Hungary.

The author of this decoration has been able to convey to us a variety of spirit in the different scenes; in the first act of humanity performed by the saint the artist has depicted in a masterly fashion the difference between the sleeping figure and the one awake. The manner in which the saint grasps the sword is vigorous and well-expressed, so too the attitude of the executioner; in the fresco of St. Nicholas returning the child to his parents each figure betrays a certain nervous excitement, while the figures in the fresco of the consul being forgiven for his unjust judgment are all portrayed with much sentiment. The poorest of the whole series is the scene of the holy bishop appearing to the sleeping emperor.

The compositions are sometimes weak, but the design is on the whole good, especially that of the faces. The attitudes of the figures are realistic but the folds of the draping do not seem to have been this painter's speciality. The colours, without being brilliant, are warm, the harmony of the tints very tasteful in several instances. Prof. Thode who believed, as I have already remarked, that all these paintings are by Giotto, mentions that the figures of saints are more important than the scenes in the evolution of this painter's art; to me these figures show less dependence on Giotto and I even feel inclined to admit the help of an assistant; none of them however offers any special interest. The chief shortcoming of Maestro Stefano was the difficulty he clearly experienced in combining the various personages successfully in the event he wished to represent, with the result that his compositions are at times unsatisfactory; his neatness of design often approaches hardness and angularity; Giotto's influence will be found in the features and certain types of his figures which however lack the firm accuracy and sculptural tangibility of the master's, nor do they possess all the realism and diversity of expression which Giotto gave to his figures. The refined and detailed design of these paintings, the peculiar expression and sentiment of the figures, the shape of certain parts of their features, as well as the graceful forms which have been substituted for the more robust figures of his great master, betray a Sienese influence, but not much of the suavity of that school is to be found in Maestro Stefano's works.

The two frescoes, illustrating the resurrection of a child by invocation of St. Francis, which ornament the wall on either side of the entrance of this chapel were executed under the direct influence of this artist. If the colours were not so different one might suggest as their author the artist who painted the isolated figures on the entrance arch.

The art of this painter may be said to be somewhat more developed than that of Maestro Stefano, whose manner, however, will be found again in the technique and in some isolated figures; this will be noticed if we compare the third female figure on the right in the fresco representing the death of the child with the mother standing behind the table in the illustration of St. Nicholas bringing the son back from slavery.

Bonaventura, in relating the story of the boy killed under a falling house, tells us how the mother, when she saw her child dead, along with the public who gathered round, called upon St. Francis to bring him to life but no sign of life was visible until the mother promised a new cover for the altar, after which the child at once revived. The event is represented in two different frescoes; on the first (figs. 136 and 137) we see a ruined house and closeby a group of people on either side of the mother whose expression and gestures plainly manifest her grief; she pulls her hair in anguish and convulsively throws back her head in a manner already observed in the figure of one of the angels in the

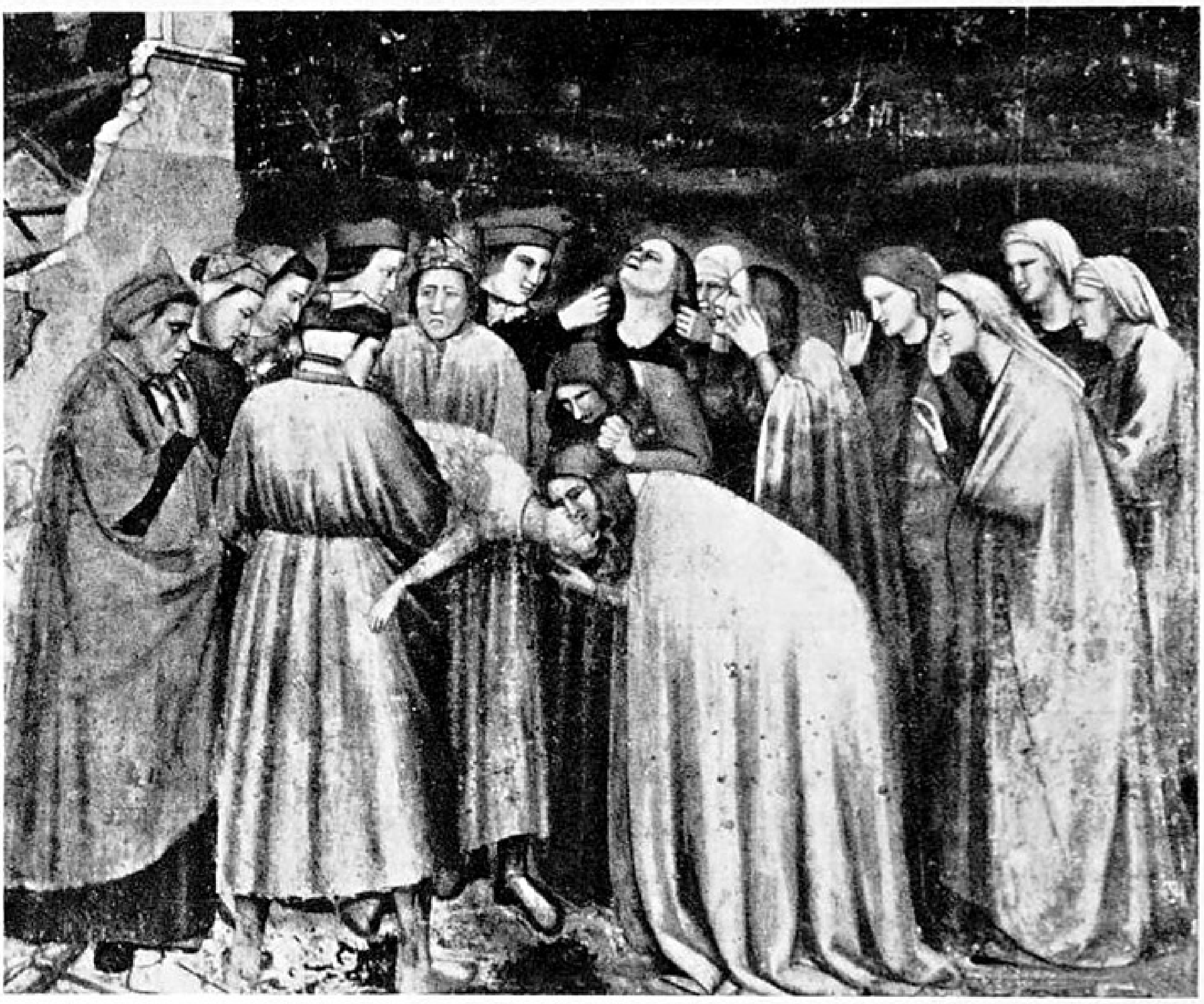


Fig. 136. Follower of Maestro Stefano, the death of a child. S Francesco. Assisi. Photo Anderson.

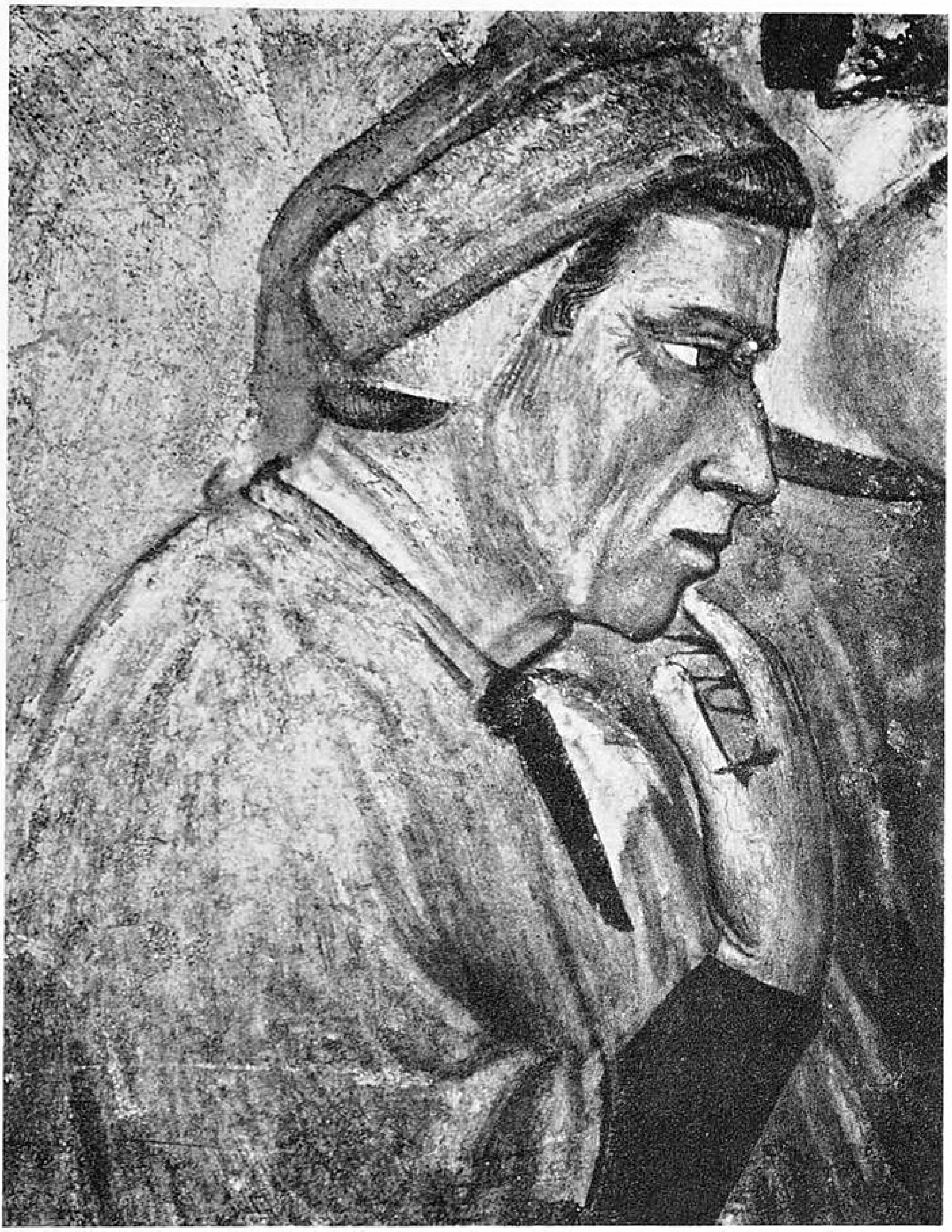


Fig. 137. Detail of fig. 136. Photo Alinari.

Crucifixion scene at Padua, while the gesture of the woman by her side scratching her face in sorrow will be found in another angel of the same scene, as well as in the fresco of the death of the Knight of Celano depicted by Giotto in the Upper Church. In front of the mother, a man with his back almost turned to the spectator, supports the dead body of the child whose face a woman bends to kiss. Most of the men are grouped together on the left, one, with folded hands, leans forwards, the others look sadly down at the lost child, while of the four figures on the right two raise their hands in sorrowful surprise. In this scene the artist has not been successful with the expressions of the surrounding people, many of whom are rather lifeless or at any rate do not manifest the sentiment one would expect when taking part in an event of this nature; as most of the figures are standing upright near each other, little can be said of the composition. The draping is sculptural, the folds regular and the relief good. On the second scene (fig. 138) we see, through the arches of a loggia, on the upper part of a building St. Francis holding the boy, now seated, by the hand. Some figures descend a stairway leading from the loggia, the lowest one announces to a group in accordance with the text chiefly composed of priests, on the left, the miraculous recovery of the dead boy; several figures are depicted standing together on the right. Amongst these groups there are many faces with adequate and individual expressions, while the attitude of the man at the top of the steps, who carefully prepares to start the descent, is remarkably well observed.

Maestro Stefano's art is extremely attractive and beautiful, and in a certain way more evolved and more fascinating than Giotto's. Its appearance corresponds to Vasari's description of Stefano's painting which he calls, on one occasion, superior in design and colour to Giotto's own work. I can very well imagine that it might have pleased him more. In the types, softness of expression, the careful execution of ornamental details and decorative effects and in the less marked conciseness of composition and narrative power of his pictures, a certain Sienese influence is obvious, although the Giottesque element dominates (¹).

## PACINO DI BONAGUIDA AND THE GROUP OF ARTISTS TO WHICH HE BELONGED.

Amongst the adherents of Giotto there are several artists who, on account of certain particularities of style, may be grouped to-

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 266, attributes to this artist a small Madonna in the Museum of Bergen (Norway), which I have never seen, and several other pictures which I do not think are from his hand.

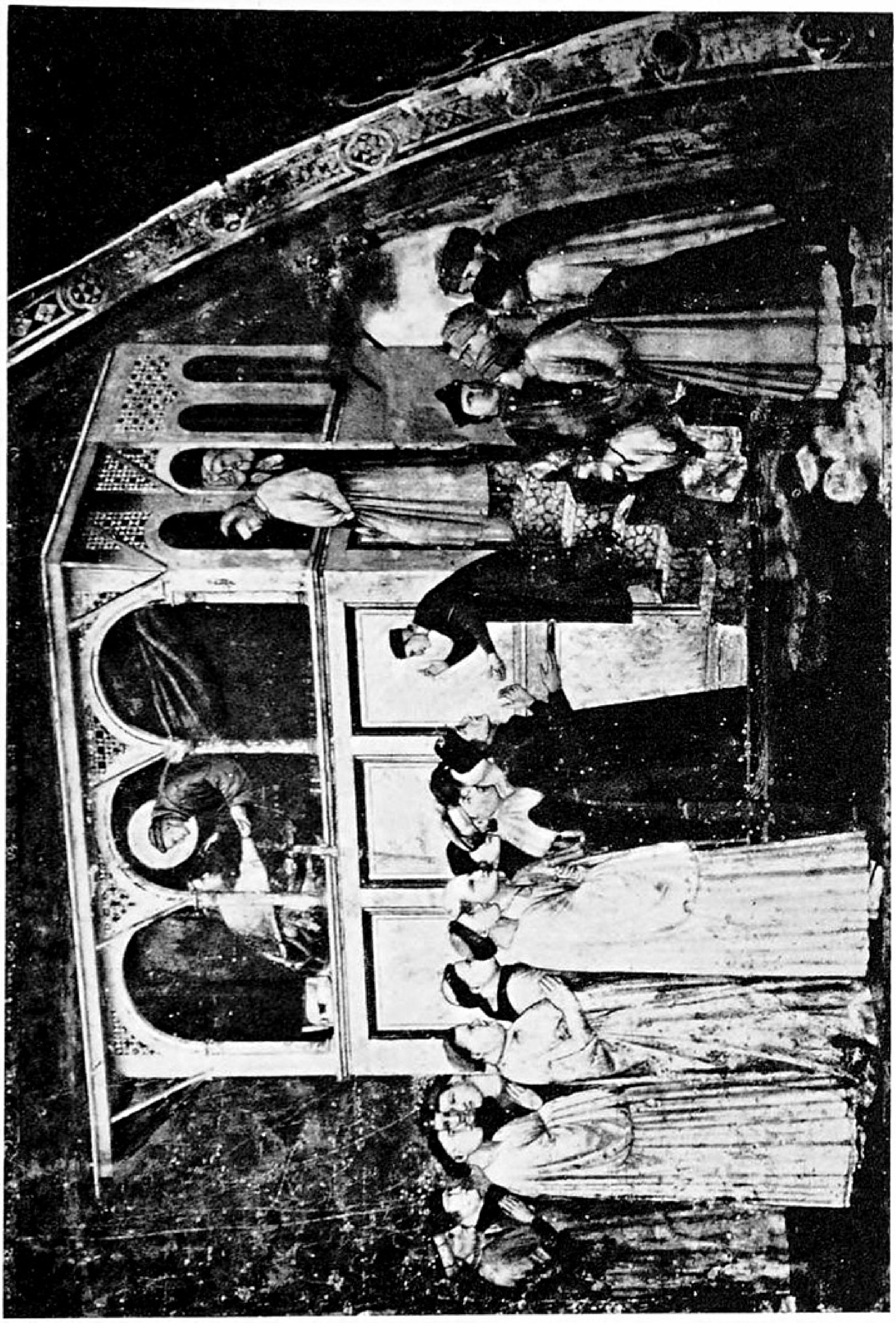


Fig. 138. Follower of Maestro Stefano, the Resurrection of a child.
S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Alinari.

gether. The only one of these whose name has come to us, is Pacino di Bonaguida (¹), who is found mentioned for the first time in 1303 and who matriculated in the corporation of painters in 1320; while the Accademia of Florence possess the only signed work which we have of his and which bears the date *MCCCX....*, and what I believe to be the beginning of another X, so that I do not think Prof. Venturi is right in completing the inscription as 1311. Prof. Thode proposes 1330, but really any date between 1320 and 1335 is admissible, but the blank space is too small for later dates (fig. 139).

On the broader central part of this picture the artist has depicted the Lord on the cross between the Virgin and St. John, while the four smaller lateral panels contain St. Nicholas and St. Florentius, both in episcopal vestments, SS. Bartholomew and Luke in tunics, the former holding a scroll, the latter a book. Above the Crucifixion, God the Father is represented in a medallion and at a slightly lower level two angels; over the wings the medallions enclose prophets. The signed inscription reads "*Symon Prbtr. S Flor. fec pigi h. op. a Pacino Bonaguide. Ano dni MCCCX.....*".

From the appearance of the figures, the types and the relief, we may conclude at once that Pacino was a follower of Giotto (²), but one whose style shows a good deal of variation to the master's. The somewhat curved figures, large and richly draped, remind us more of statuary than do Giotto's.

Although a single work does not afford a clear enough idea of the painter's manner for us to attribute to him many works with certainty, I believe his style may be recognised in the altar-piece in the Gallery of Bologna which is signed "*Op Megistri Jocti de Flora*" (fig. 140) (³). In the centre of this important polyptych we see the Madonna, of rather severe expression, seated on

---

(¹) *Suida*, Einige Florentinische Maler etc. *R. Offner*, Pacino di Bonaguida, A Contemporary of Giotto, Art in America, 1922, p 3.

(²) *Messrs. Suida* and *Offner* come to the conclusion that Pacino was a follower of the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, an artist we shall deal with later on.

(³) This opinion is also held by Messrs. *Venturi* and *Khvoshinsky and Salmi*. Mr. *Offner* objects to it but, as will be noticed, our conceptions of Pacino da Bonaguida are different.

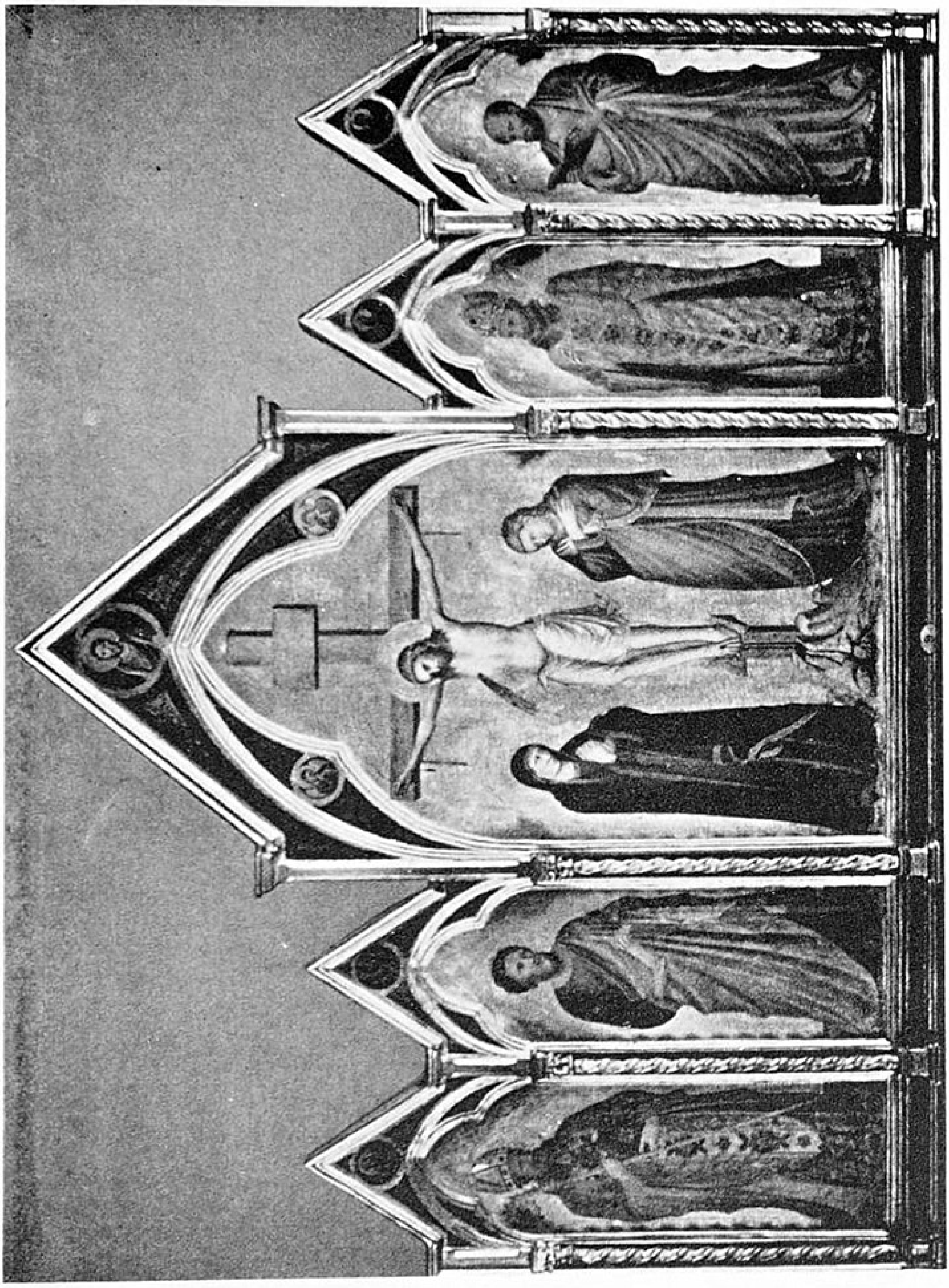


Fig. 139. Pacino di Buonaguida, Crucifixion and Saints. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

a high marble chair holding the Child Who playfully stretches His hand towards the face and neck of His Mother; above this central panel, God the Father is depicted in a small medallion. To the left the archangel Gabriël is seen in profile and beyond, St. Peter carrying his usual emblem; on the right we find St.

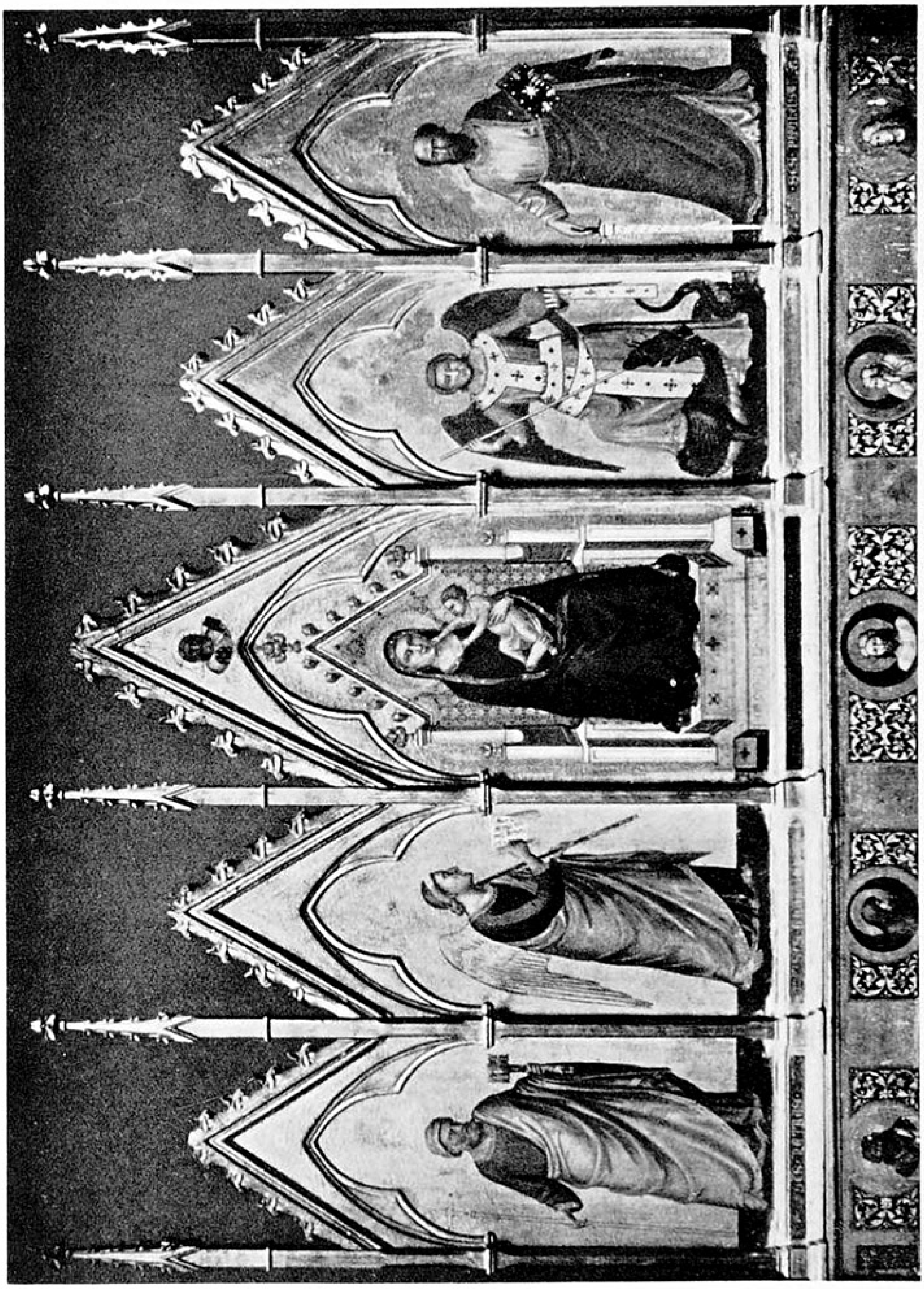


Fig. 140 Pacino di Buonaguida, the Virgin, Archangels and Saints. Gallery, Bologna. Photo Anderson.

Michael slaying the dragon and St. Paul resting on his sword. Each of these figures occupies a separate Gothic-shaped panel and in the frame below medallions contain two male and two female saints, while in the one below the Virgin, a bust of Christ is represented. The figures are again very sculpturesque and monumental but not heavy in appearance; they bear a certain resemblance to those of Cavallini's pupils.

Less closely approaching the style of the altar-piece in the Accademia but still, probably by the same artist, seems to me the rather effaced polyptych (no. 7) in the Gallery of the refectory of Sta. Croce, Florence (figs. 141 and 142), depicting the Virgin and Child between SS. John the Evangelist (?), Nicholas, Peter and Benedict. In the pinnacles of these panels medallions contain the figures of Our Lord in the centre and of angels at the sides. The chief characteristic of this painter, the curve he gives to upright figures, is naturally absent here where all are half-length figures and it is this that accounts for the somewhat different appearance of this work.

There are no other paintings which can be attributed with so much likelihood to Pacino, although several others are sometimes ascribed to him.

I do not find sufficient reacon to acknowledge this artist the author of the "Tree of Bonaventura" in the Accademia of Florence (fig. 143), in which the Lord is seen crucified on the tree while on either side amongst the branches are depicted many small circular representations of events from His life, twenty-three on the right and twenty-four on the left; below, the history of Adam and Eve is related, while on the triangular apex the Saviour and the Virgin are represented above the celestial hierarchy.

Although the central figure of the Lord is not without resemblance to the one in the polyptych signed by Pacino, to whom this panel was first, but hesitatingly, attributed by Thode, afterwards by Suida, and by others amongst whom was also Offner, the medallions are executed in a manner which seems to me that of the 13th century, while the figures below show a Gothic curve and draping quite foreign to our artist. If, however, the painting be his, it must have been executed considerably prior to the other, but I am rather of the opinion that it should be looked upon as the work of a predecessor.

A small iconographical detail which unites this Crucifixion with the one of the signed altar-piece is the presence of the crown of thorns; we also find it in a crucifix in the church of Sta. Felicita which reminds us in many other points — type, proportion

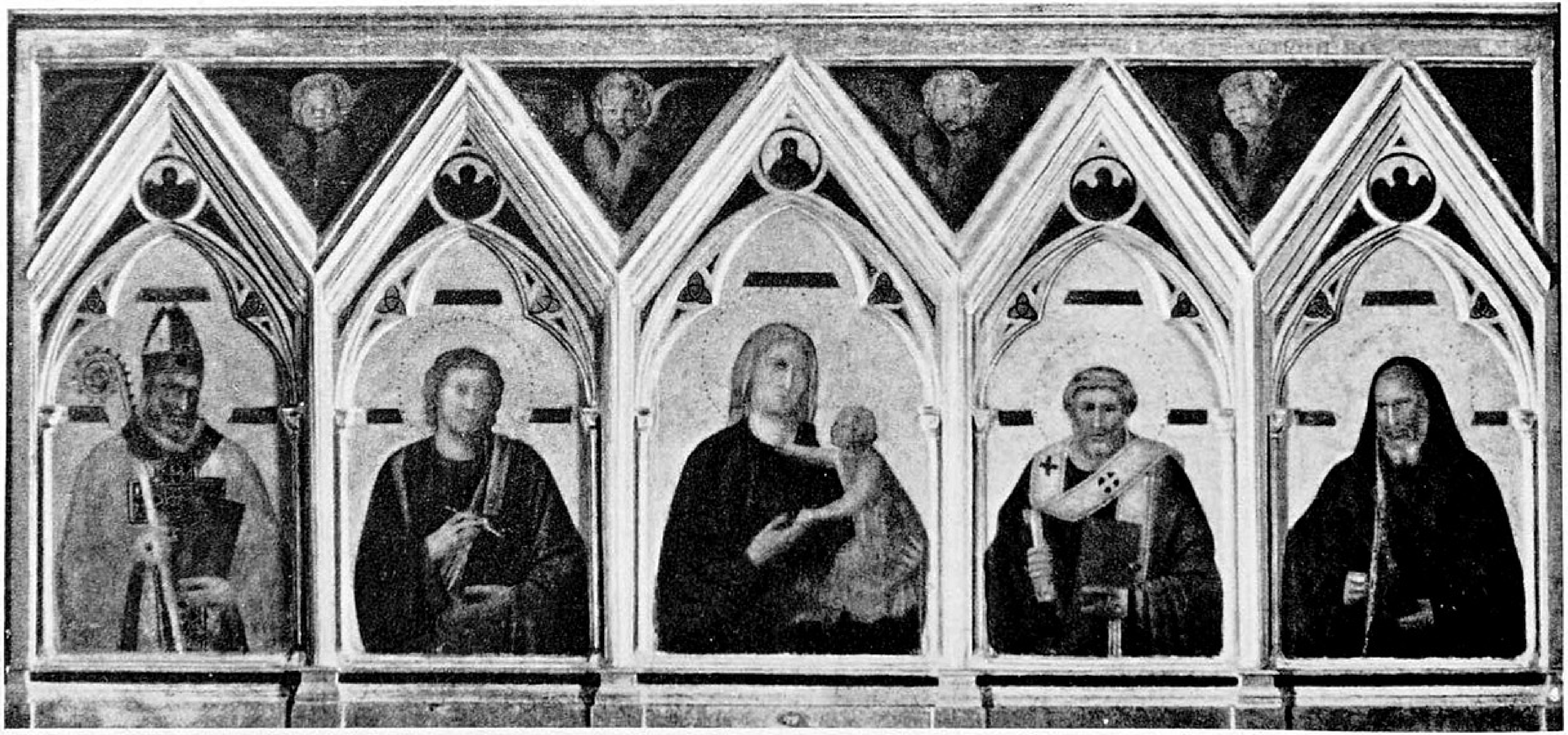


Fig. 141. Pacino di Buonaguida, Altar polyptych. Refectory of Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

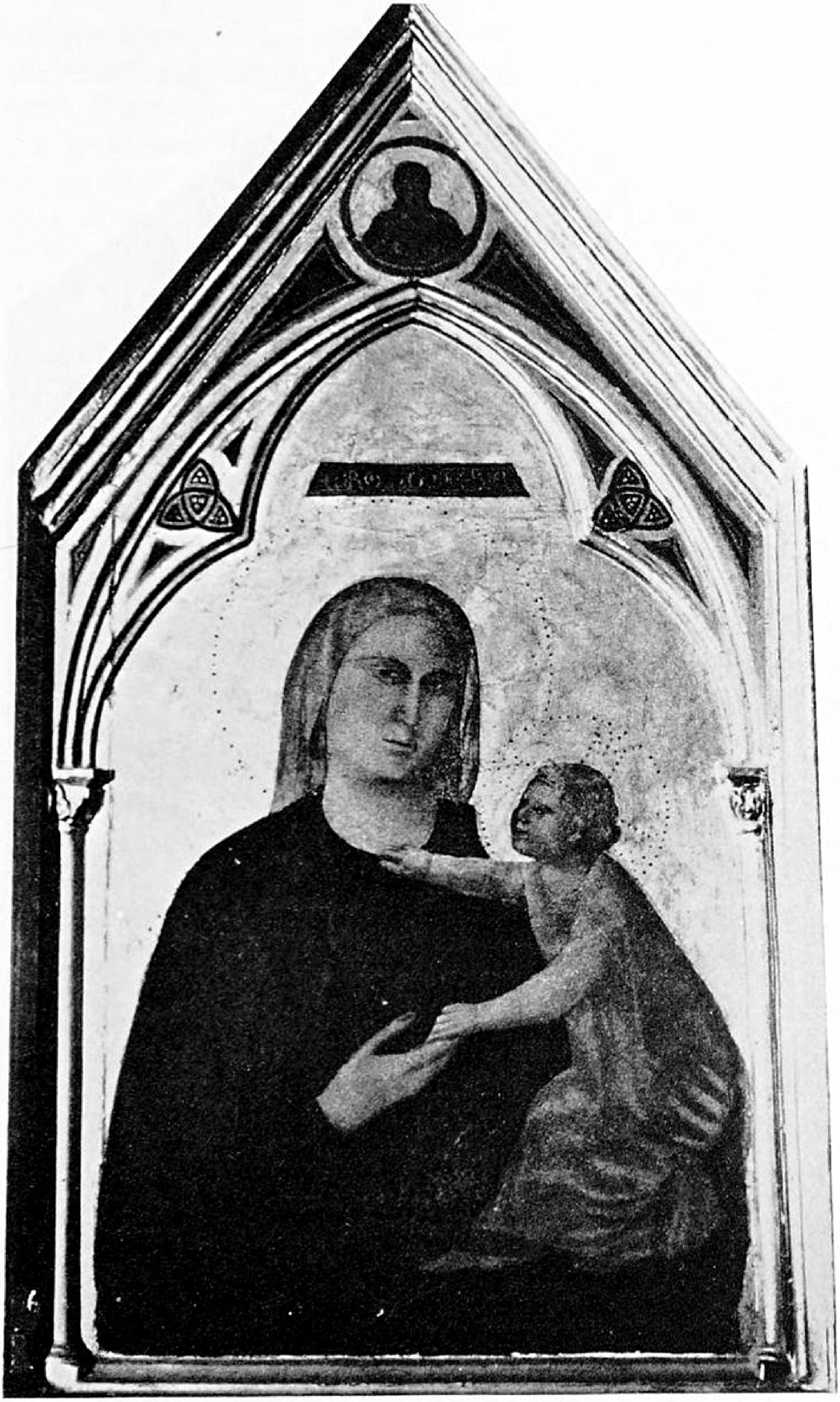


Fig. 142. Detail of fig. 141.

Photo Reali.

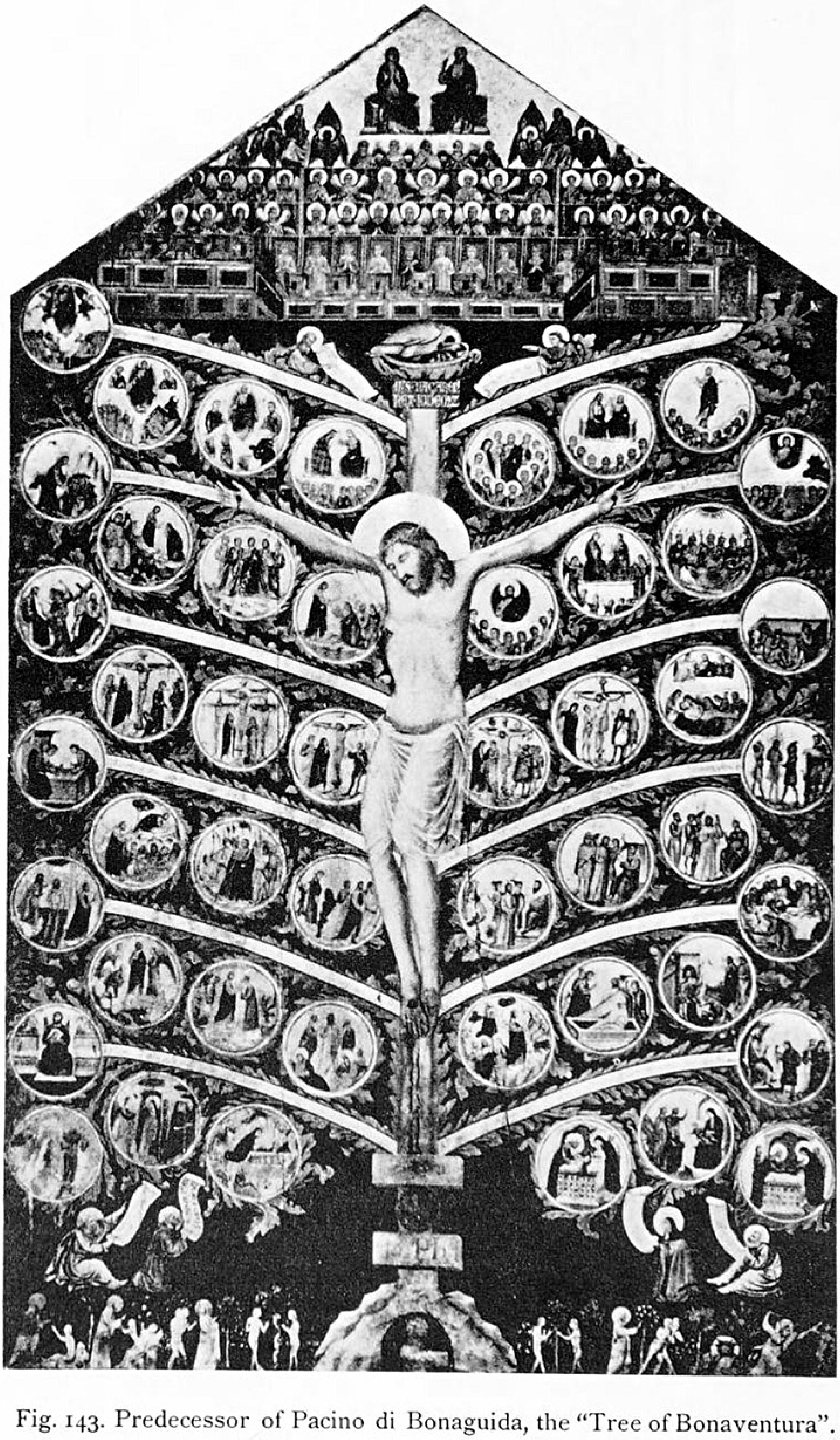


Fig. 143. Predecessor of Pacino di Bonaguida, the "Tree of Bonaventura".
Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari

and technique — of the central figure of the S. Bonaventura tree, and which might well be by the same artist. This work offers us perhaps also a new connecting link with the paintings of Pacino. An enthroned Madonna between SS. Francis and Antony of Padua (?), in the Horne Museum, Florence, is certainly by the same artist as the "Tree of Bonaventura" (¹).

There are a certain number of half-length figures of the Madonna which, although I do not attribute any of them to Pacino di Bonaguida, are closely connected with his art. Besides the broad, sculptural folds, their chief characteristic will be found in the animated aspect of the Infant Christ Who, without exception, caresses His Mother as in the polyptych of Bologna and the picture in the Gallery of the refectory of Sta. Croce.

In this last mentioned collection there is another panel which has been attributed by Suida and in Burkhardt's Cicerone to Pacino himself, but which has lately, with much more reason, been ascribed by Mr. Perkins to the so-called Master of the St. George Codex, a Sienese of Simone Martini's tradition (²).

Quite near Pacino may be placed the author of the polyptych, once on the high altar but now preserved in the crypt of Sta. Maria del Fiore, Florence, showing us on one side the half-length figures of the Virgin between SS. Miniatus, Eugenius, Zenobius and Crescentius and on the other the Annunciation in the centre and at the sides SS. John the Baptist, Reparata, Mary Magdalene and Nicholas (³).

Some of these figures betray a strong resemblance to those of the polyptych in Sta. Croce which I believe to be by the master himself.

The Ashmolean Museum of Oxford possesses a fine specimen of a similar half-length figure of the Virgin; while in the collection of the late Mr. J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia we find another, perhaps slightly later (fig. 144), in which the Madonna has been depicted somewhat differently while the Child, Who, strange as it may be, seems to carry a little dog (or is it a lion, one of the symbols of Christ?), is very similar to the one in the picture of Bologna.

---

(¹) *Offner*, op. cit., fig. 9.

(²) v. Vol. II, p. 283.

(³) *G. Poggi*, Il Duomo di Firenze; Ital. Forschungen, II, Berlin, 1909, p. 1c.

I think we are justified in mentioning the above works with those of Pacino di Bonaguida, not only because his is the only name we happen to know, but also because he is the best artist of this little group. Several of his figures, especially those in the panel of Bologna are of great artistic merit, and I believe it possible that in the spreading of Giotto's art his importance is only inferior to that of Taddeo Gaddi. Although constantly inspired by his master he does not lack originality; his aesthetic conceptions are perhaps more austere than Giotto's and it is difficult to imagine what a dramatic representation by this artist would look like. Something of Cavallini remains in the religious peacefulness of his personages and in their statuesque appearance, but they are certainly deficient in action (1).

### DIFFERENT FOLLOWERS AT FLORENCE, PADUA, ASSISI AND PISTOIA.

Besides these works which we can attribute to definite painters or at least to those working under their influence, there are a certain number of paintings of the school of Giotto to be found at those places where the master had been active, at Florence, Padua and Assisi for example; while from Florence his art extended to a few neighbouring Tuscan towns, especially to Pistoia.

The scarcity of real Giottesque work, however, is the foundation for Herr. Suida's remark that Giotto himself did not form a school, although this statement appears paradoxical indeed when we remember that the whole of Florentine art in the 14th century was dominated by this painter, and that the number of his assistants was considerable. Taddeo Gaddi and probably Pacino di Bonaguida contributed perhaps more than he himself to the dissemination of his influence. But it would be a

---

(1) *Suida* still attributes to Pacino a St. John the Baptist and a St. Dominic in Christ Church College, Oxford; this is rightly contradictedby Mr. *Tancred Borenius*, Pictures by the old Masters, etc., p. 25. *Khvoshinsky and Salmi*, Pittori Toscani, II, p. 13, doubtfully ascribe to him a polyptych at Terenzano, near Florence. *Offner*, op. cit., believes that two triptychs, one in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole, the other owned privately, are from his hand. They might very well be by the same master; the style shows some connection with the manner of Pacino, and more particularly with his predecessor's, but they certainly do not seem to me by either the one or the other.

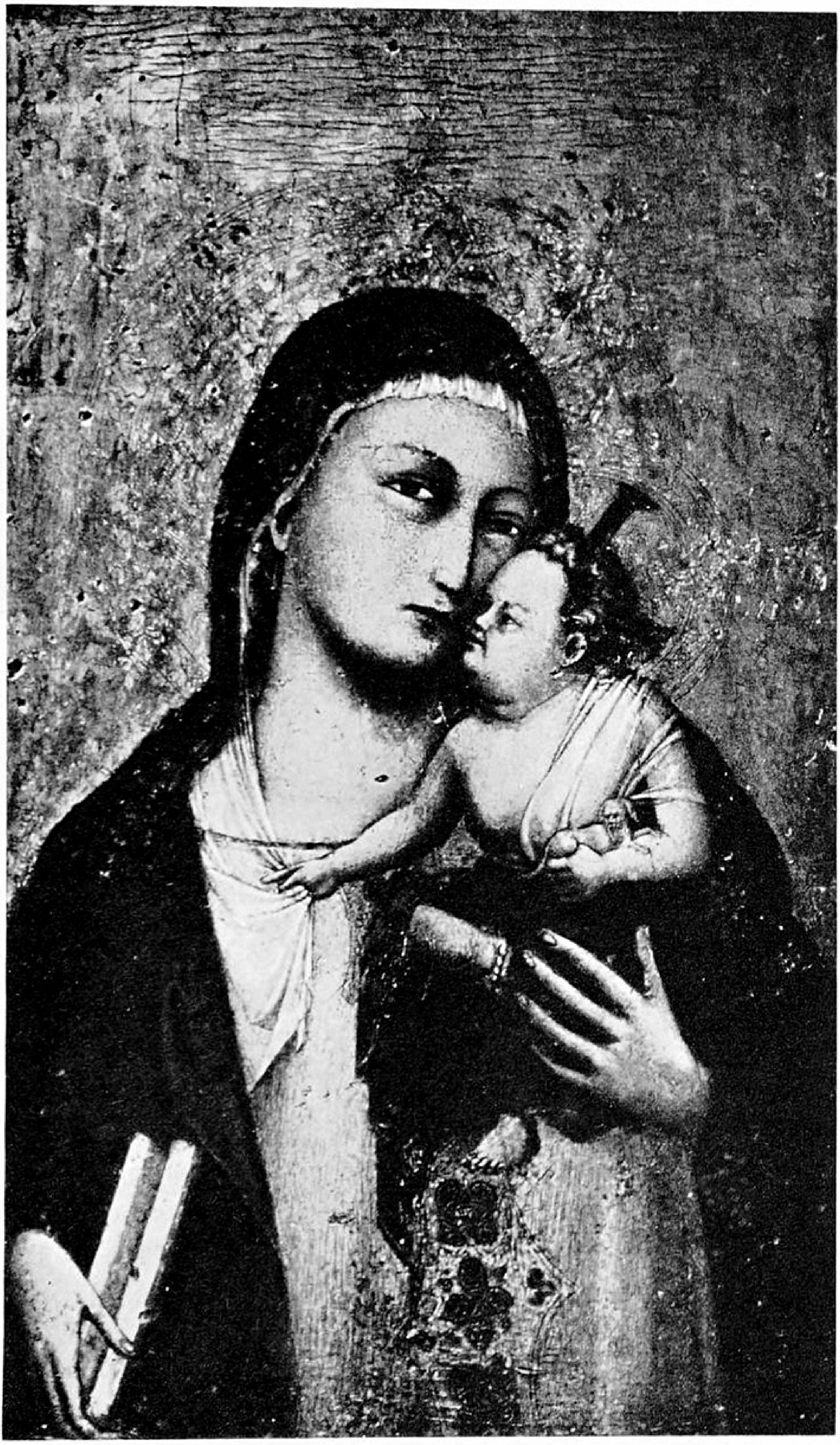


Fig. 144. School of Pacino di Bonaguida, Madonna. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

hopeless task to try and enumerate all the panels in which a faint influence of Giotto can be traced, for they are scattered throughout the private and public collections of the whole world; besides which many of them are of little importance.

An important part of the activity of Giotto's immediate followers was consecrated to the production of crucifixes but this seems to have been chiefly limited to Florence.

I have already mentioned those found in the churches of S. Felice and Sta. Felicita, the former of which clearly reflects the master's own manner. These crosses also show in their upper extremities the Giottesque detail of the pelican in its nest feeding its young. This detail is repeated by Pacino di Bonaguida, the master of the S. Bonaventura tree and by the painter of a crucifix frequently attributed to Puccio Capanne ([1]), which until lately formed no. 6 of the Uffizi but which is a work of inferior quality (fig. 145). Of finer execution are those in Sta. Maria Novella (fig. 146) and in the refectory museum of Sta. Croce (fig. 147), the former is of great artistic importance and was certainly made by one of Giotto's immediate followers; both

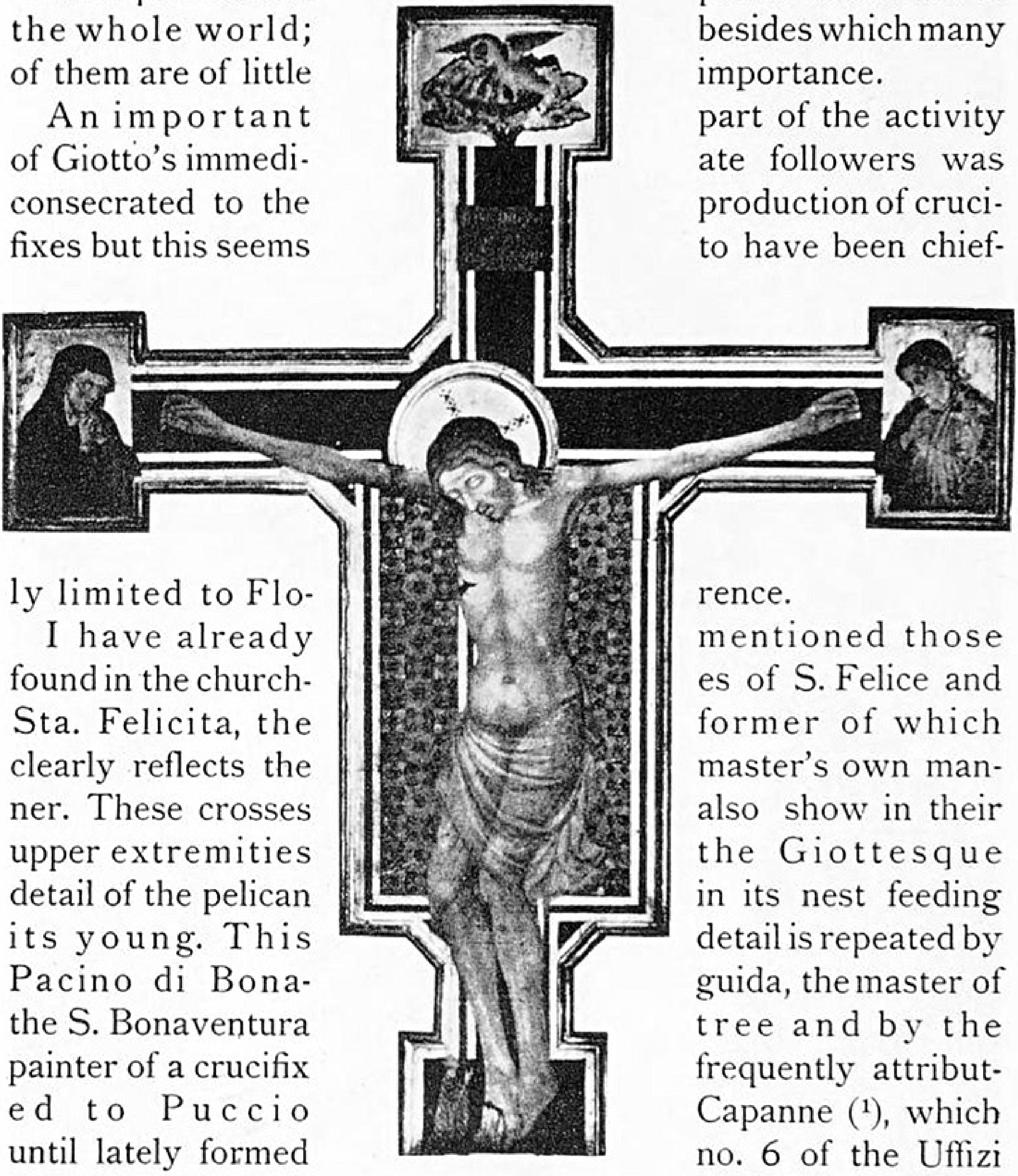


Fig. 145. Giottesque Crucifix, until lately in the Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

---

[1] A signed crucifix by whom once existed in the church of S. Domenico, Pistoia, *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 403.

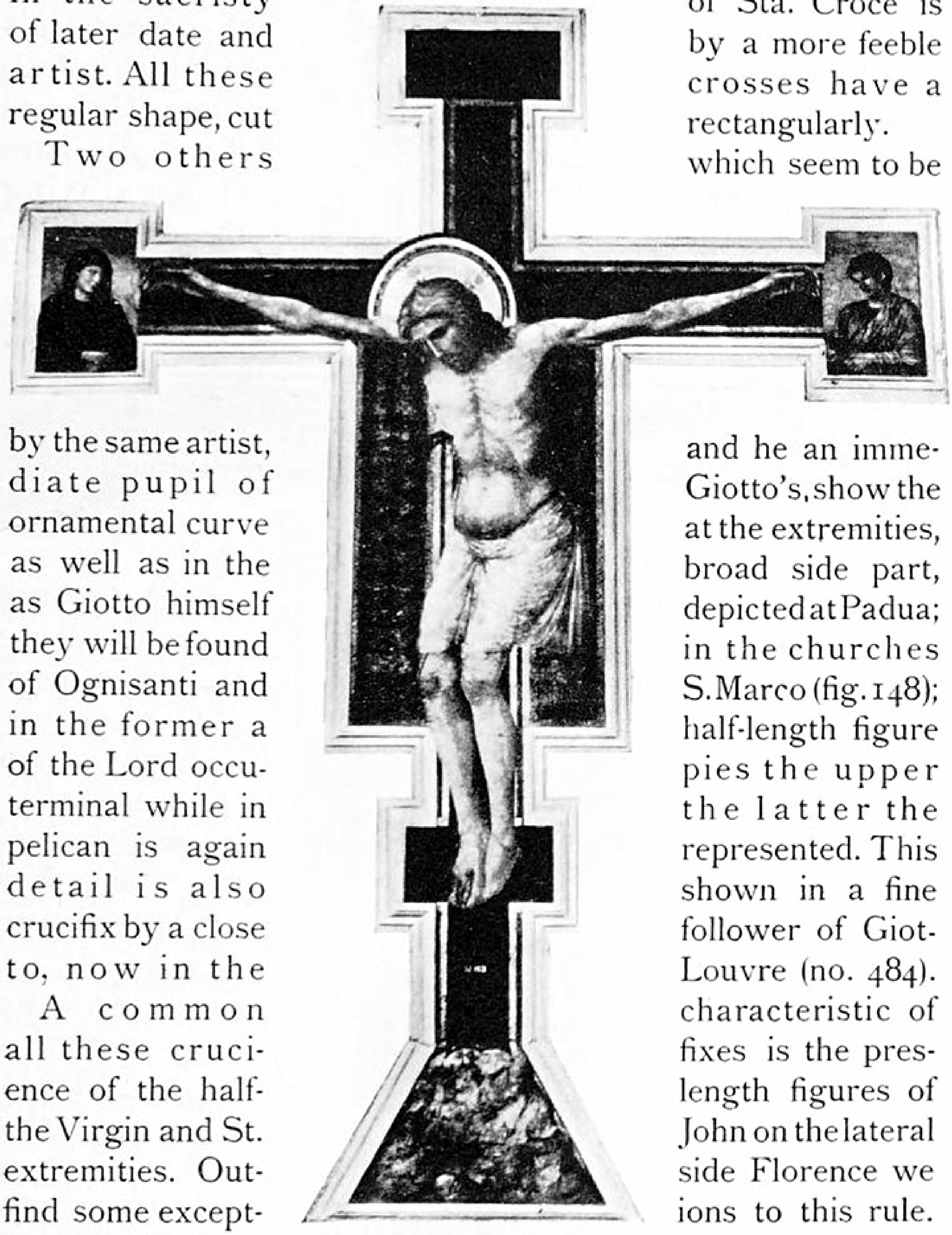


Fig. 146. Giottesque Crucifix. Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.
Photo_Alinari.

have inscriptions above the head of the Crucified. Another cross in the sacristy of Sta. Croce is of later date and by a more feeble artist. All these crosses have a regular shape, cut rectangularly.

Two others which seem to be by the same artist, and he an immediate pupil of Giotto's, show the ornamental curve at the extremities, as well as in the broad side part, as Giotto himself depicted at Padua; they will be found in the churches of Ognisanti and S. Marco (fig. 148); in the former a half-length figure of the Lord occupies the upper terminal while in the latter the pelican is again represented. This detail is also shown in a fine crucifix by a close follower of Giotto, now in the Louvre (no. 484).

A common characteristic of all these crucifixes is the presence of the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John on the lateral extremities. Outside Florence we find some exceptions to this rule.

Some time ago there existed at Assisi, in the house of Monsignor Tini, a crucifix of the Giottesque type which, I believe, has since been given to the Vatican Gallery. It was obviously a Florentine work and here too the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John were depicted at the ends of the horizontal bar.

A crucifix belonging to the collection of Count Conestabile at Perugia, shows the emblematic pelican over the Saviour's head and at the sides the full-length figures of the Madonna and St. John (fig. 149). I have been told that this painting comes from the Val d'Elsa.

Similar full-length figures are found on a crucifix in the Gallery of Gubbio in which, however, a medallion of Our Lord occupies the upper extremity. Both works betray in their style an obvious connection with the Florentine group from which they are separated by the above iconographical detail.

It is only in Florence that we find so many crosses of this type; in other parts of Italy they are rare, except in the neighbourhood of Padua where of course their production was inspired by Giotto's example.

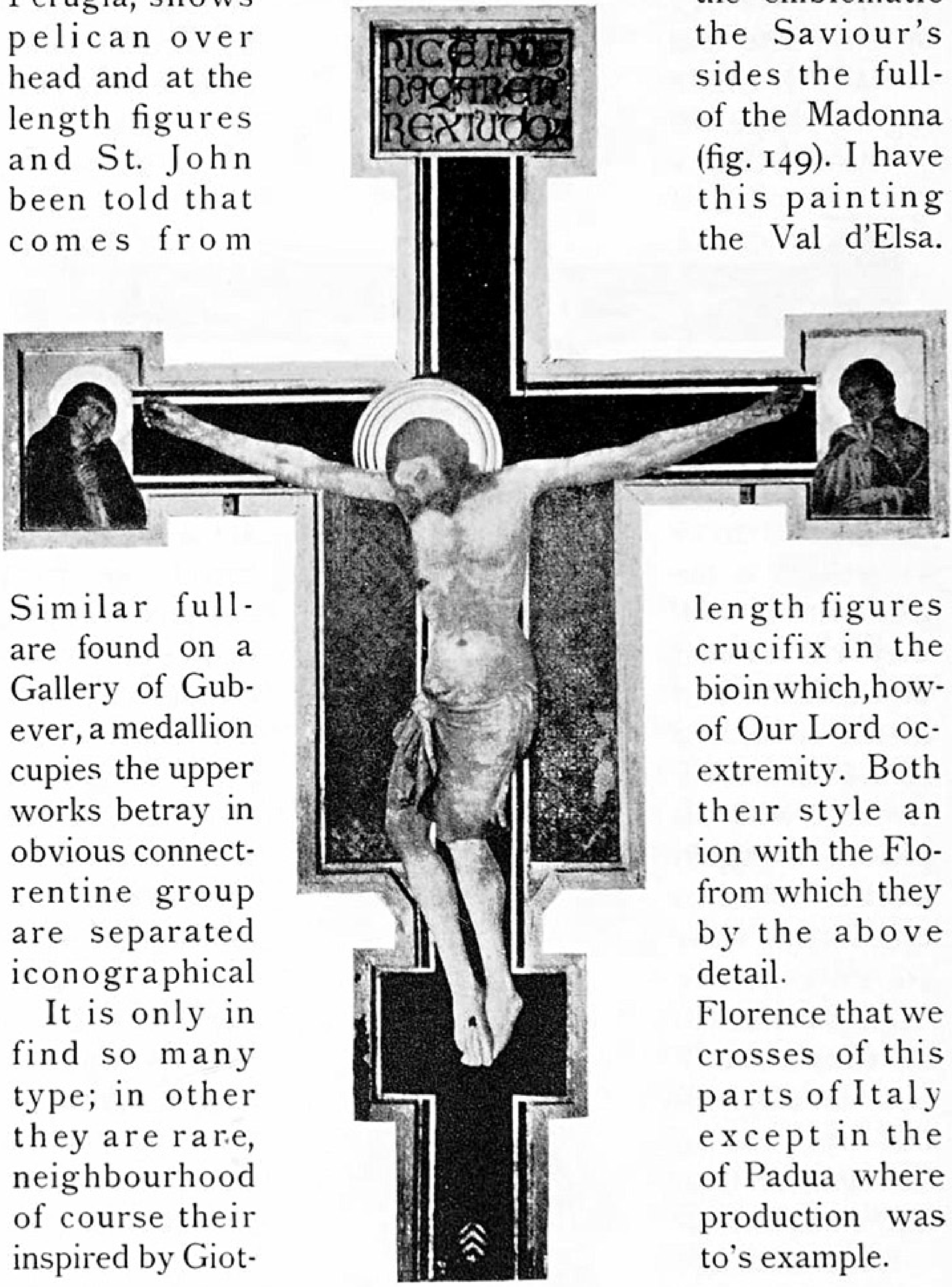


Fig. 147. Giottesque Crucifix. Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

Besides those immediate helpers of Giotto with whom I have dealt in describing the master's own works in the Arena chapel, we find at Padua a more independent follower who decorated the choir with scenes from the end of the life of the Madonna and to whom we owe also the scenes of the Prayer in the Garden of Olives and the Flagellation. To discuss the choir frescoes in the order of the narrative, we must first look at those on the left and then at those on the right. In all, there are six frescoes illustrating the following events: the Apostles informed of the Death of the Virgin, the Apostles miraculously transported through the air to say farewell to the Virgin[1], the Death of the Madonna; the three scenes on the right beginning from below are: the Funeral of the Madonna (fig. 150), the Assumption (fig. 151) and the Coronation of the Virgin.

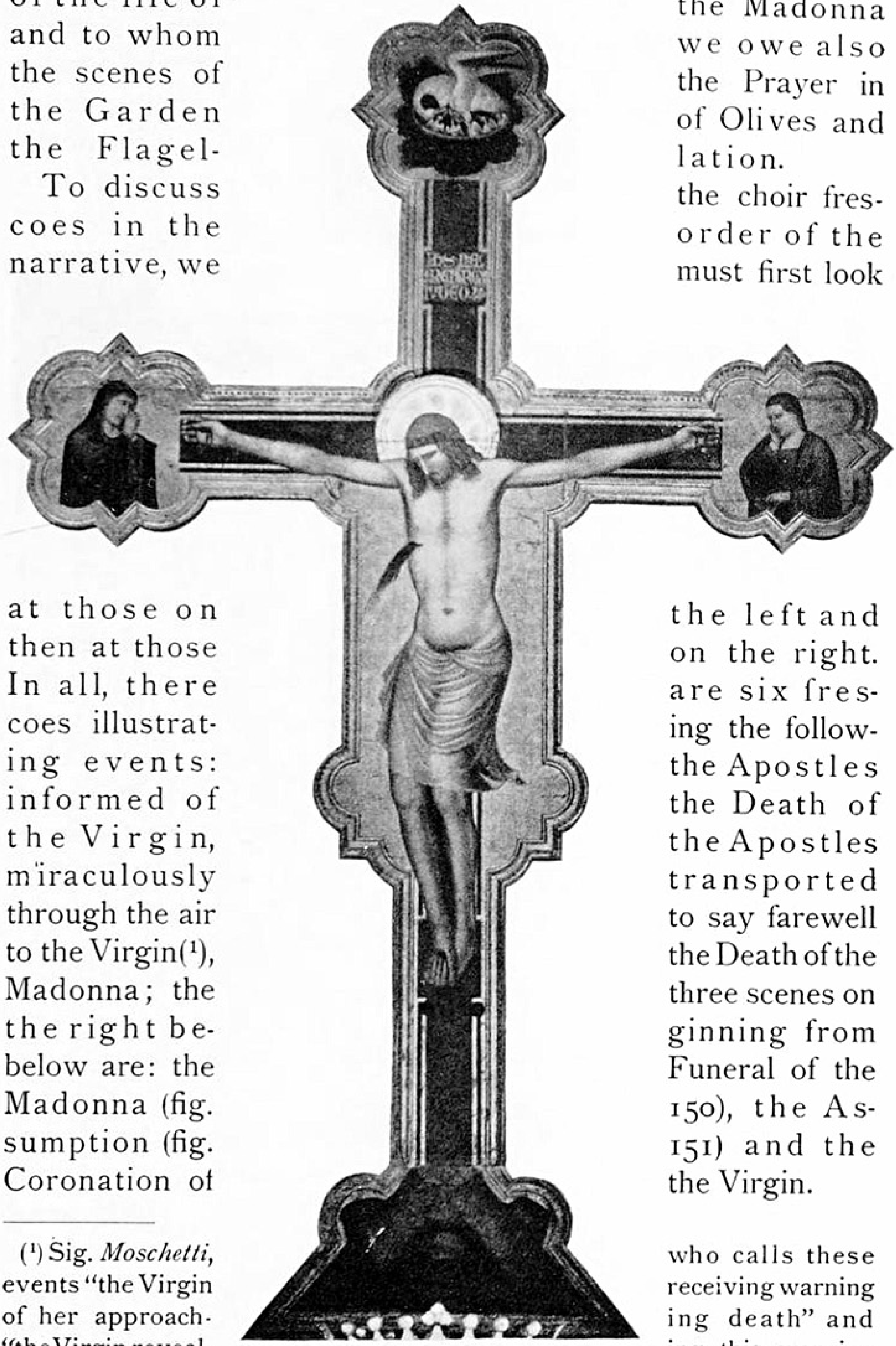


Fig. 148. Giottesque Crucifix.
S. Marco, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

---

[1] Sig. *Moschetti*, who calls these events "the Virgin receiving warning of her approaching death" and "the Virgin revealing this warning to the Apostles" has not well understood the subjects of this decoration.

The chief interest of these feeble representations is the fidelity with which the artist has interpreted the iconographical tradition. In the second scene we literally see the Apostles descending from the sky; in the fresco of the death of the Virgin Mary the painter has rather augmented the number of assistants while Our Lord does not stand behind her bed but is represented in half-length above, holding the child-like image of His Mother's soul. In the funeral procession the artist has not omitted the figure of St. John walking at its head carrying the palm leaf which the angel announcing her death had brought to her; he also depicts the heathens trying to stop the funeral and the punishment which they received. The painter, however, in depicting here a group of figures fallen to the ground rather trespasses from the text which tells us that the chastisement reflected upon them was that their hands withered up.

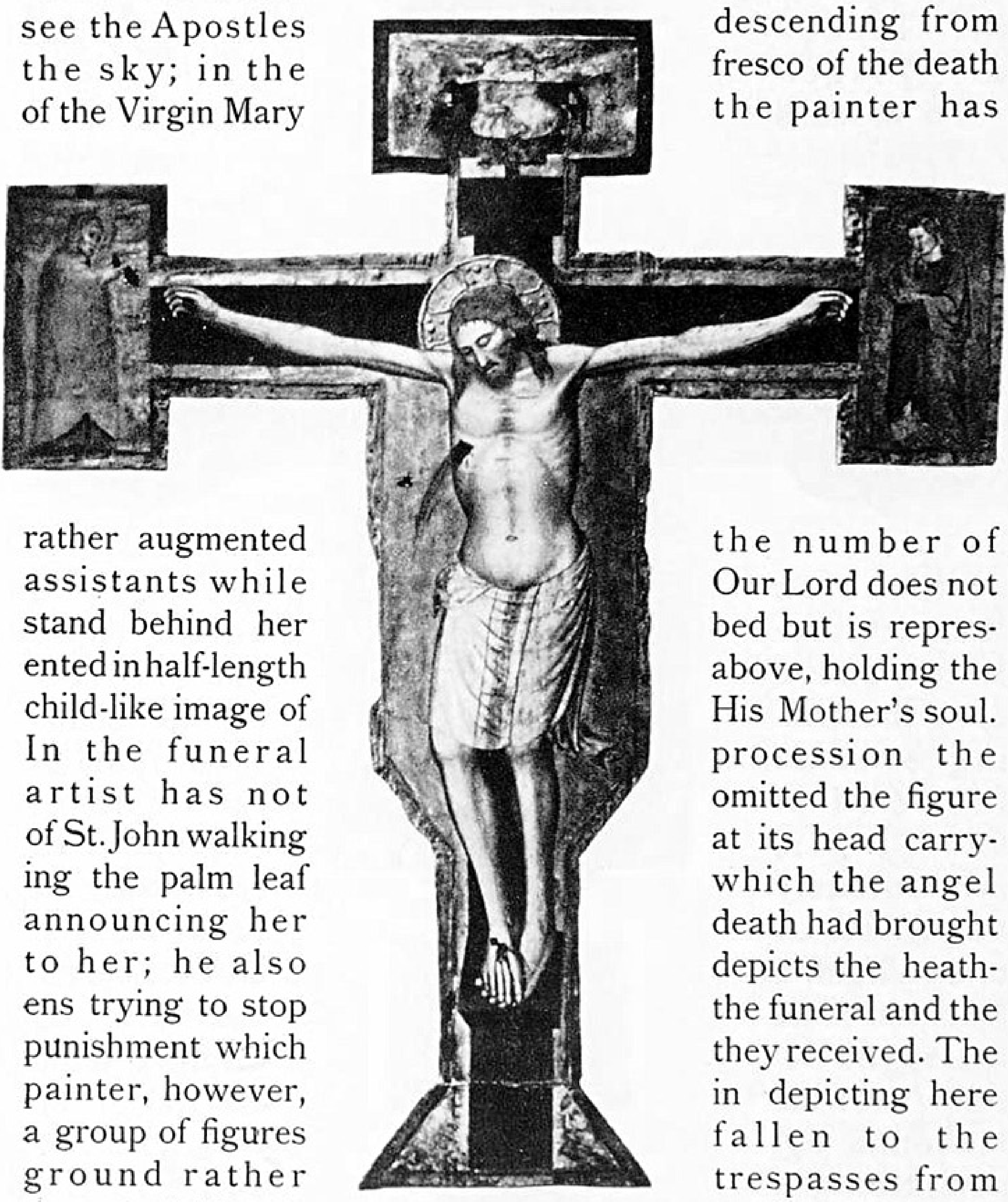


Fig. 149. Giottesque Crucifix. Conestabile Collection, Perugia.

Besides these representations the same artist adorned the pilasters with figures of saints in Gothic niches (1); he probably also executed the two scenes

---

(1) Of one these — St. Louis of Toulouse — a replica is to be found in the Museum of the church of St. Antony in Padua.

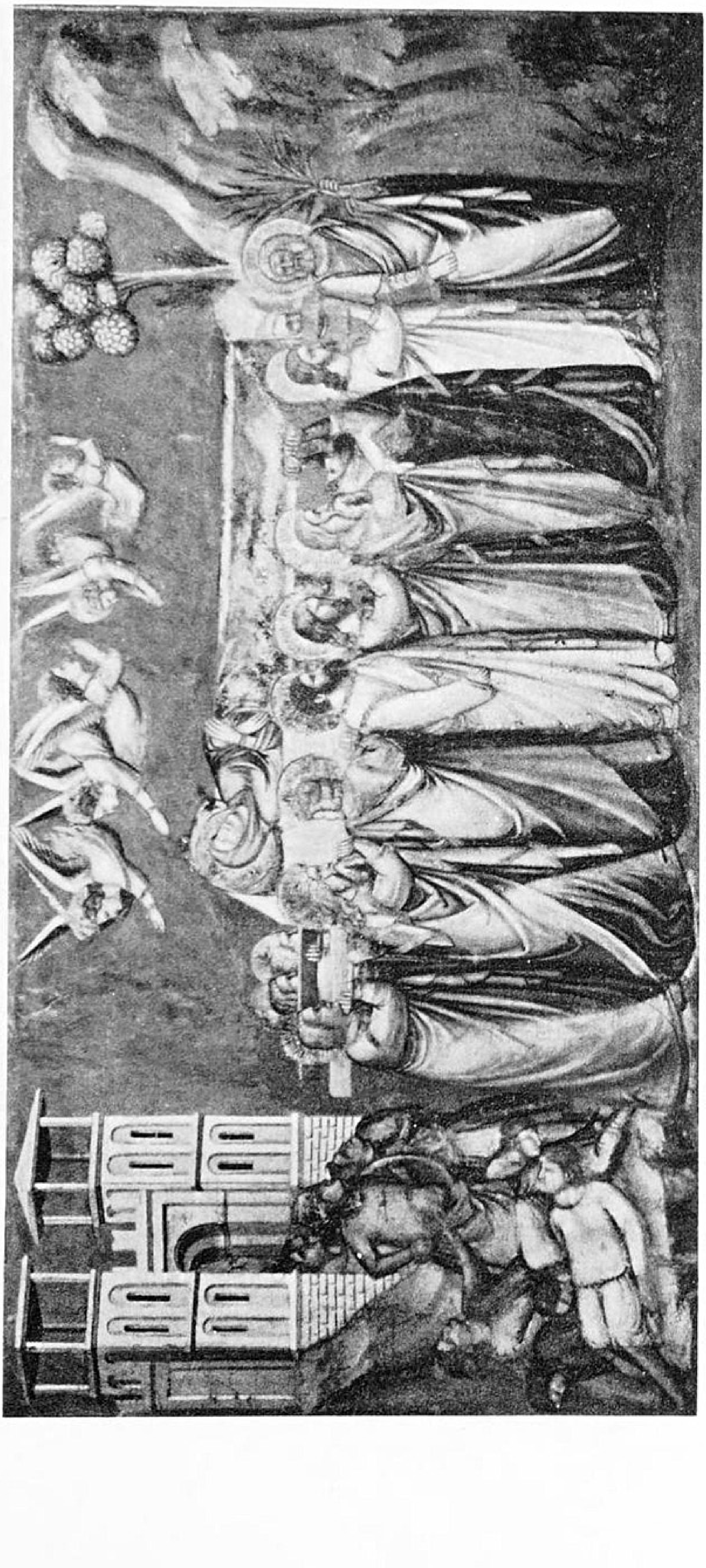


Photo Alinari.

Fig. 150. School of Giotto, the Funeral of the Virgin. Arena Chapel, Padua.

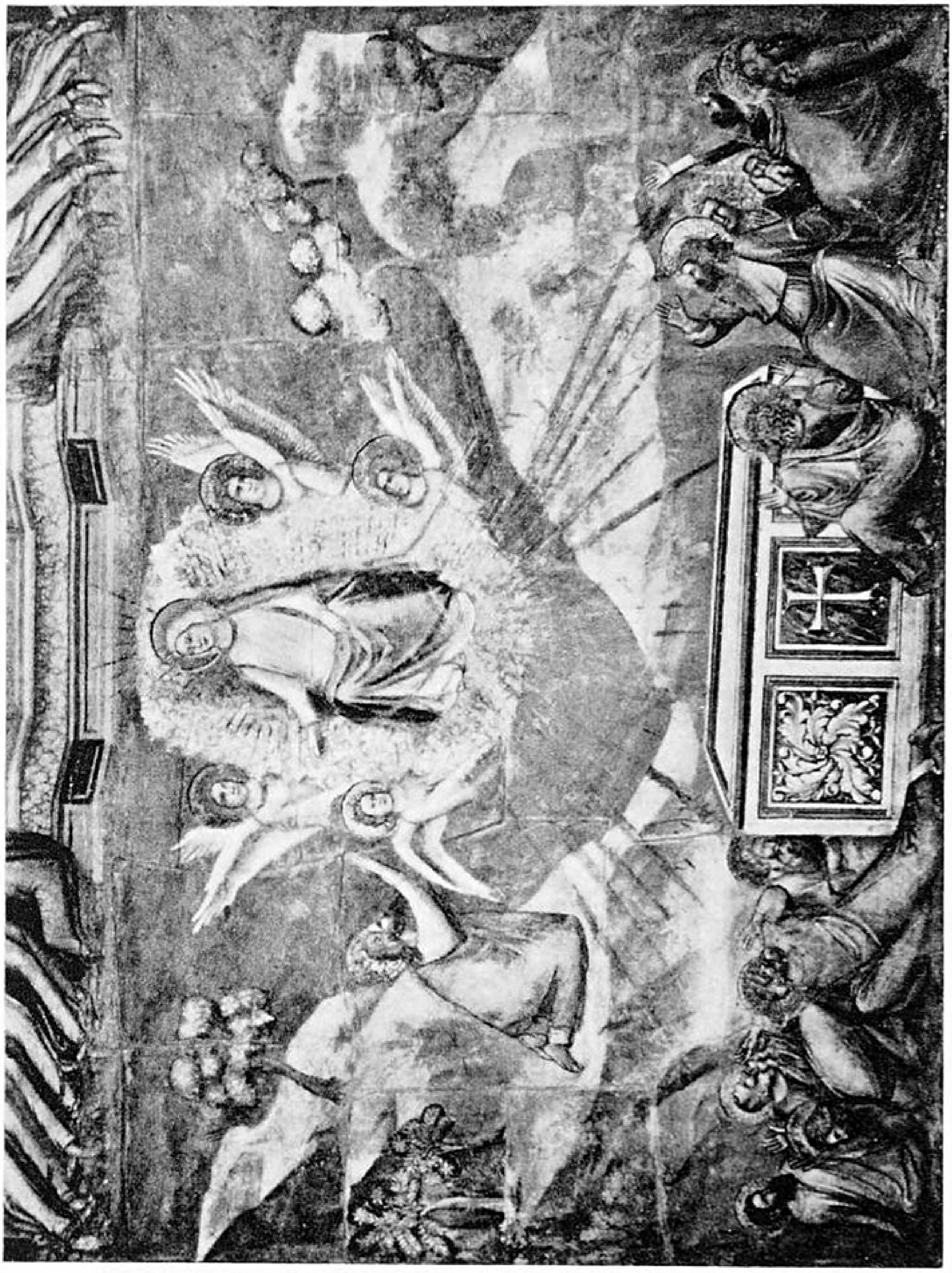


Fig. 151. School of Giotto, the Assumption. Arena Chapel, Padua.
Photo Alinari.

already mentioned of the Prayer in the Garden of Olives, and the Flagellation inside the triumph arch at the sides, above which we see a half-figure of the Lord in majesty adored by angels, and two saints in medallions. Several of the figures here are however considerably damaged.

On account of Vasari's statement that Taddeo di Bartolo was called to Padua, these frescoes have been attributed to this artist; Sig. Moschetti, who rightly contradicts this, makes, however, just as big a mistake in ascribing them to Bernardo Daddi. The author of these unpleasing frescoes was a provincial follower of Giotto's, one who certainly did not learn his art from the master personally but probably from a study of the paintings he left in this chapel. His landscapes, architecture and interiors more clearly betray his source of inspiration than his figures, which differ in type and proportion from Giotto's own.

There also remained at Assisi a little group of Giottesque painters, two of whom have left us products of some importance. One of these is a painter without great talent, but impressed by the example of the good artists of Giotto's school, tried to follow their manner in decorating the vault of Sta. Chiara. However, in his manner the local elements are so obvious that we cannot deal with him in a volume dedicated to the Florentine school, but give him, in another volume, his right place amongst the Umbrian artists.

The other Giottesque painter in Assisi, on the contrary, was completely dominated by the Florentine school, and seems to have been a skilful pupil of the "Maestro delle Vele".

Vasari tells us that Giottino, a problematic figure who will be dealt with later on, painted a fresco in Sta. Chiara representing the saint resuscitating a child surrounded by groups of handsome female figures, a fresco which no longer exists.

To the same artist Vasari attributes a Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the life of St. Nicholas in the little tribune to the left of the nave of the Lower Church; these are still visible but the scenes do not illustrate the life of the holy bishop mentioned by Vasari but that of St. Stanislaus (1).

It is of this artist I spoke before as being probably a local but direct pupil of the "Maestro delle Vele".

The first of these shows us the Madonna and the Saviour

---

(1) *O. Sirén,* identifies this artist with the one who also passes under the name of Giottino at Florence. *Fea* in his description of the basilica of 1820 calls him Frate Martini because he found a document referring to a painter of this name.

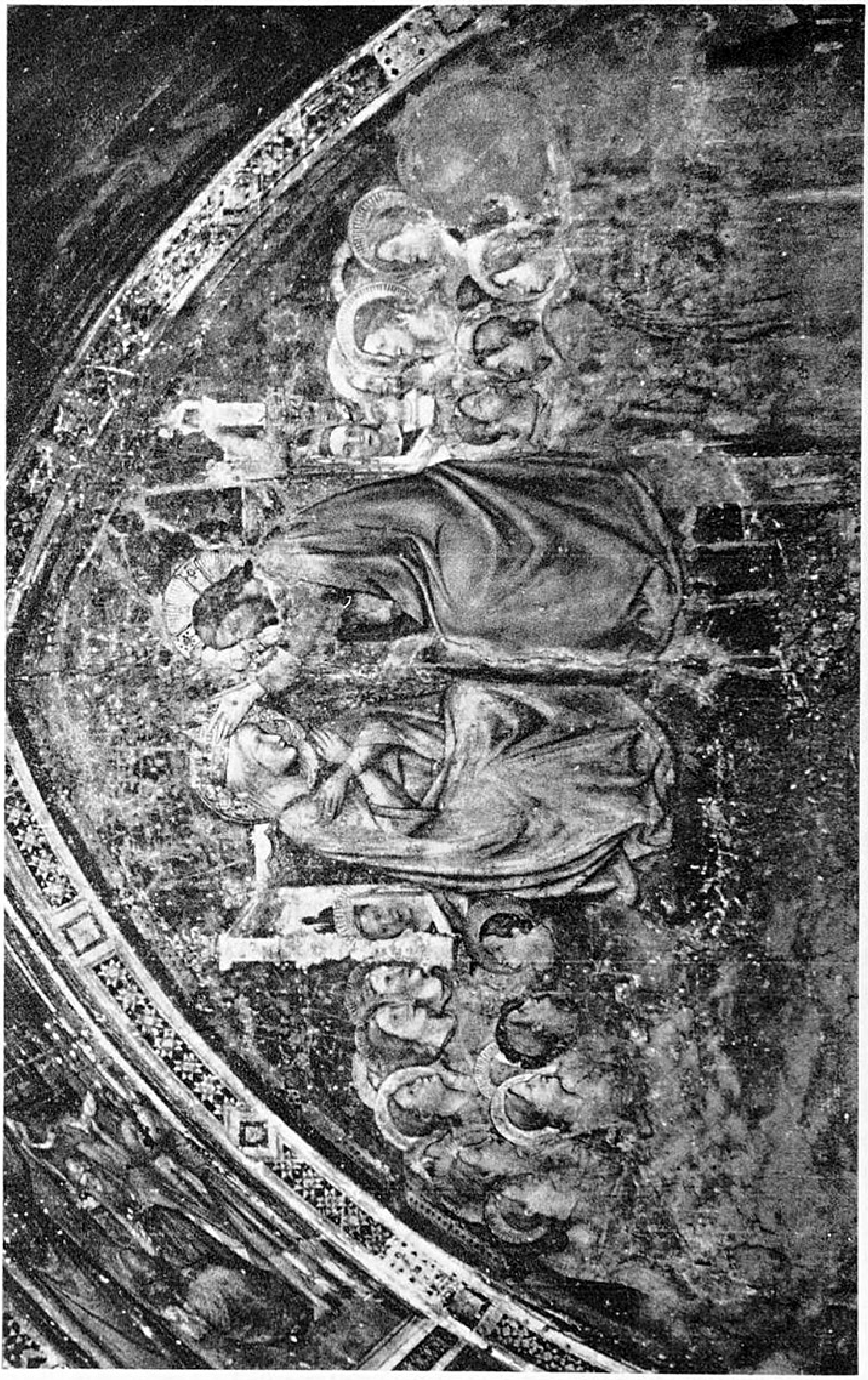


Fig. 152. School of Giotto, Coronation of the Virgin. S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Alinari.

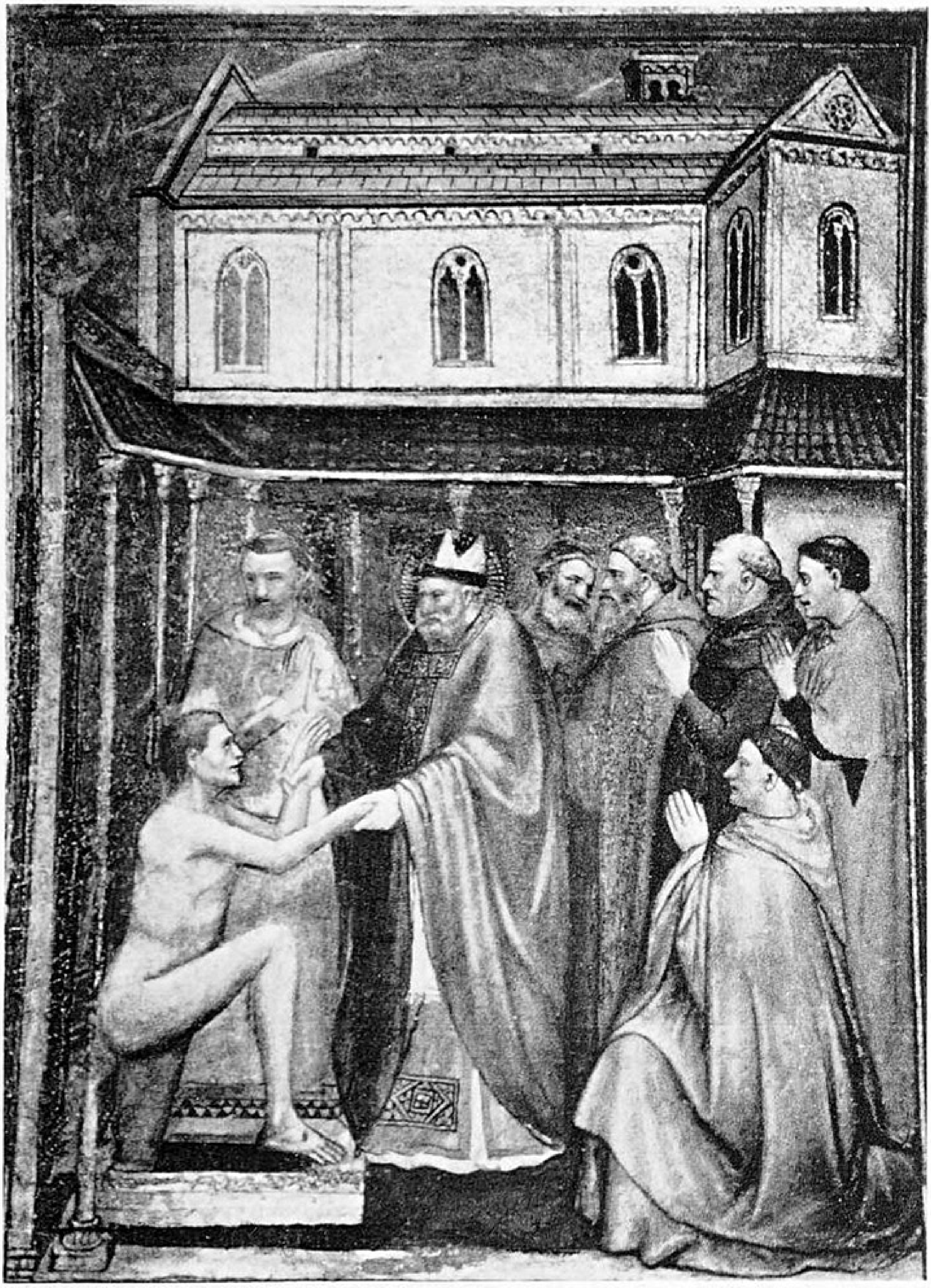


Fig. 153. School of Giotto, St. Stanislaus resuscitates a youth. S. Francesco, Assisi

Photo Alinari.

seated together on a large throne between two important groups of smiling angels most of whom look toward the two central figures; the Virgin crosses her arms over her breast and with a happy celestial expression on her beautiful features slightly inclines to receive the crown which Our Lord gently places on her head (fig. 152). The two scenes from the life of St. Stanislaus represent the resuscitation of a youth, who is able to attest the honesty of the means by which the saint had acquired a piece of ground which he had been accused of having stolen (fig. 153), and the martyrdom of the holy bishop by the excommunicated king Boleslaf. In the first, the bishop is depicted raising the nude figure of the young man from his tomb, around which are several awe-striken figures, some in the attitude of prayer. In the second scene, which is represented occurring in a low Gothic church, the partially dismembered body of the saint lies on the floor, two men bending over it, one in the act of severing the head from the trunk; two other men at the sides each throw a limb of the martyred bishop through the building. Assisi still possesses other works by the same artist; amongst them the Crucifixion between the Flagellation and the Entombment, all very much damaged, which ornament the altar-wall of the chapel of the confraternity of S. Ruffinuccio. In the central scene we find four little angels flying around the Lord, the Virgin and the weeping St. John standing below and Mary Magdalene and St. Francis kneeling at the foot of the Cross. The body of Christ may appear somewhat flat but this is only on account of the damaged condition of the fresco; the relief, especially of the faces, is otherwise skilfully produced; the outlines are broad but do not shock the eye as they are in brown and not black. The faces are expressive but the draping is not very good, the best figures being those of the Madonna and St. John.

In the Franciscan monastery — in the part now used as a college — another Crucifixion by the same artist has been preserved; it will be found in the gymnasium outside St. Joseph's chapel (fig. 154). The composition, except for the addition oi another monk, strongly resembles the one in S. Ruffinuccio, but several of the figures are in bad condition; the arch framing the fresco is adorned with medallions containing saints' heads.

Some other fragments which, without doubt, can be attributed to the author of the above works, ornament two rooms on the ground floor of the S. Giuseppe Institute, Assisi; amongst these remains of what have once been excellent paintings, we find a

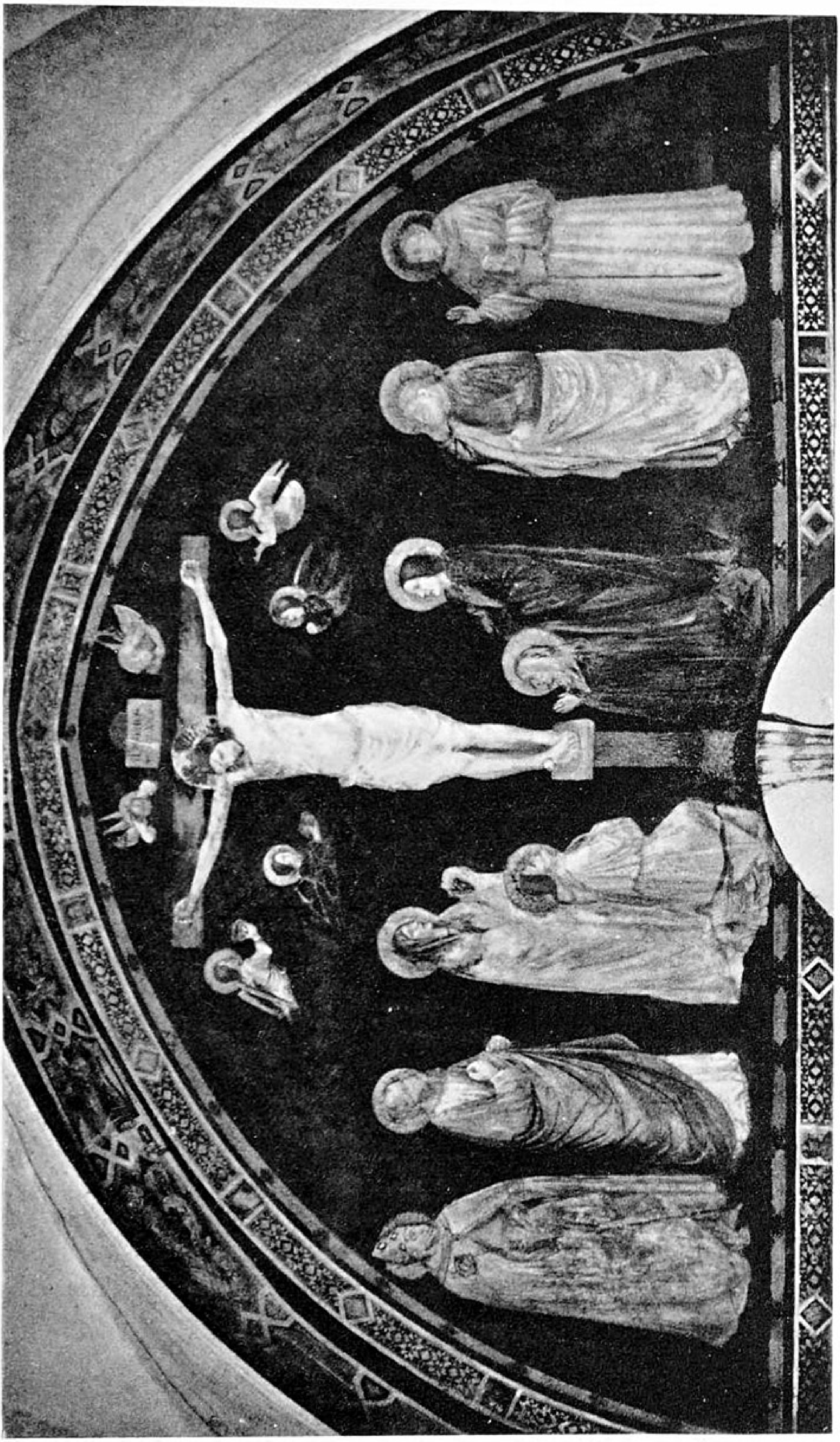


Fig. 154. School of Giotto, the Crucifixion. Monastery of S. Francesco, Assisi.
Photo Alinari.

holy bishop, two angels, two devotees, a figure of the Baptist, the archangel Michael with the dragon, an Annunciation, in which the head of the angel has disappeared, while the Madonna is depicted making a gesture of great alarm, the dead Christ on the Cross, the head again missing, and part of a scene of St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

I believe the Madonna and saints in the St. George chapel of Sta. Chiara (fig. 155) to be by the same artist, but belonging to a later stage in his career; comparing the figures of the Virgin and the archangel Michael with the angels of the fresco in the tribune of the Lower Church, we shall find the spirit of the work to be the same. Here the Madonna, seen full face, is seated on a marble throne, holding the Child with both hands upright on her knee; He turns towards the right where St. Michael is depicted holding a pair of scales and beyond him a half-length figure of St. Francis almost in profile; on the left are represented St. John the Baptist and St. Clare; the figures are separated by Gothic pillars which form arches. The tints are clear and bright, the blue and yellow of the archangels almost clashing, and the Sienese influence strongly marked.

The connection between this painter and the "Maestro delle Vele" is very apparent. If, for instance, we compare the angels around the Coronation of the Virgin with those in the Glorification of St. Francis no doubt can remain that the one inspired the other. I do not exclude the possibility that the artist, whose works we have just dealt with, assisted in the ornamentation of the vaults and right transept, and although he is too lacking in refinement for us to identify him with the leading artist of this part of the mural decoration of the Lower Church, we notice in his painting the same aspiration, the same artistic ideal, the same sweetness and feeling. This painter however was still one step further away from Giotto whose manner he only seems to have acquired through the interpretation of the "Maestro delle Vele"; also perhaps through the art of the painter we called Maestro Stefano, the author of the St. Nicholas series of frescoes in the Sacrament chapel of the Lower Church.

Deserving of attention is Vasari's statement that the artist who made the Coronation of the Virgin in the Lower Church of S. Francesco also painted in Sta. Chiara, and although we do

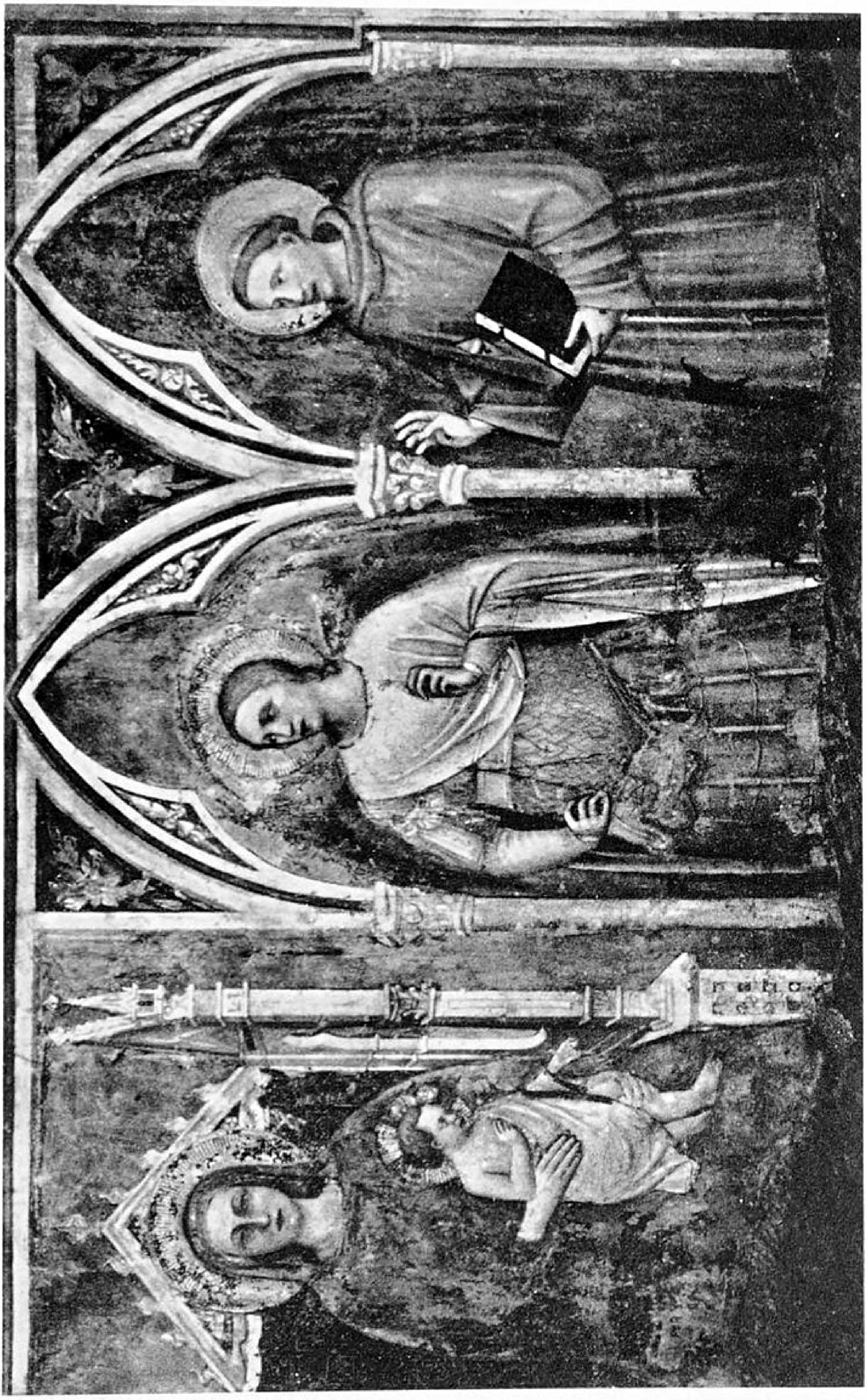


Fig. 155. School of Giotto, the Madonna and Saints. Sta. Chiara, Assisi.

Photo Alinari.

not any longer find the fresco that this writer mentions as being there, we discover another work by the same artist. It is quite admissible that he executed several frescoes one of which Vasari describes, while another oi them has been preserved.

As I do not think we find any of this artist's works at Florence and as his productions are, on the contrary, not rare at Assisi, it may be concluded that the painter was a dweller in the latter town. Another supposition is that he might have come here with his master whom he assisted in the decoration of the Lower Church and that he then remained in Assisi. Most of his activity may be placed in the 2nd quarter of the 14th century.

We find but few other productions of the Giottesque tradition in Assisi.

In the right transept of Sta. Chiara, there remain traces of a decoration due to a painter who shows some connection with the first continuer of the St. Francis cycle, and who consequently has nothing in common with the artist who ornamented the choir vault. In the 17th century the frescoes were all white-washed by order of a German bishop who thought that the great number of people who came to visit them distracted the nuns in the convent. Some of them have been uncovered and one can easily distinguish the death service and funeral procession of St. Clare. This painter was not without a certain merit but his figures lack variety; a striking example of how closely he followed Giotto is found in the two singing monks, very like those of the master's in his scene of the miracle at Greccio, but whereas there, they look as if they really were singing, here the artist's exaggeration makes them look as if they were shouting.

In the same transept we notice somewhat hazy fragments of the Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt and the Child Christ teaching in the Temple.

In the little tribune of the Lower Church a painter, of a somewhat later period, but inspired by Giotto's dramatic realism, executed a picture of the Lord crucified between St. John and the Virgin who, in expression and gesture, violently demonstrate their grief.

At Sta. Maria degli Angeli, where, according to Ghiberti, Giotto himself was active, we find some remains of Giottesque ornamentation — half-figures in medallions — in the vault of the Porziuncola.

A very important early Giottesque Madonna, probably dating from the first years of the 14th century, is preserved in the monastic choir of S. Damiano. The panel is long and narrow; at the feet of the Virgin kneels a monk whose name, Conrad, is inscribed. This picture which once might have been classed with the finest works of the Giottesque school, is now unfortunately so damaged that it offers only a mitigated pleasure to the eye of the spectator.

At some distance from Assisi but still in this region we find another very fine Giottesque Madonna. It is a fresco in the left apse of the crypt of S. Ponziano near Spoleto. Although considerably repainted it betrays that its author drew his inspiration directly from Giotto, I would even say from his Assisan period. This Madonna very much resembles the half-figures in circular frames that the master left on the entrance wall of the Upper Church. Above the figure a small roof seen from below shows the same decoration as we find in similar shelters in the St. Francis cycle.

The Giottesque frescoes in S. Francesco, Pistoia, are always associated with the name of Puccio Capanna.

For the artistic activities of Puccio Capanna we again have Vasari as the principal source of information; he is, however, mentioned in the archives of S. Giovanni fuor Civitas at Pistoia, about the year 1347 as a leading Florentine painter, and his address is given as the via Larga; while again he is registered as a member of the painter's corporation of Florence in 1350. Vasari speaks of Puccio's friendly relations with his master, Giotto, and even states that together they made the crucifix in Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, which we have already ranked amongst the works belonging to the Giottesque school. According to the same authority, Puccio worked in the church of S. Cataldo, Rimini, at Bologna, in Sta. Trinita, in the Badia of Florence, and executed in the Lower Church, Assisi (1), the frescoes from the Life of Christ. Cavalcaselle believes that the paintings in the Magdalene chapel are by this artist, while Vasari shows again his utter incompetence where the 14th century is concerned, in ascribing to the same master Simone Martini's frescoes in St. Martin's chapel. In Vasari's list we also find mentioned the decoration of the principal chapel and St. Louis' chapel in the church of S. Francesco, Pistoia and a crucifix in S. Domenico which was signed *"Puccio di Florenza me fece"*, but which has since disappeared.

---

(1) In the 16th century description of works which no longer exist in the tribune of the Lower Church, published by Prof. *Thode* in his St. Francis, p. 621, Puccio Capanna is mentioned as their author.

Although no authentic work of Puccio Capanna's now exists, one must admit, considering he is praised in the Pistoia records, that he worked in this town, and the frescoes, which for many years were covered by white wash, have been ascribed to him. They represent scenes from the life of St. Francis and are more or less fac-similis of Giotto's at Assisi; the events that can still be recognised, are, in chronological order, the crucifix in S. Damiano speaking to St. Francis, the Vision that the Pope had of St. Francis supporting the church, the Confirmation of the rules of the order, the Devils chased from Arezzo, the Saint before the Sultan, proposing to walk through fire and St. Francis receiving the stigmata. Prof. Thode is of opinion that two different hands can be identified in this work which would coincide with the statement made by Ciampi (1) that Puccio died some time after he had undertaken this enterprise. Cavalcaselle, however, and I think rightly, believes the whole series to be by one artist. The paintings in the choir are reported as having been executed in 1343 by order of Bandino Conti. Besides the scenes from the life of St. Francis, some figures of saints in elaborate Gothic frames are seen near the windows.

The frescoes illustrating the life of St. Antony in the chapel dedicated to this saint show some resemblance to the frescoes in the choir.

The bad condition of these paintings does not enable us to form a very clear idea of the painter's art; however from what remains we can discover several elements which differentiate it from Giotto's manner. The compositions, it is true, are very similar to those at Assisi, but the figures have a different aspect. They lack the robustness of Giotto's but show instead in their elongated forms a wavering gracefulness, while the features are

---

(1) *Ciampi,* Notizie inedite della sagrestia pistoiese de' Belli Arredi, Florence, 1810, p. 103.

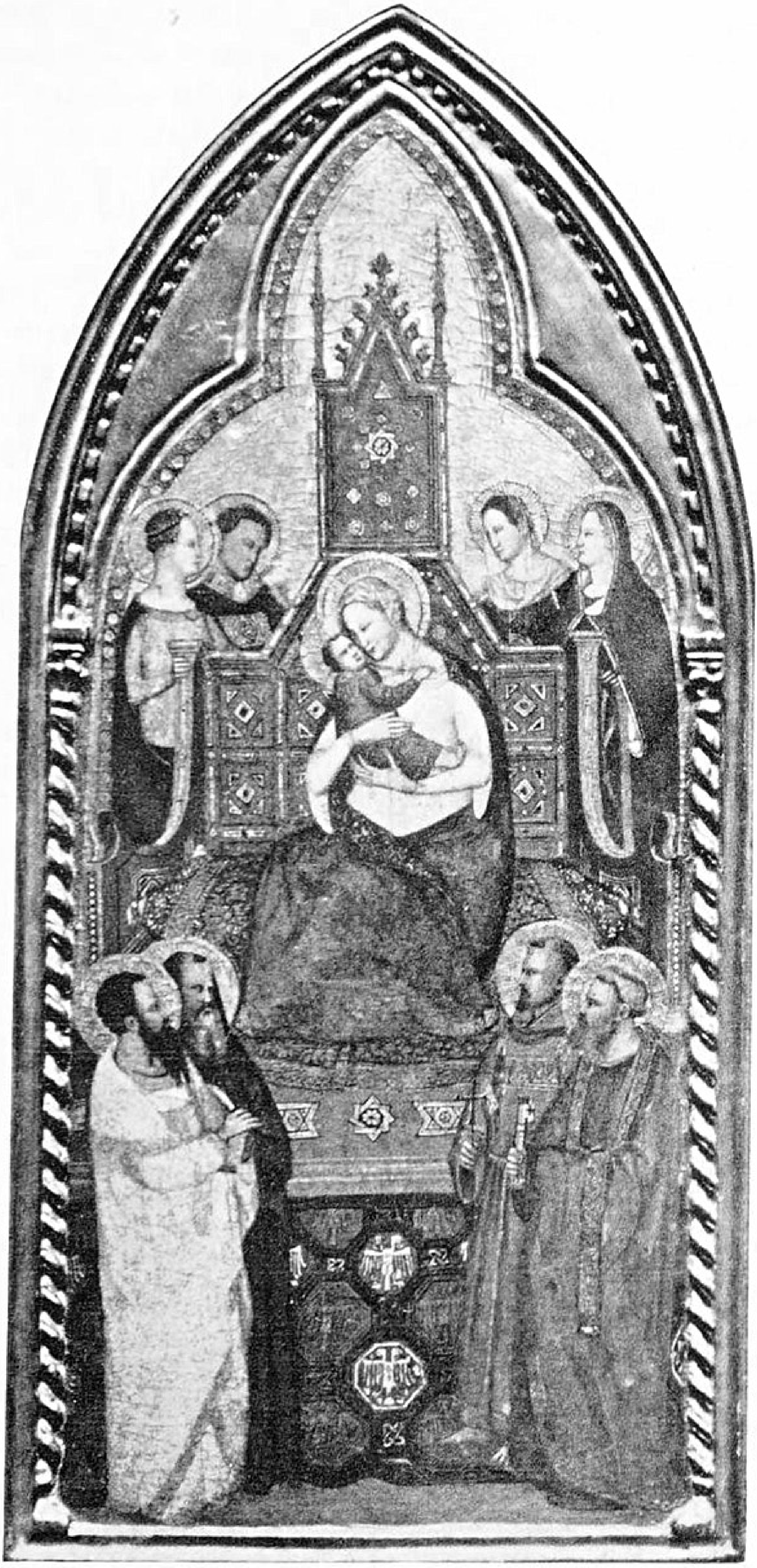


Fig. 156. A Pistoian (?) follower of Giotto, Madonna and Saints.
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

frequently given a soft smiling expression, both of which elements rather remind us of the Sienese school. The most interesting technical innovation is the extremely marked light and shade effect which the painter uses especially around the faces.

Although too little of these figures is clearly visible to enable us to attribute, with any certainty, other works to the same hand, there are a few paintings which, I think, should be associated with these. Two of them are preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin, the one (1141 A) representing the Virgin seated on a low throne, with a handsome Gothic back, near which stand four saints while four others are seen in the foreground (fig. 156); the other (1141 B) depicting the Virgin carried to heaven by four angels while St. Thomas kneeling below stretches out his hand for her girdle (fig. 157) (1). Yet another is a triptych, belonging to Mr. Frank L. Babbott, Brooklyn, New York, showing us in the centre the Madonna enthroned between a group of saints and on the wings the Nativity and the Crucifixion (2).

As I have already said we cannot in this case make any very definite attributions but there certainly exists a connection between all these works. The paintings by the pseudo-Puccio Capanna bear a resemblance to certain works by Taddeo Gaddi, to whose youth Mr. Sirén attributes the two last mentioned panels. A special likeness may be observed between the productions of this pseudo-Puccio and a fragment of Christ amongst the Doctors by Taddeo Gaddi over the door leading to the sacristy in the church of Sta. Croce.

There are some other 14th century frescoes in Pistoia but they have too much the appearance of local productions for us to class them with works of the Florentine school. Obviously Giottesque, however, is the decoration of a bed in the del Ceppo hospital, showing at the head a representation of the Madonna and a saint and at the foot a picture of the Madonna and the

---

(1) Both are published by *W. Suida*, Notizie su alcuni quadri primitivi italiani nel Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Rivista d'Arte, V, 1907, p. 45, who attributes the first to the painter who executed the altar-piece in S. Spirito, Florence, representing the Madonna between four saints. He finds that the second shows connection with Taddeo Gaddi's manner.

(2) I only know the central panel of this triptych from the reproduction in *O. Sirén*, Giotto etc., pl. 128.

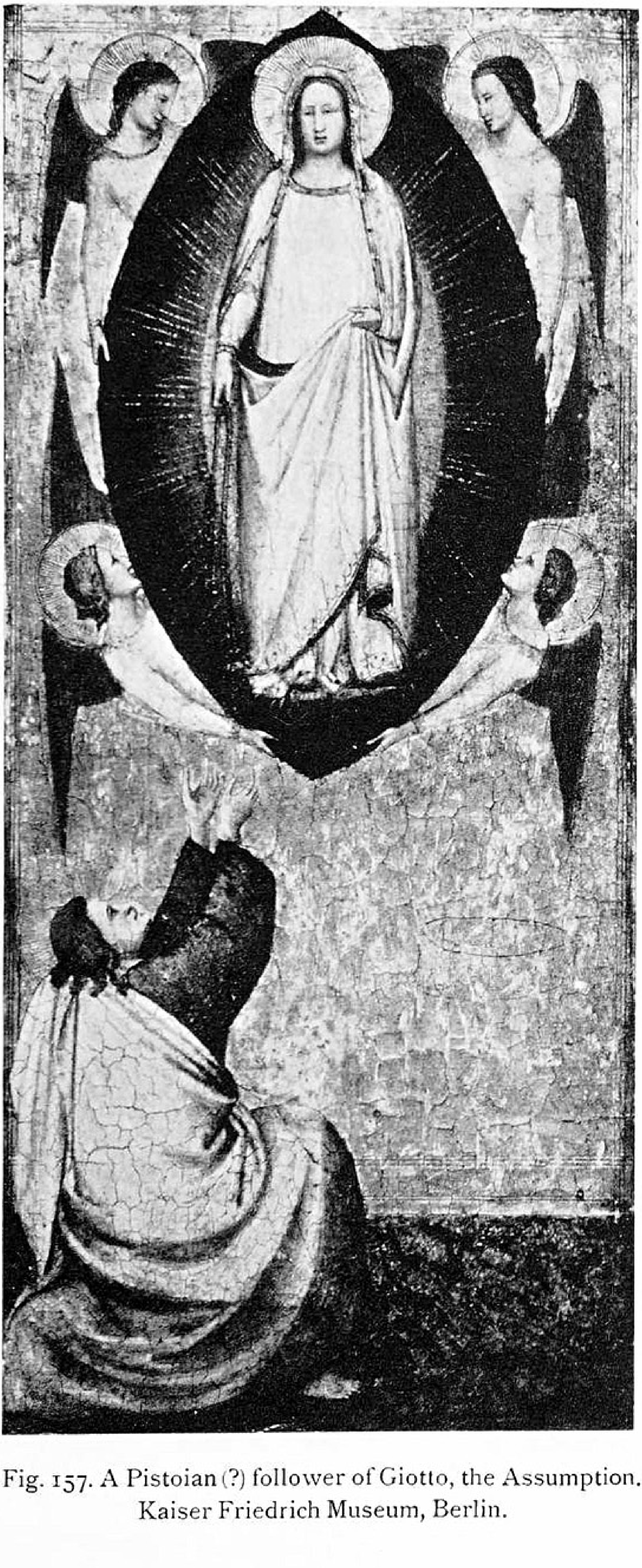


Fig. 157. A Pistoian (?) follower of Giotto, the Assumption. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

donor with an inscription in which the date, 1337, in still clearly legible (¹).

Without attempting to make a complete list of Giottesque panel paintings, I should like still to mention the following.

In a private collection in Assisi there is a fragment of a fresco which, according to an inscription of 1616, was detached from a wall of S. Pietro, Rome (²). Although it is of fine workmanship, this fragment does not confirm the old tradition that Giotto was responsible for the decoration of this church. The Dresden Gallery possesses a fine panel representing St. John in prison (no. 5) executed after the manner of the artist who painted the six scenes from the Life of Christ. Two recently acquired panels in the Edinburgh Gallery, representing the martyrdom of two saints, St. Dominic exorcizing and St. Francis receiving the stigmata, might be ascribed to Giotto's school. Belonging to the same tendency are three fairly beautiful half-length figures of saints — a holy bishop, the Baptist and St. Peter — in the Accademia of Florence (nos. 44, 45 and 39) which are, I believe, going to be published as works of Jacopo de Casentino with whose art I fail to see any connection. A half-length figure of the Madonna which originally decorated the south wall of the Florence Cathedral, but now adorns the chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the interior of the building, is, although not of very fine technique, executed in a thoroughly Giottesque spirit (³). The Loeser collection in the same city, includes two beautiful Giottesque panels, the one representing the Lord on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene, the other the Death of the Virgin in a composition not unlike Giotto's panel of this subject, now in Berlin. A very fine half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child, Who holds a little bird, will be found in the Chiaramonte Bordonaro collection, Palermo (fig. 158). To a certain extent it reminds us of the one in Mr. Goldman's collection, New-York, but here the Sienese elements and the connection with Daddi's art are still

---

(¹) *R. Schubring,* Cassoni, Truhe u. Truhenbilder der Ital. Frührenaissance, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 37, 228 and pl. VII.

(²) *A. Venturi,* Storia dell' Arte, V, p. 294. *L. Venturi,* L'Arte, 1922, p. 69, note 1.

(³) *G. Poggi,* Il Duomo di Firenze, p. CVII.

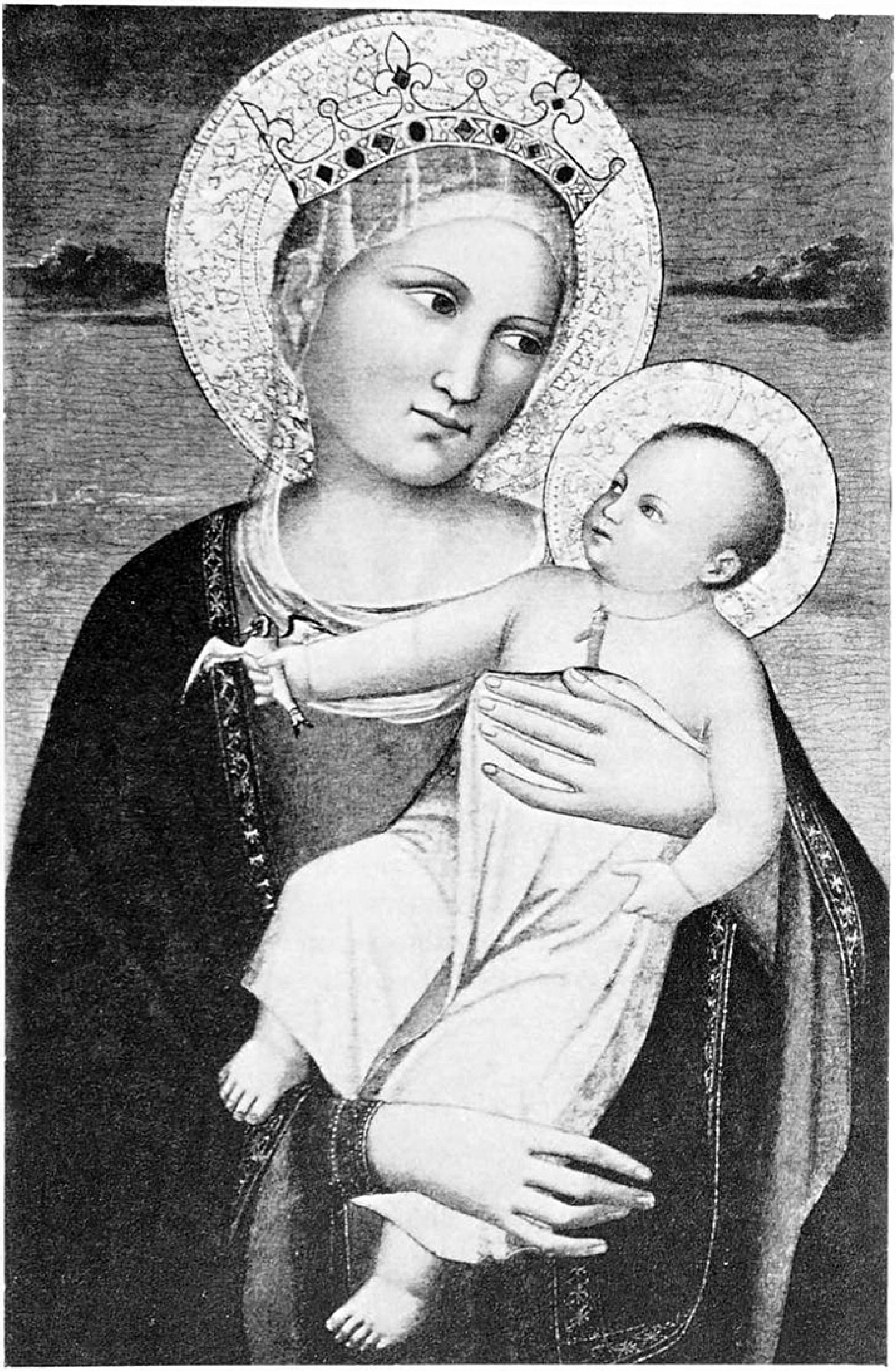


Fig. 158. School of Giotto, Madonna. Chiaramonte Bordonaro Collection, Palermo.

Photo Alinari.

more evident. The background of clouds is probably repainted; the Madonna's crown also seems an addition of later date. An important early Giottesque panel in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, shows, one under the other, the Crucifixion, the Nativity and the Annunciation; in the last scene the Virgin is seated in a strange little dome (1).

A small processional cross revealing Giottesque elements belonged to the Stroganoff collection, Rome (2).

Several Giottesque drawings have also been preserved.

The most important of these is the one in the Uffizi, representing the Visitation (fig. 159) in exactly the same manner as we find it depicted in the right transept of the Lower Church, Assisi, the only difference being that the forms are more robust and consequently resemble still more closely Giotto's own manner.

The collection of drawings in the Louvre, Paris, includes two belonging to Giotto's school, the one showing two seated figures of kings, crowned, holding globe and sceptre, some buildings in the background and below two profiles, one being that of a monk; the other (called Florentine school and numbered 2664) representing two seated Apostles, one bearded the other clean-shaven.

A certain number of small panes of blue glass, adorned with gilt figures, date from the same period and show obvious Giottesque forms. Several are found in Umbria e.g. in the Galleries of Gubbio and Todi. A beautiful example, on which the enthroned Madonna and saints are represented, is preserved in the Louvre (Legs Davillon, N°. 186).

## THE MASTER OF THE ST. CECILY ALTAR-PIECE.

The painter, to whom the name of Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, has been given, has only been evolved within the last few years and his art gradually established since.

---

(1) *B. Berenson,* Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and some art Objects: Italian Painting, Philadelphia, 1913, N°. 1, is of opinion that this follower imitates Giotto's manner prior to his activities in the Arena chapel.

(2) *A. Muñoz,* Pièces de choix de la Coll. Gr. Stroganoff, 2e partie, Rome. 1911, pls. IV–V.

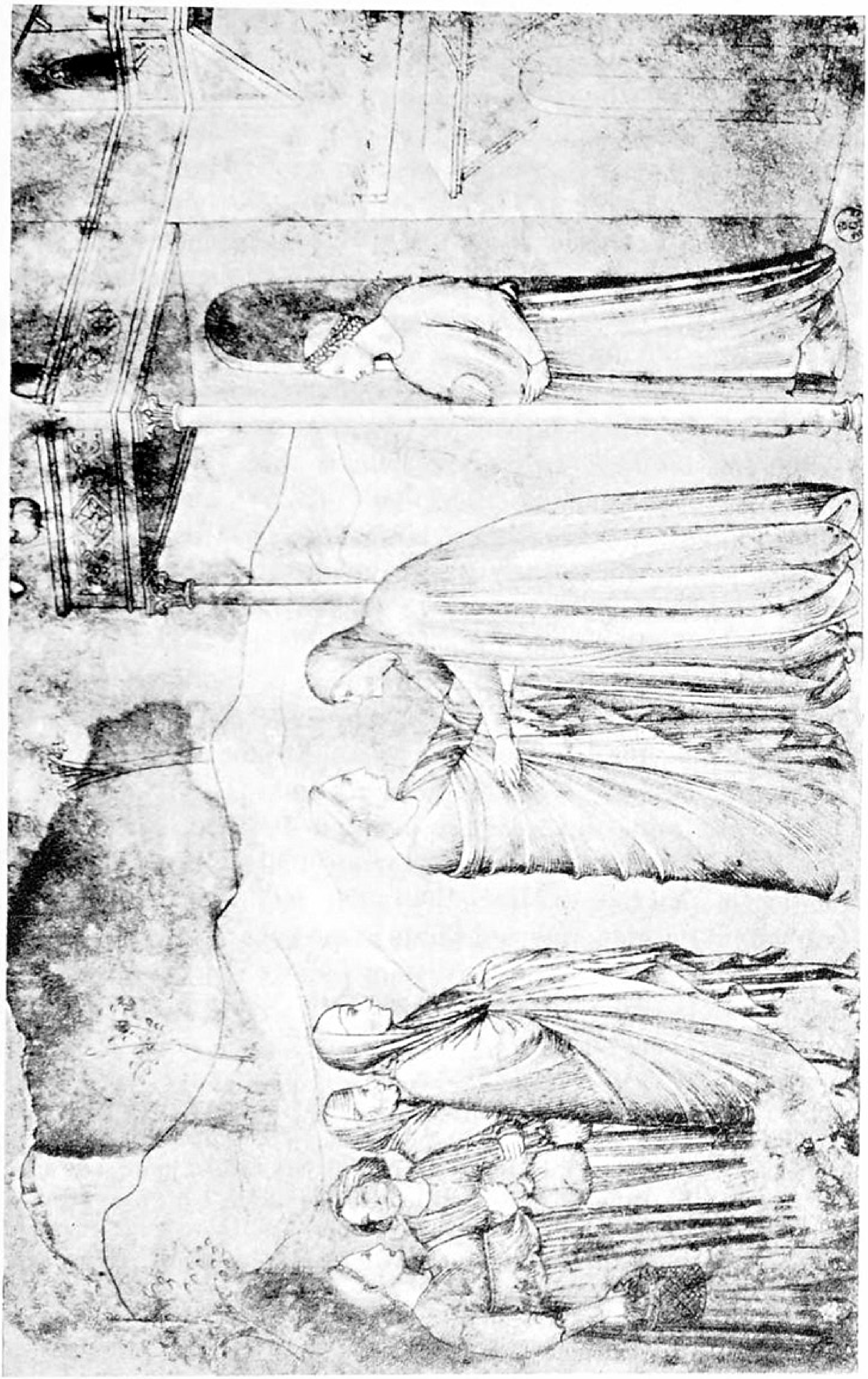


Fig. 159. School of Giotto, the Visitation, drawing. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Mr. Berenson, I believe, was the first to attribute to the same hand the St. Cecily altar-piece in the Uffizi, the Madonna and St. Margaret panels in the church of Sta. Margarita a Montici, the painting of St. Miniatus in his church near Florence and the continuation of the St. Francis cycle at Assisi. Herr Suida, who has dedicated a long study to this artist (¹), unjustly refused to include in the list of his works any of the last mentioned scenes but rightly added the altar-piece, dated 1307, of St. Peter in the church of S. Simone, Florence, and another originally in Sta. Maria degli Angeli, but now in the collection of Christ Church College, Oxford (no. 6) (²). Lately Mr. Sirén has reconstructed this artistic personality (³) whom he wishes to indentify with Giotto's contemporary, Buffalmacco, who is known to us through several amusing stories which Boccaccio tells of him (⁴) and from a long chapter in Vasari, but to whom it is impossible to attribute justifiably one single work. Such an attempt has been made by Prof. Bacci (⁵) who demonstrates with documentary evidence that frescoes in the Badia of Florence are by his hand. The aspect of these paintings prove to us that their place is amongst the works of the Orcagna brothers. Prof. Bacci, however, has succeeded in demonstrating that Buffalmacco was one of the best of Giotto's contemporaries, active in both Florence and Pisa.

Mr. Sirén adds to the above mentioned works, and I think rightly, a large figure of St. Paul with small adorers below, belonging at that time to Mr. S. Bourgeois, New York, while I can only admit the Madonna and saints in the gallery of Budapest as being of his school. A more distant follower of his may have painted a Madonna of a much more Sienese aspect, surrounded

---

(¹) *Suida*, Einige Florentinische Maler aus dem Uebergang vom Duecento im Trecento, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., II, 1905, p. 89.

(²) *Tancred Borenius*, Pictures by the old Masters in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, 1916, no. 6. Reprod. in Etruria Pittrice, I, pl. V, as the property of Vincenzo Giotti.

(³) *O. Sirén*, A great Contemporary of Giotto, Burlington Magazine, 1919, p. 229 and 1920 p. 30.

(⁴) *Decamerone*, VIII, 3, 6, 9; IX 5.

(⁵) *P. Bacci*, Gli affreschi di Buffalmacco scoperti nella chiesa di Badia in Firenze, Bollet. d'Arte del Minist. della P. Istr., 1911, p. 1. *Idem*, Bonamico Buffalmacco pittore e la critica Tedesca, Pisa, 1917.

by angels and saints (which somehow reminds us of El Greco), in the collection of Mr. A. Kahn in Paris, and I think it was a contemporary with a somewhat different temperament who produced the fine Madonna in the Horne collection in Florence. All these works Mr. Sirén attributes to the same painter.

Recently I published a painting of St. Elysium belonging to the Marinucci collection, Rome, which I believe to be by this artist (¹); I further venture here to attribute to him a Madonna in the Museum of Pescia and, as I have already said, only the last four scenes of the St. Francis cycle at Assisi.

The paintings, which I suppose to have been executed by this artist, may be divided into two groups, the earlier of which includes the frescoes of Assisi, the panel of St. Elysium and the St. Cecily altar-piece itself; while in a later stage of his career he made the panels representing St. Peter, St. John and St. Paul which, as it were, lead the way to the two pictures at Montici, the Madonna at Pescia and the picture of St. Miniatus, which are clearly products of one moment in the master's artistic evolution (²).

The St. Cecily panel (figs. 160 and 161), which Vasari attributed to Cimabue (³), shows us the saint seated on a simple but architectural throne, her right hand is uplifted and in her left she holds a book on her knee; one foot being considerably more advanced than the other gives her a natural but not very graceful attitude. On either side of the central figure are four small scenes arranged in two rows; they represent (1) the marriage feast, (2) St. Cecily converting her husband Valerius in the nuptial chamber, (3) Valerius, having been christened, returning to his wife, (4) the brother of the husband on entering the room is also converted by the saint, (5) the brother baptised by a bishop in a church, (6) St. Cecily preaching to the people outside a house, (7) the saint taken by the soldiers to the prefect and finally, (8) be-

---

(¹) *R. van Marle,* Un dipinto del Maestro della Sta. Cecilia, L'Amatore d'Arte 1920, p. 5.

(²) Mr. *Berenson* has also noticed this but he places these paintings at the beginning of the artist's career.

(³) *C. Frey,* The Loggia dei Lanzi, p. 114, believes it to be a work by Taddeo Gaddi.

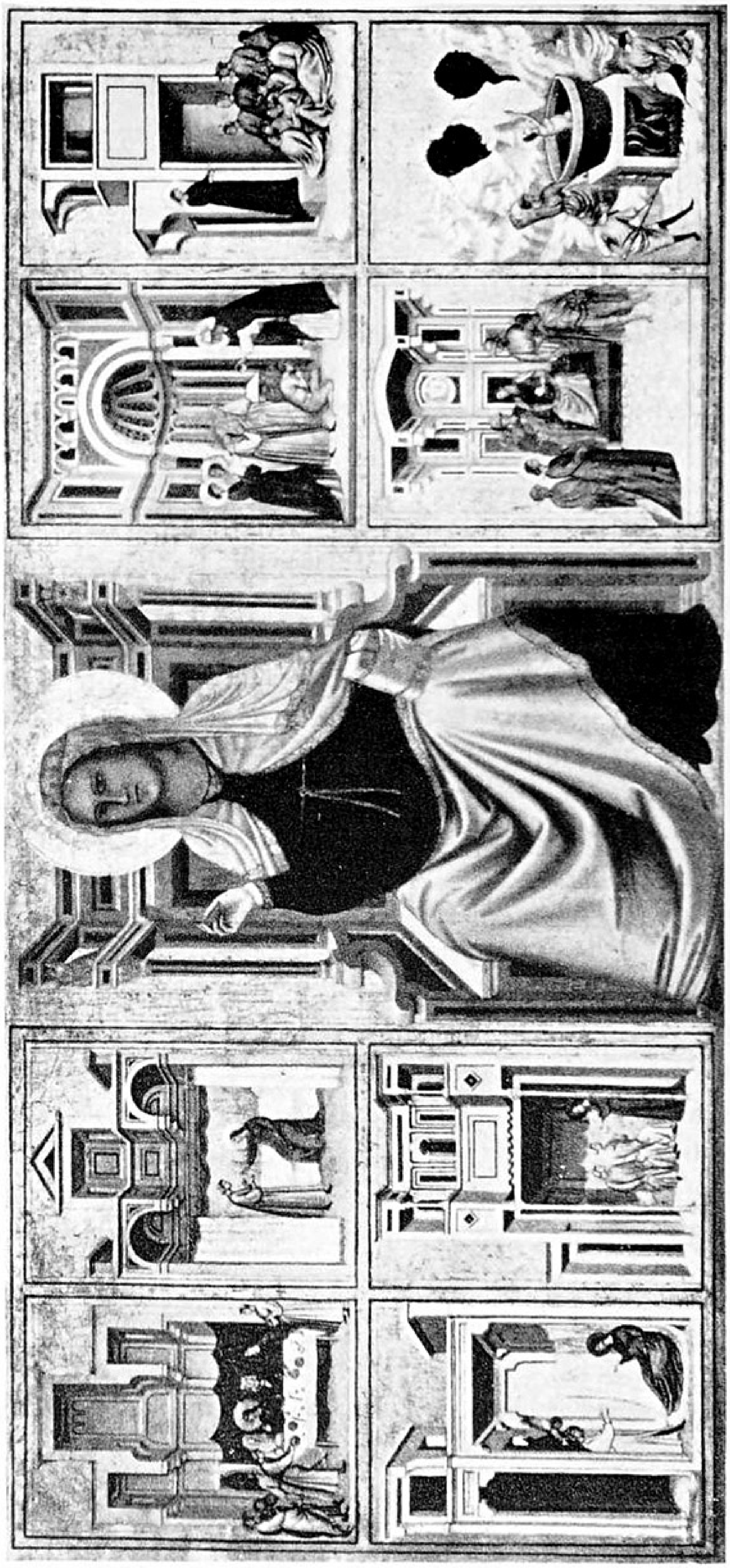


Fig. 160. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, St. Cecily and scenes from her legend. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

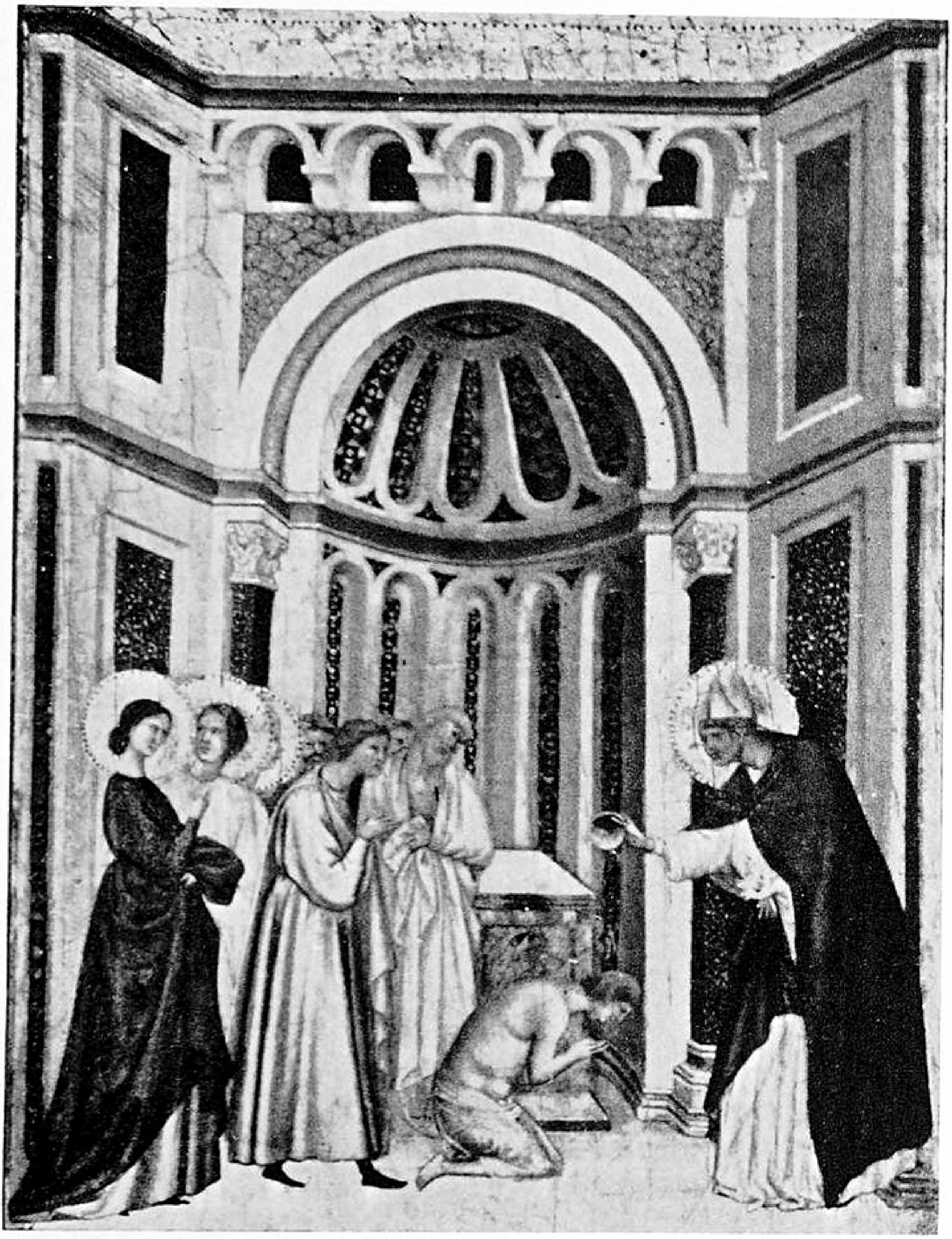


Fig. 161. Detail of fig. 160.

headed in a cauldron of boiling water while two men are seen attending to the fire.

We find in this painting a considerable number of characteristics which should facilitate us in identifying other productions from the same hand.

The opposition between the calm majestic principal figure and the lively active smaller ones is very curious; the former has the broad sculptural aspect of a carving (¹), the figures of the small scenes are frequently exaggeratedly long, somewhat hard in outline and angular in form, while the round heads on long necks with piercing eyes and sharp features frequently seem too small in proportion to the bodies.

Most striking of all is the architecture; an isolated piece is depicted in the scene of St. Cecily before her judge, while in almost all the others we find a building shown in section.

In the fifth scene, the walls and apse of the church are very theatrical in appearance. The style of the buildings is original, fantastic and elaborate, very different from Giotto's, although the technique of perspective and space is the same. In his soft bright colours this painter also considerably differs from Giotto.

The St. Cecily altar-piece and the frescoes of Assisi do not show more dissimilarity than one would expect between a panel and a fresco by the same author, especially if we admit that the master was more skilful in the production of the former, chiefly on account of his ability in depicting small figures.

At Assisi, then, the frescoes we attribute to this artist are nos. 25—28 and two figures in the first of the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church.

(25) In the first scene Pope Gregory, doubtful of the reality of the stigmata, is depicted receiving a vision of St. Francis who shows him the wound in his side. The Pope, asleep on a couch under a canopy, is guarded by four men, reminding us of Giotto's representation of the dream of Innocent IV, only here the composition is less good, being spoiled by the two figures on the left who, together with the other two guards, form rather a long row; their attitudes too are less natural than those who watch over Pope Innocent, only the one asleep resting his head on his arm against the bed of the Pope is very realistic. The folds of the draperies in this fresco are very different from those we find in Giotto's paintings. St. Francis stands behind the couch looking with piercing eyes at the doubter; with his right hand he uncovers his wound, while with his left he places a phial of his blood in the

---

(¹) I think it is this difference which led Mr. *Dami* to contest the attribution of the St. Peter panel to this artist: *L. Dami*, La Basilica di S. Miniato al monte, Bollet. d'arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1915, p. 239.

outstretched hand of the Pope. I am convinced that the artist who made this fresco also painted the following three, although in a somewhat different manner; a glance will show us that the figures are much smaller in comparison with the size of the

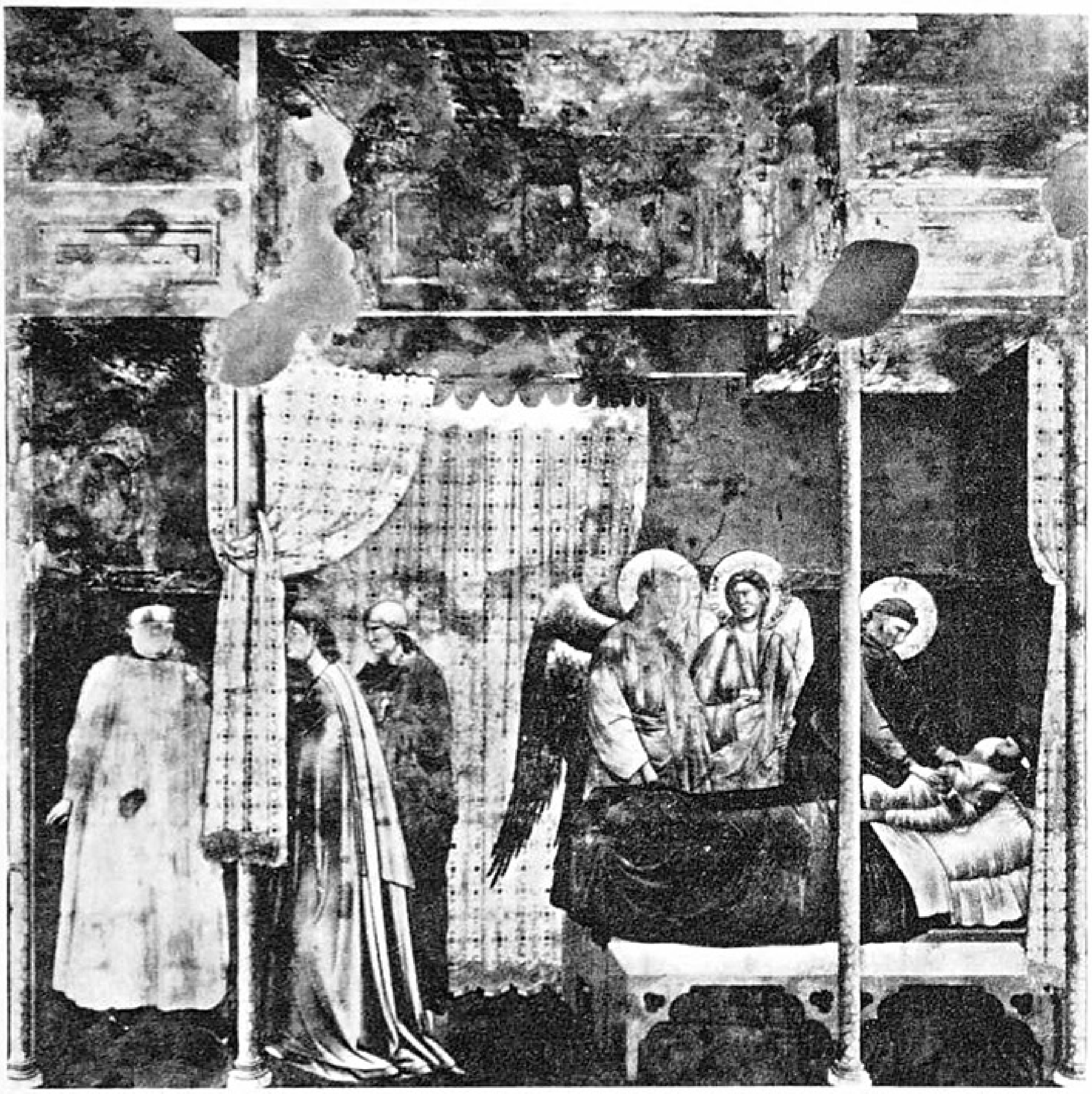


Fig. 162. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, a wounded man cured by the invocation of St. Francis. S. Francesco, Assisi.

Photo Anderson.

fresco, and also that the proportions of the figures themselves do not correspond with those of the previous frescoes, the heads being much smaller.

(26) The next scene illustrates another miracle which the saint accomplished after his death, viz. the curing, at Lerida, of a man mortally wounded, whom the physician had given up as lost, and who called upon the name of St. Francis (fig. 162). Through

drawn curtains, one of which is knotted to a pillar in a similar manner as in the Annunciation at Padua, we see into the interior of a room in which the enormous doctor on the left seems to inform two women, one of statuesque and majestic appearance, of the supposed fate of his patient. To the right the wounded man lies in bed stiffly stretched out, with his head only slightly raised in an attitude characteristic of a severely wounded person. St. Francis bends over the dying man, touching his wounded chest and gazing into his face with the same piercing look in his eyes which we remarked in the previous fresco. Behind him two angels stand in free and natural attitudes; one is strikingly beautiful.

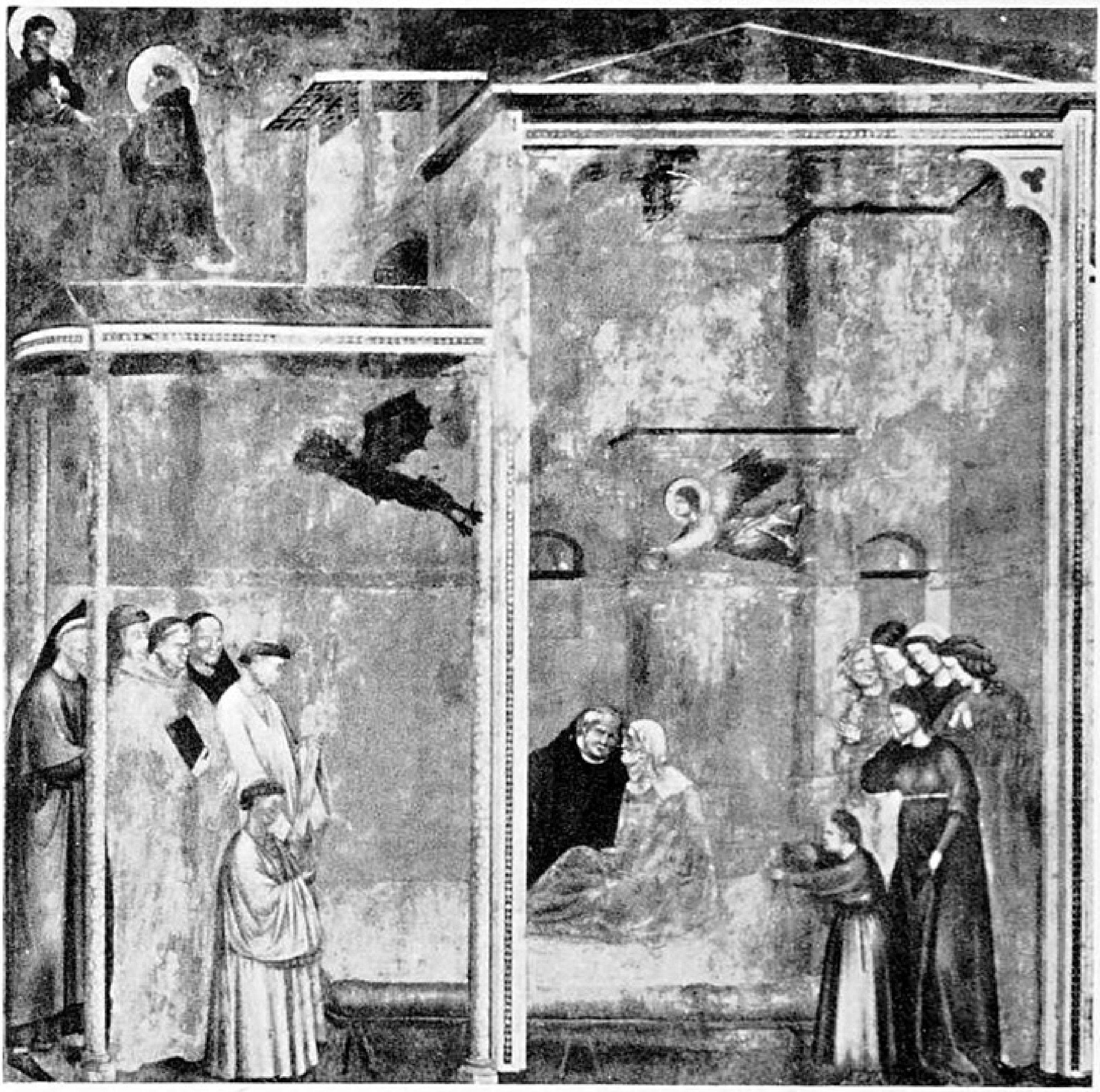


Fig. 163. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, a woman revives in order to finish her confession. S. Francesco. Assisi. Photo Anderson.

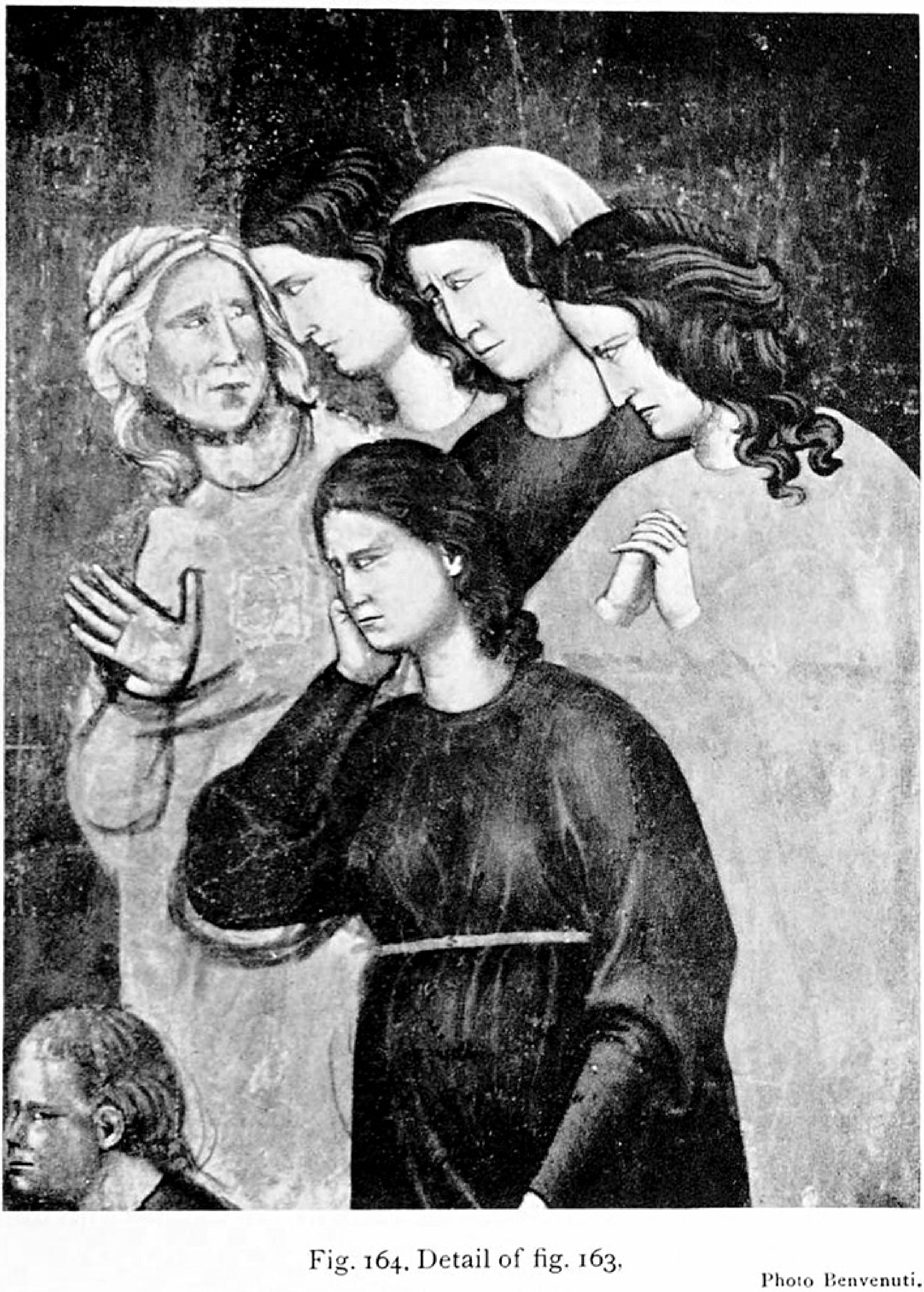


Fig. 164. Detail of fig. 163.

Photo Benvenuti.

(27) The following scene represents the story of the woman of Monte Marano who died without confessing a certain sin and whose punishment for this omission begins immediately after her death; but St. Francis intervenes for her and she is allowed to revive in order to remedy this fault (figs. 163 and 164). The room in which the event takes place is divided into two parts, the one

on the right larger and higher than the one on the left, which conveniently leaves sufficient space above for the artist to depict St. Francis pleading before the Lord on behalf of the sinner. Below, at the foot of the bier which is placed across the room, is a group of priests, one of whom is kneeling; while at the other end five women and a child betray their astonishment at the revival of the dead woman who is seen sitting up in her death toilet whispering her belated confession into the ear of an attentive priest whose expressive face reminds us of Giotto's own figures; a small angel flies over their heads. The similarly arranged groups at either end of the bier with the small child as pendant to the kneeling priest make this composition very symmetrical.

(28) The last painting of the St. Francis cycle shows us how Peter of Alesia, accused of heresy, is imprisoned by the Bishop of Tivoli but is set free by the intervention of St. Francis whose assistance he invoked (fig. 165). On either side of the background are two curious buildings, the one on the left a church, the one on the right evidently the prison from the doorway of which the prisoner, still handcuffed, emerges; the two soldiers before the gate offer no resistance, one looks towards the bishop who kneels in prayer with outstretched hands at the sight of the miracle which has just occurred; behind him are five priests making gestures of surprise. In the sky St. Francis is seen flying up to heaven. The figures in this composition are of very unequal value, for while the soldiers and prisoner, for example, are quite good, the others are rigid. The buildings are ugly, in a spiral, round the prison tower, is wound a frieze in relief as on the columns of Trajanus and Marcus Aurelius in Rome, only the spiral here is of a more increased gradient.

It seems certain that these frescoes were executed contemporaneously with those of Giotto and for this reason, we find the hand of their author in the first picture of the whole cycle, the one in which a man spreads his coat on the ground for St. Francis to walk over.

I do not think Mr. Sirén is right in attributing the entire scene to the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, in my opinion only the two figures most to the right are his, the one seen in profile is specially typical of this artist. I must, however, confess that I do not find any further trace of his art in the subsequent scenes as

I did for the first continuer of the cycle, but his help in the first illustration of the legend seems to imply that he was there at the beginning of the undertaking as it is hardly likely he would have added them later on. His task then may very well have been smaller than those of the other artists who were active here, but we may assume that he painted in this church together with Giotto, and, like him, during the very last years of the 13th century, which is the date I propose for these frescoes as well as for the altar-piece in the Uffizi. The architecture on the whole is simpler but not dissimilar; in the last scene we find constructions just as peculiar as in the St. Cecily panel. A comparison of the figures leaves no doubt about the identity of the artist.

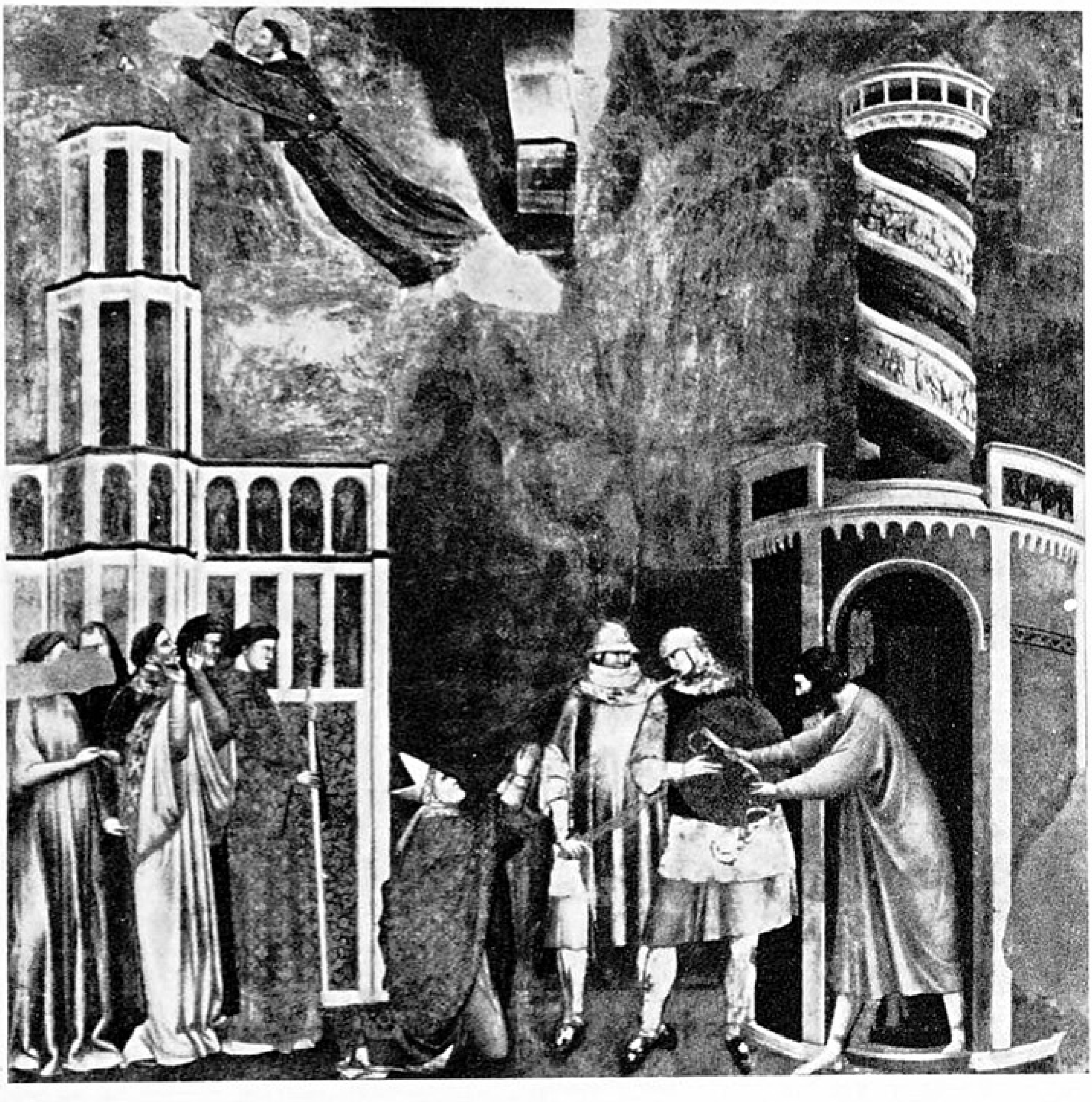


Fig. 165. St. Francis delivers Peter of Alesia from prison. S. Francesco, Assisi. Photo Anderson.

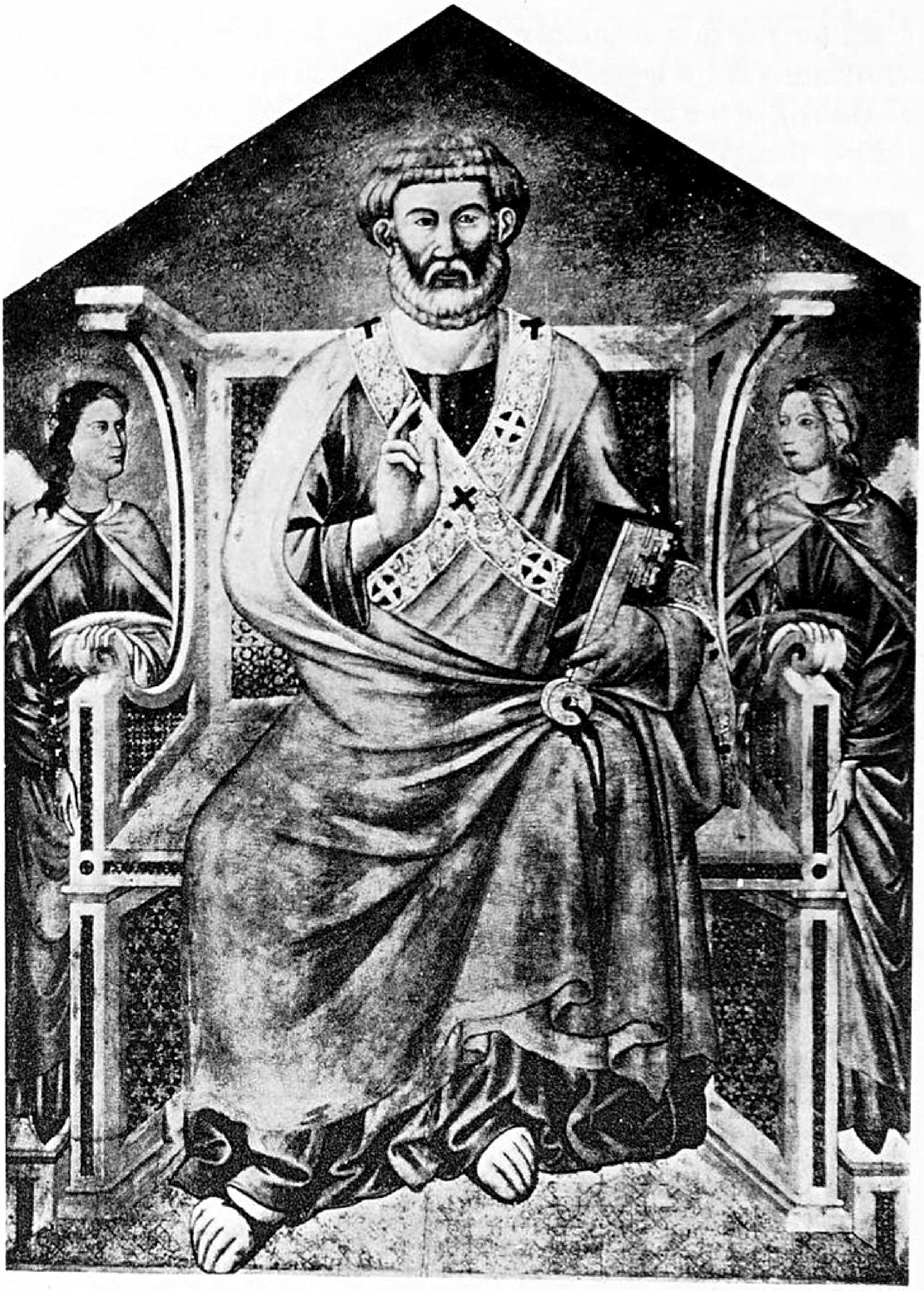


Fig. 166. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, St. Peter and angels. S. Simone, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

The figure of St. Elysium in the collection of Cav. E. Marinucci, Rome, shows many points in common with the frescoes of Assisi. He wears a bonnet similar to that of the doctor in the second of the wall-paintings; besides, the features and the characteristic small hands and heads with the piercing eyes are found again in this painting. In the foreground of this picture we notice the artist's taste for ornamentation which will again be seen in the panel of St. Peter in S. Simone, Florence (fig. 166).

The central figure of this painting seems to have been obviously inspired by the statue of the Apostle in his basilica in Rome. The draping of this figure betrays an advance in the evolution of the artist, and here we do not find the peculiar proportions we observed in his previous works. In the angels these elements are present, especially marked in the one to the left whose features remind us very much of some of the figures in the Assisan frescoes. This picture, as I said before, is dated 1307 and I think at this moment a certain change takes place in the art of the painter. From now onwards the proportions are more rational, the draping less angular and the general aspect of the figures less hard; the elongated forms are transformed into a general gracefulness. This is already noticeable in the panel of St. John at Oxford, which however still comes very near the previous style; it is more developed in the picture of St. Paul and the small adorers.

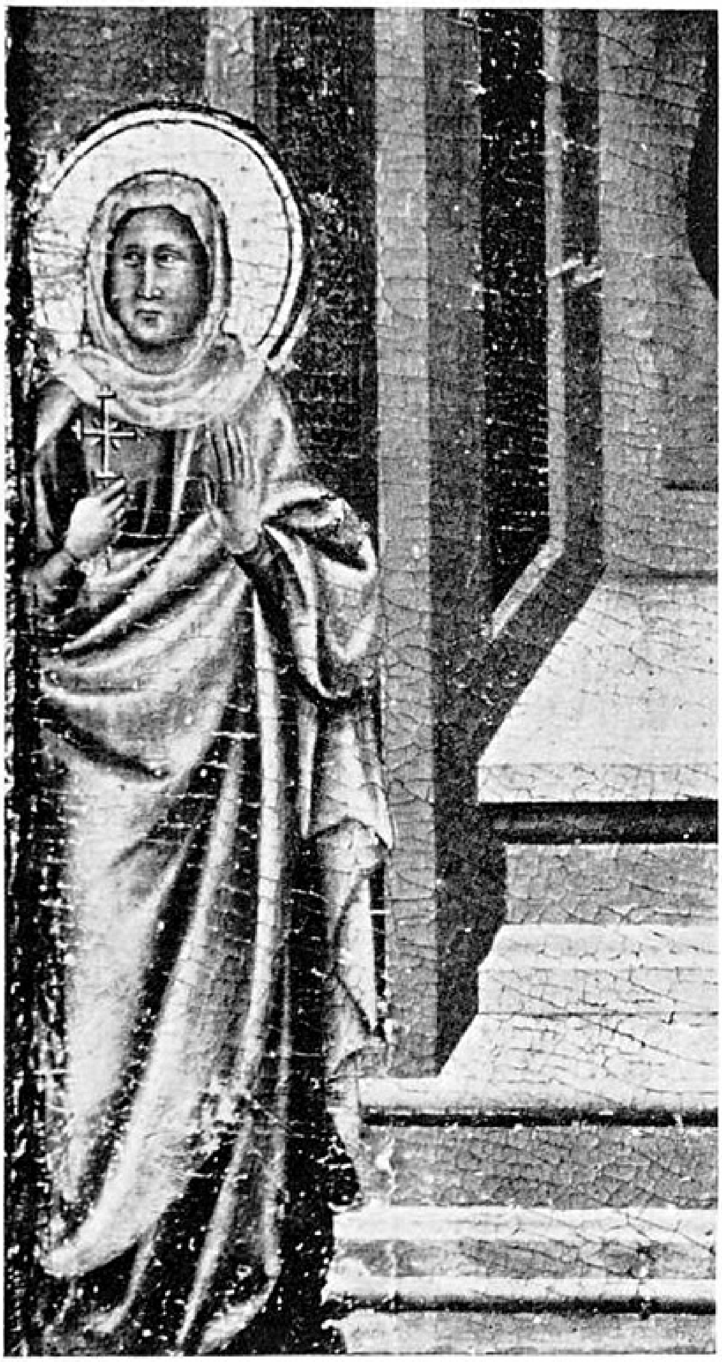


Fig. 167. Detail of the Madonna at Montici, plate IV. Photo Reali.

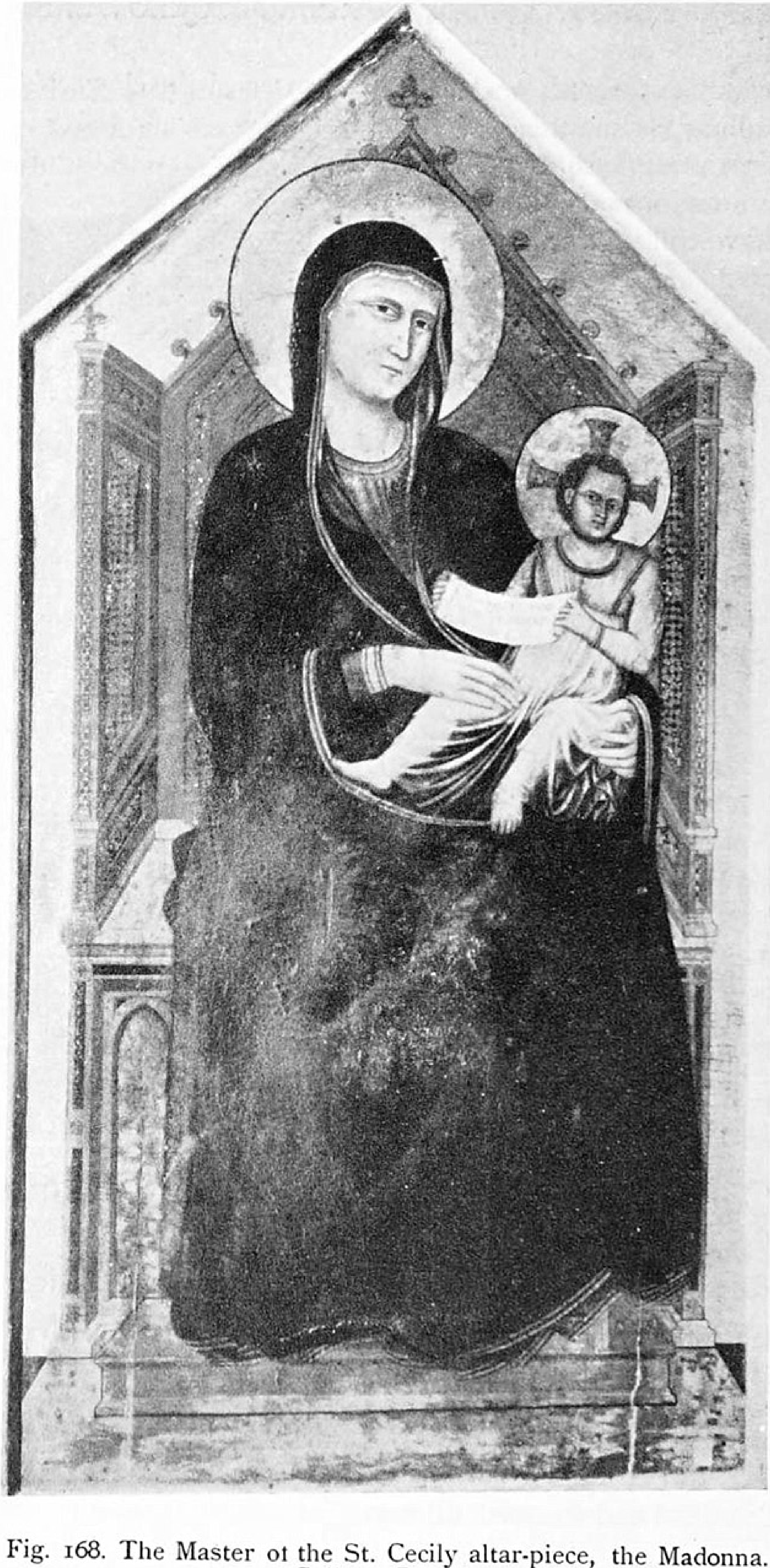
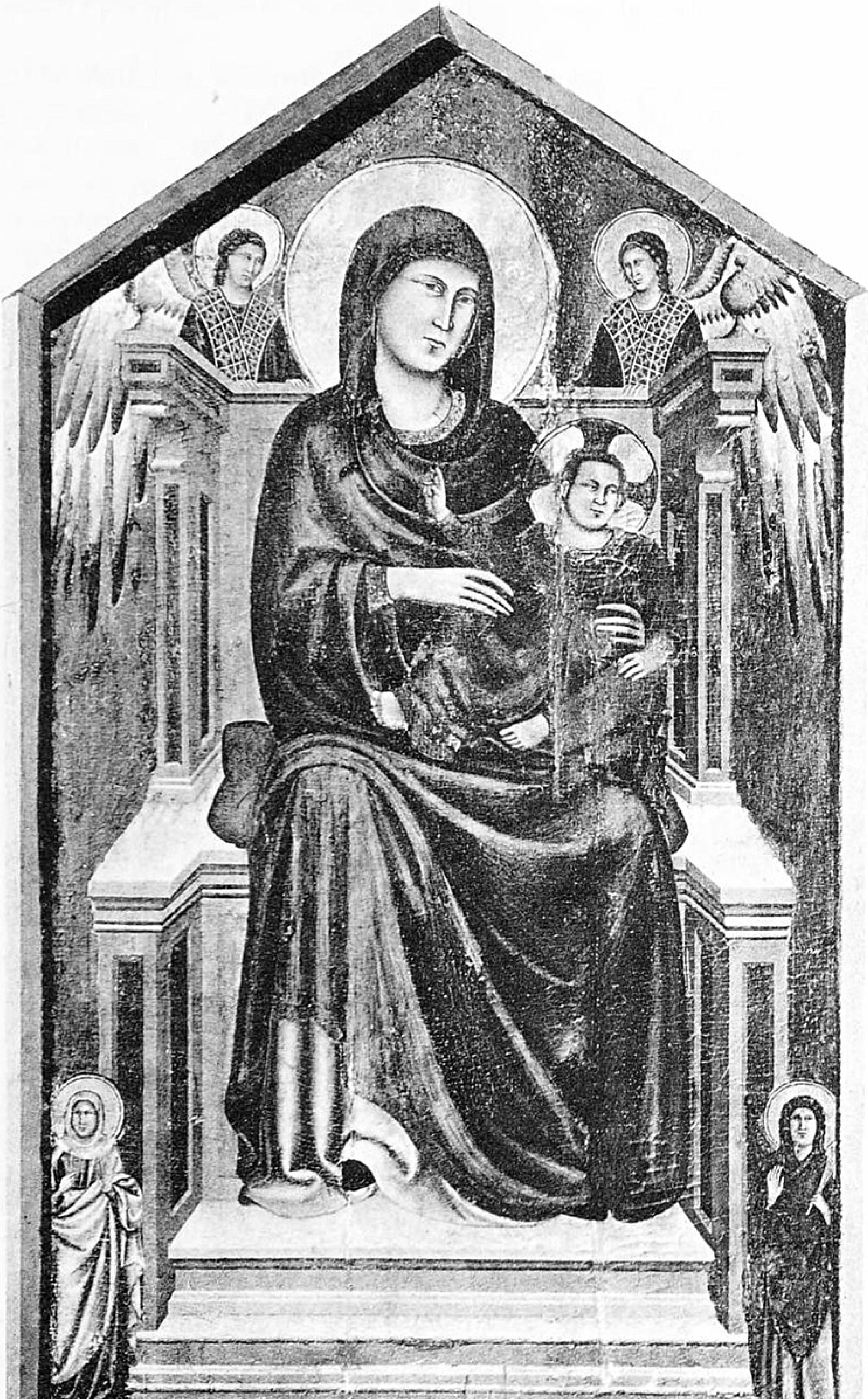


Fig. 168. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, the Madonna. Gallery, Pescia.

By courtesy of Dr. Mario Salmi.



*MADONNA*

*By the Master of the St. Cecily Altar-piece, Sta. Margherita a Montici.*

*Photo Alinari.*

The Madonna at Montici offers us a characteristic example of this manner (plate IV and fig. 167) She is represented enthroned with the Child in a free attitude comfortably seated on her knee; two remarkably beautiful angels look over the back of the throne while near the foot stand two small figures of saints.

The Madonna in the Gallery of Pescia (¹) is very similar to the one at Montici and the Child also shows many points in common with the Child there (fig. 168). Here, however, no other figures than those of the Virgin and Infant Christ are represented, the former seated on a monumental throne.

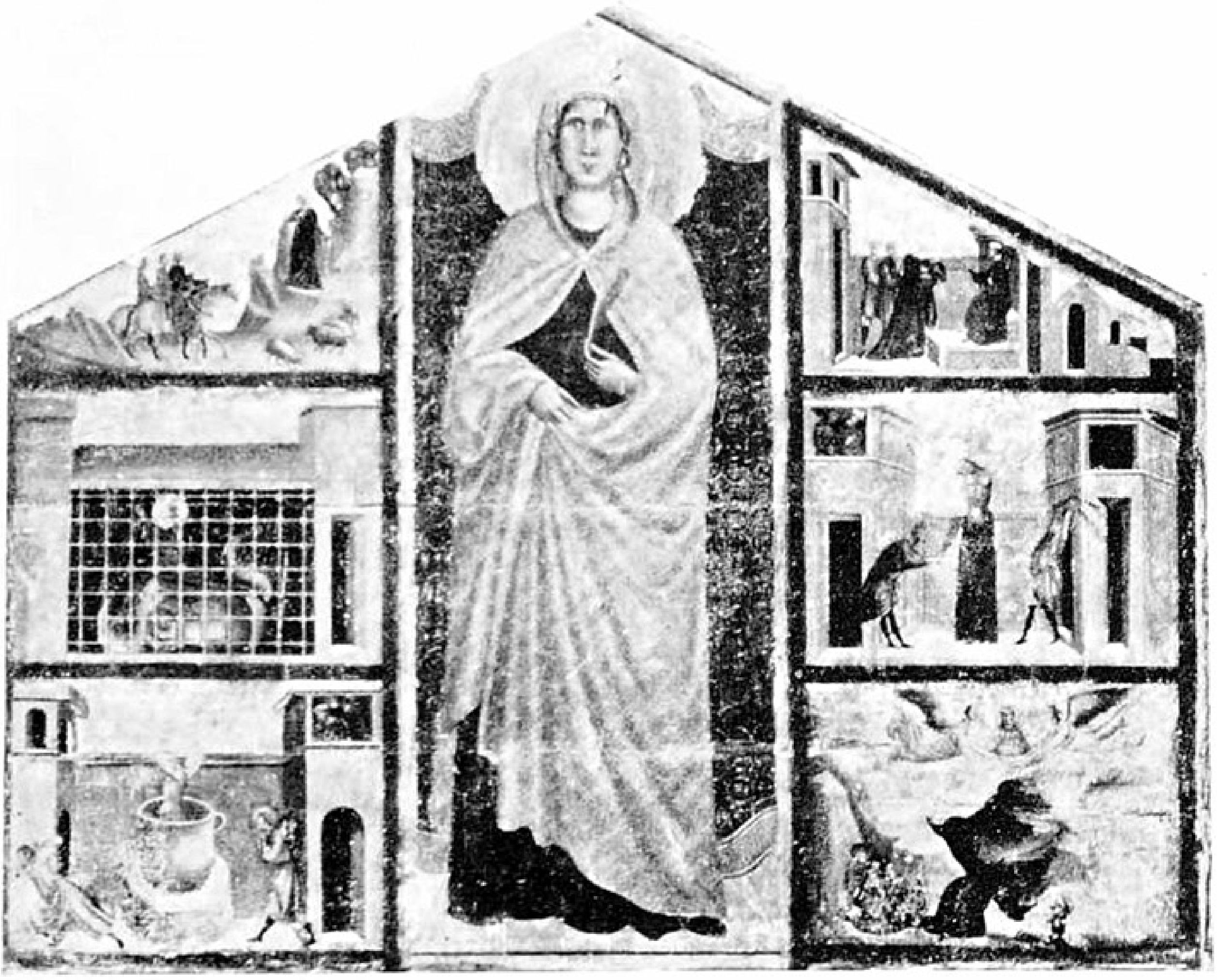


Fig. 169. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, St. Margaret and scenes from her legend. Montici. Photo Reali.

In the St. Margaret altar-piece (figs. 169, 170 and 171), which apparently forms a pendant to the panel of the Madonna, the central figure is depicted standing, with three small scenes one above the other at either side, illustrating alternately the legend of the saint. The first scene shows us St. Margaret herding her sheep

---

(¹) *M. Salmi*, Spigolature d'Arte Toscane, L'Arte, 1913, p. 208.

while three horsemen, amongst them the prefect, approach; St. Margaret, refusing to become the wife of the prefect because she is a Christian, is, as such, brought before the pretendant who is seen enthroned in judgment upon her; in the third scene the saint is depicted in prison where the devil in the form of a dragon appears to her; then follow her flagellation and her torture in a basin of boiling water in which events the principal figures resemble very much those in the corresponding scene of the St. Cecily panel — but we see the ground trembling while the cauldron breaks, and the torturers are running away, one of the five thousand who, according to the Golden Legend, were converted on this occasion. The last event depicted is the decapitation of the saint; near by is a kneeling figure while above we see her soul carried to heaven.

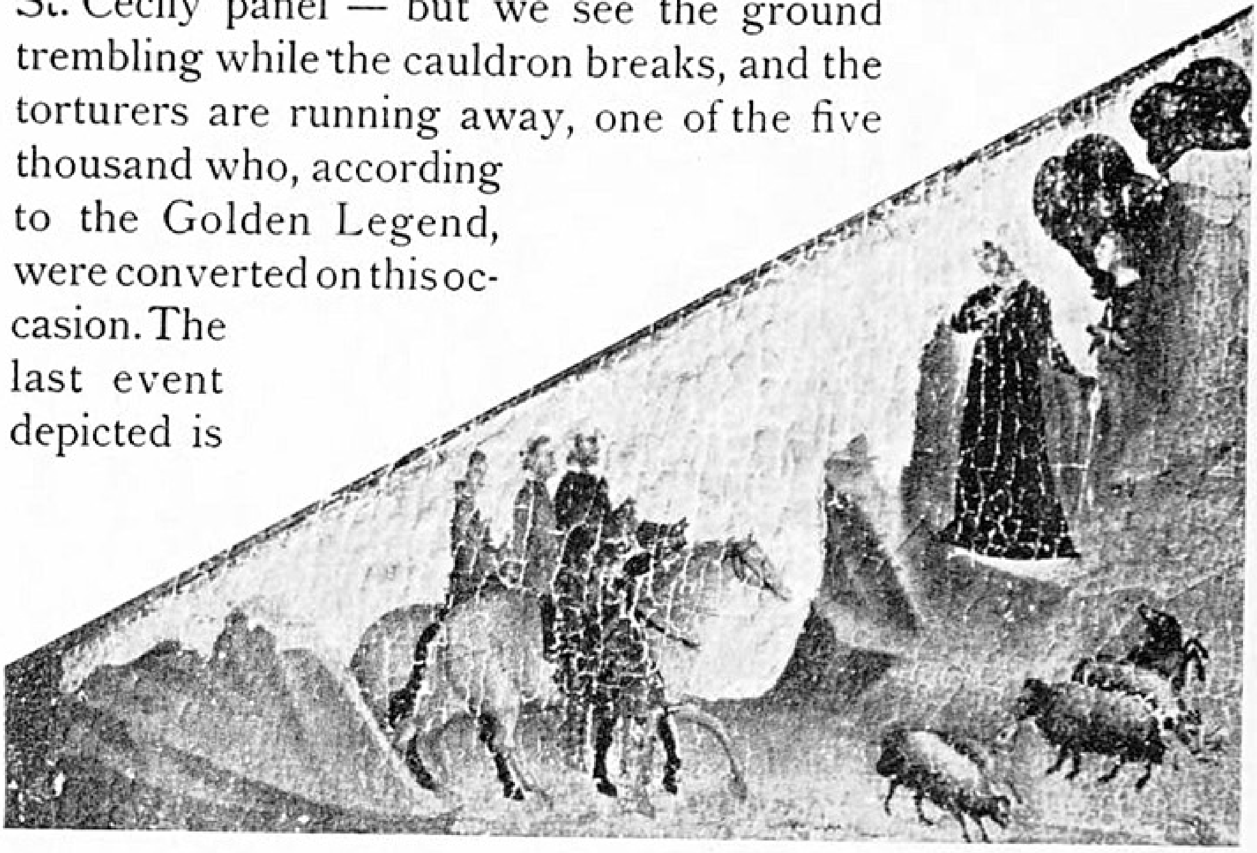


Fig. 170. Detail of fig 169.

Photo Reali.

The broadening out of the forms in these last four panels in no way reduces the fineness of the design of the small figures which have become more beautiful than in the earlier productions of the master. We now also find a very good relief effect, which is produced by a clever opposition of light and shade.

The somewhat hard lines have been replaced by a neatness of design which we find but rarely in Florentine painting of this period. The figures of SS. Elysium, Paul and Margaret, all three facing the spectator, manifest a certain affinity in their general aspect and curious stern expression.

The figure of St. Miniatus is depicted in the same manner (fig. 172). This painting, which is certainly the least characteristic of the artist's works, is kept in the basilica of the saint near Florence, and represents centrally a full-length figure with a sword in one hand and a palmleaf in the other, and laterally, small scenes from his life, four on either side. They illustrate the following events: (1) his arrest, (2) the sudden death of a leopard which was let loose upon him, (3) the torture of the saint, but at the moment when the torturers are about to pour melted lead into his ears, an angel flies down and intervenes, (4) the martyr attached to a pole for flagellation, (5) held above a fire yet remaining unburned, (6) his refusal to accept gold plate which is offered to him if he will renounce his religion, (7) his decapitation and (8) the saint swimming over the Arno carrying his head in his hands and placing it on the hill where his sanctuary was afterwards built.

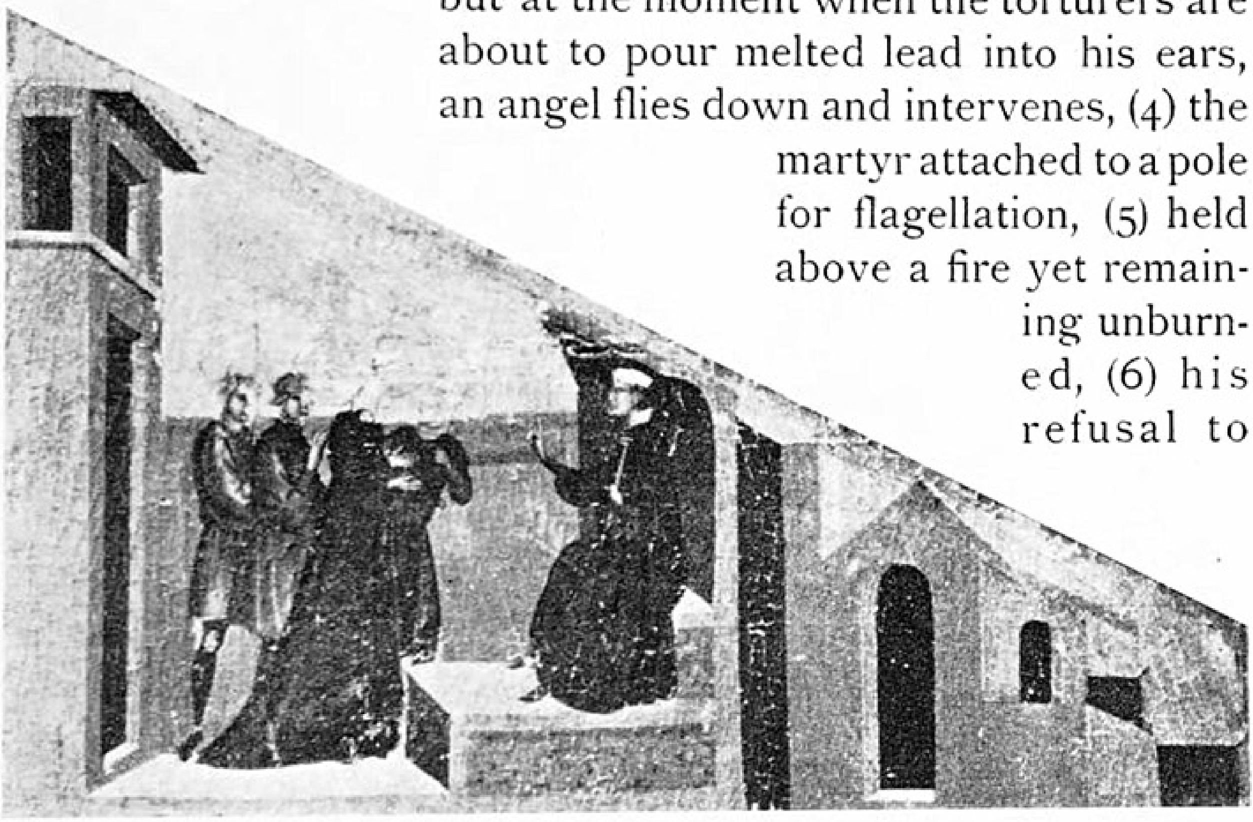


Fig. 171. Detail of fig. 169.

Photo Reali.

Comparing this production with the others belonging to the artist's latter manner, we get the impression that again he has advanced a step and this panel, as it were, announces the art of a future generation (¹). The smaller figures especially have retained but little of the originality so characteristic of his début,

---

(¹) Which explains why authors in the past attributed this work to Angelo Gaddi.

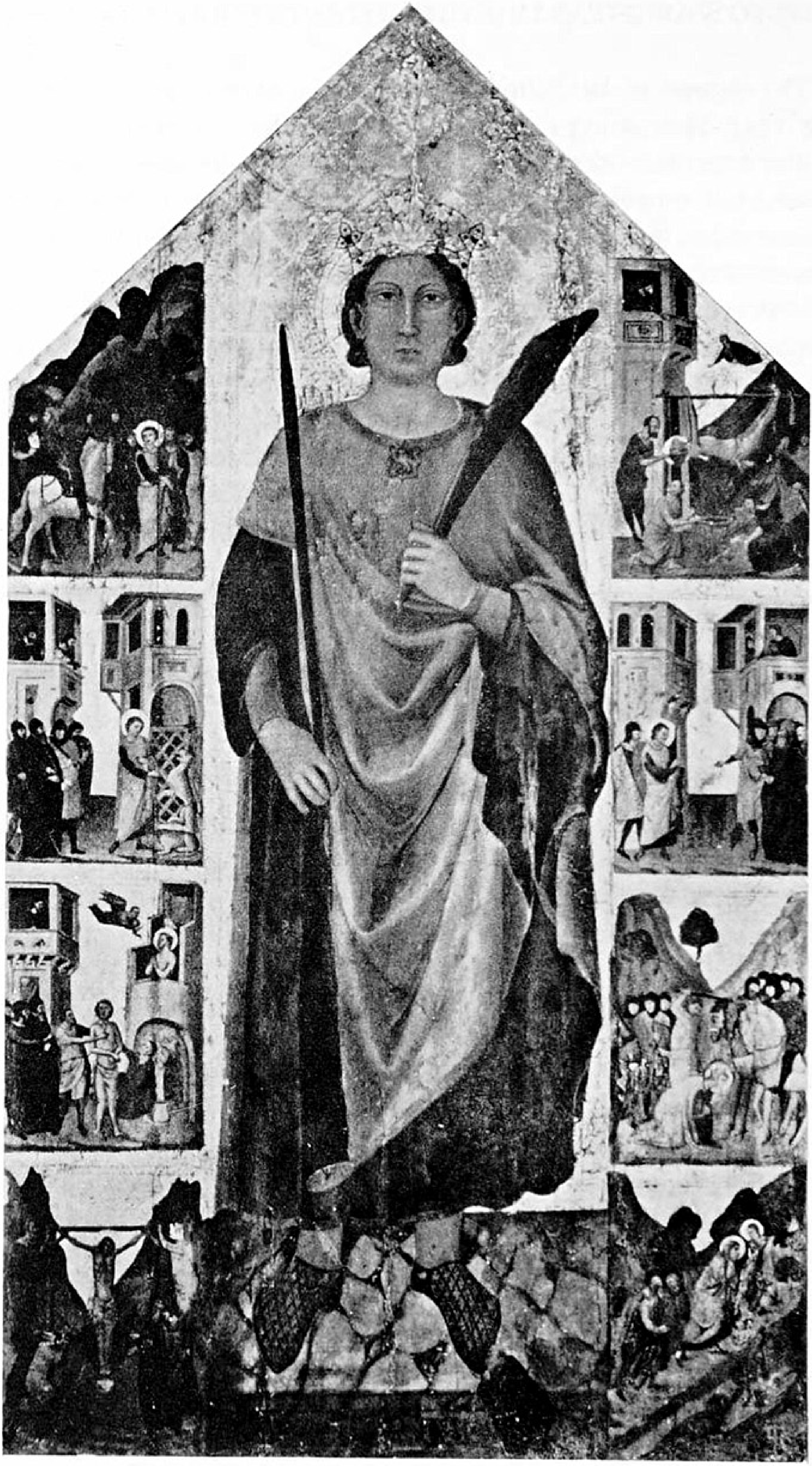


Fig. 172. The Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, St. Miniatus and scenes from his legend. S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

even the constructions, although forming the same compositions, now betray but rarely the author's fantastic taste in architecture.

As to the origin of this master's style, I am inclined to believe that it is Roman. Giotto possibly brought him along with him from Rome when he went to Assisi. These two facts would account for his knowledge of the columns depicted in the last fresco at Assisi and the aspect of St. Peter's bronze statue which he seems to have imitated in his painting in S. Simone, Florence.

A connection with any one particular Roman artist cannot well be demonstrated but it is obvious that his style is not purely Giottesque. He seems only to become more influenced by Giotto in his panel of Montici, especially in the general aspect of the Madonna, but before this period his figures owe little to the great Florentine, the shape of their heads reminding us sooner of the Roman school. We have already remarked on the original aspect of his architecture, which harmonizes with Giotto's only in the latter's frescoes at Assisi. His gesture and general narrative style are also dissimilar from those of his great compatriot although we cannot say that they are entirely different; another distinction will be found in the colouring. The elegance which we find in the small scenes of his later works seems to point to an influence from Siena.

As to the works which I believe to have been executed by pupils, the one in the Gallery of Budapest reminds us most of the master's manner. It represents the Virgin enthroned, surrounded by two angels and four saints, with two adorers kneeling below.

Although not coming up to the same standard, a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Loeser collection, Florence, might be ascribed to the same hand, while the author of the Madonna in the Alphonse Kahn collection, Paris, follows a style of his own, only betraying a certain knowledge of the master's art.

A small panel showing a half length figure of the Virgin and an animated Child in the church of S. Francesco — now the museum — of Montefalco (Umbria) manifests some connection with this master and follower Pacino di Buonaguida.

A large panel of the Madonna, somewhat repainted and only recently exposed in the Accademia of Florence is obviously the production of a close follower of this painter. At the sides of the enthroned Virgin who feeds the Child, we notice the small figures of SS. Paul, John the Baptist, Peter and another Apostle arranged in a similar manner to that already found in works the master's own (fig. 173).

## JACOPO DEL CASENTINO (1).

Amongst the four councillors, who, with four captains and two secretaries, signed the "ordinamenti" of the painters' corporation of Florence, which very probably dates from 1339 (2), appears the name of "Jacopo di Chasentino" which proves that at that moment this painter was well-known in Florence and not very young. Vasari tells us in his first edition that he died at Pratovecchio in 1358 at the age of 65, in which case the year of his birth would be 1293; but in the second edition he makes the painter live until the age of 80. Horne has produced documents which prove that he probably died in 1349, anyhow certainly before 1354; he is still found mentioned in a report of 1347.

Vasari tells us that Jacopo was a pupil of Taddeo Gaddi's which is far from the truth because not only does the style of his painting refute this statement, but from what has been said it appears that these two artists were almost contemporary, and, it anything, Jacopo slightly earlier than Taddeo. The Anonimo Gaddiano places him amongst the immediate pupils of Giotto and in so doing assigns him his rightful place.

Much confusion has arisen from the fact that Jacopo del Casentino was said to belong to a family of the name of Landino and that in the last years of the 14th century a Jacopo Landino, painter, is found in Arezzo with Spinello Aretino; but Mr. Horne's study has well established that here we have a second artist of the same name who should not be confounded with the former.

---

(1) *H. P. Horne,* A Commentary upon Vasari's Life of Jacopo del Casentino, Rivista d'Arte, 1909. pp. 95 and 165. *G. G. Goretti Miniati,* Vita di Jacopo di Casentino (Vasari edition of P. L. Occhini and E. Cozzani), Florence (1913).

(2) The date of the first part is not very clear *Horne,* and *Gay,* in his Carteggio, read this date 1339. *Baldinucci,* op. cit., I, p. 230 reads 1349 which, as Horne remarks, cannot be correct because Bernardo Daddi, who is mentioned in it, died before 1349.

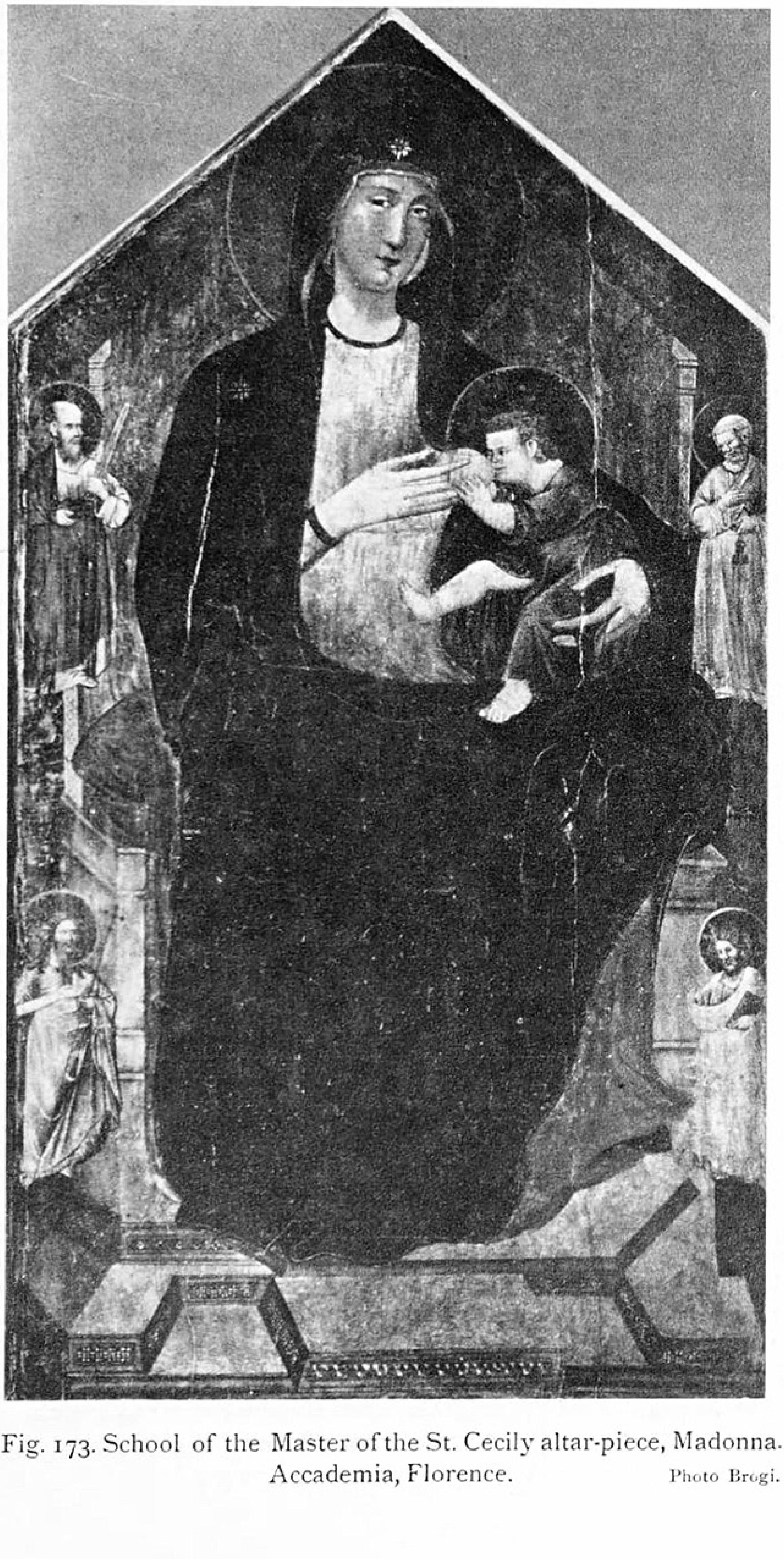


Fig. 173. School of the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, Madonna.
Accademia, Florence. Photo Brogi.

Since Count Gamba has pointed out that a series of works attributed to Jacopo del Casentino are really the productions of Jacopo del Ponte, this artistic personality has become more clear (¹).

Having abolished that part of Jacopo's career which was supposed to have taken place at Arezzo and those works which we are now certain were not executed by him, the artist becomes a very comprehensible member of the Giottesque group of painters.

We need not then mention all the numerous works at Arezzo which Vasari ascribes to Jacopo, but limit ourselves to those at Florence which the biographer attributes to this artist. They are: the ornamentation of the vaults of Or San Michele; the tabernacle dei Tintori representing the Madonna between angels (²); and the Madonna between angels and saints, with the Coronation of the Virgin above, on the angle of the Palazzo dell' Arte della Lana (³).

In telling us that Jacopo was the author of the frescoes in Or San Michele, Vasari no doubt had in mind the later Aretine namesake, because not only the aspect of all the decoration here proves it to be a work of about 1400, but again Mr. Horne has furnished us with documents which reveal that they were executed after 1398 and not yet finished in 1403. Even in the ornamentation of the pillars we do not meet with any paintings of an earlier date.

The Madonna on the Palazzo dell' Arte della Lana originally in the Mercato Vecchio, attributed to Jacopo not only by Vasari but also by Migliore in his Firenze illustrata (1684) and of which Mr. Horne relates the history, can with certainty be considered a work of our painter, especially if we compare it with a signed work recently come to light and which we shall deal with presently.

The tabernacle dei Tintori is found on a wall which, according

---

(¹) *C. Gamba*, Giovanni del Ponte, Rassegna d'Arte, 1904, p. 177. *The Same*, Ancora Giovanni del Ponte, Rivista d'Arte, 1906, p. 163. *P. Toesca.* Umile pittori fiorentine del principio del Quattrocento, L'Arte, 1904, p. 49, The first to doubt these attributions to Jacopo del Casentino was *Schmarzow*, Festschrift zur Ehren des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz, Leipzig, 1897, p. 172 note.

(²) On the angle of the Via dei Malcontenti and the Via delle Casine.

(³) The handsome building behind Or San Michele.

to an inscription, was built in 1398. Unhappily little of the original picture remains as it is almost entirely repainted, but all the same a certain resemblance can be observed between the lateral angels here and those in the previous painting, a fact in favour of Vasari's attribution, or at least accounting for it.

The signed painting by Jacopo del Casentino belongs to the collection of Nobile Cagnola of Milan (¹) and bears its original inscription: "*Jacobus de Casentinus me fecit*". On the central panel the Virgin is represented enthroned, holding the Child Jesus Who is depicted in an easy attitude grasping His mother's dress with one hand; through the arched lateral parts of the Gothic throne two of the four escorting angels are seen, while on a somewhat lower level SS. Benedict and John the Baptist stand on either side. The left wing is divided into two compartments; on the upper we see St.Francis against a rocky background and near his retreat — or is it the monastery? — receiving the stigmata from the seraph who, with the features of Christ, is depicted appearing to him in mid-air; on the lower part are two female saints. The right wing is ornamented with a scene of the Crucifixion; two small angels fly underneath the cross-bar and catch the blood of Christ in receptacles, while below at the foot of the Cross the Virgin and St. John stand on either side. If this painting, which is not without merit in the rendering of the forms and the relief, only affords us a limited pleasure, it is perhaps because the somewhat heavy proportions are more suited to a larger work in which, as we shall find, the majesty of the figures will be seen to more advantage. This triptych, however, is a useful document with which to compare other paintings attributed to the same master, and, as I said, establishes the authenticity of the tabernacle del Mercato Vecchio.

In this latter the Madonna, who strikingly resembles the one just described, is again depicted between two saints, St. John and an old bearded man, and six angels, two of whom, as in the previous picture, look through the lateral arches of the throne; the Virgin holds the Child in a different position but the type is the same, He blesses with one hand. The importance given to the angels in this composition reminds us sooner of Cimabue than of

---

(¹) *W. Suida,* Ein bezeichnetes Werk des Jacopo del Casentino, Kunstchronik, XVII, 1903, p. 335.

Giotto. In a large lunette above, the Coronation of the Virgin is represented; the Lord, seated with the Madonna on one large throne, is in the act of placing a crown on her head, at the sides are symmetrical groups of kneeling angels, four of whom blow through long trumpets. Although somewhat repainted, this panel is considerably superior and more pleasing than the little triptych; the enthroned Madonna and large surrounding angels are still rather phlegmatic but the figures of the Coronation are handsome and very graceful; many of the qualities of the painting however have been destroyed by restoration.

A comparison with the Madonna and angels of the Arte della Lana makes it obvious that Messrs. Khvoshinsky and Salmi's attribution of the St. Bartholomew altar-piece in the Uffizi to Jacopo del Casentino, is correct. On a high marble inlaid throne the saint is seated holding a banner in one hand and a book in the other, two angels kneel at his feet while six others stand at the sides of his throne, not identical but very similar to those of the previous work; two of them are again seen looking through the lateral curved parts of the throne. Three trefoils decorate the frame, the one in the apex is occupied by a half-length figure of the Lord in benediction which strongly resembles the Christ of the polyptych in the sacristy of St. Peter's, the other two contain busts of prophets (fig. 174).

Frescoes and an altar panel in the palace of Poppi in the Casentino, are obviously works of the School of Taddeo Gaddi and I do not think that the Madonna in the abbey of Poppiena is by the hand of Jacopo, with whom both of these works have been associated on account of information furnished by Vasari. Prof. Venturi believes him to be the author of a Madonna in the Gallery of Pisa (Room III no. 2) where it is catalogued as belonging to the Sienese school.

To these three works which can be looked upon with certainty as Jacopo di Casentino's, we might add still a panel in the Loeser collection, Florence. It is the centre of a triptych very similar in composition to the one owned by Nobile Cagnola but the grouping is more reminiscent of Daddi's art.

The same collector possesses an Annunciation by this master; it is larger than the previous work and shows more resemblance to the panel of the Arte della Lana. A curious detail, and one that

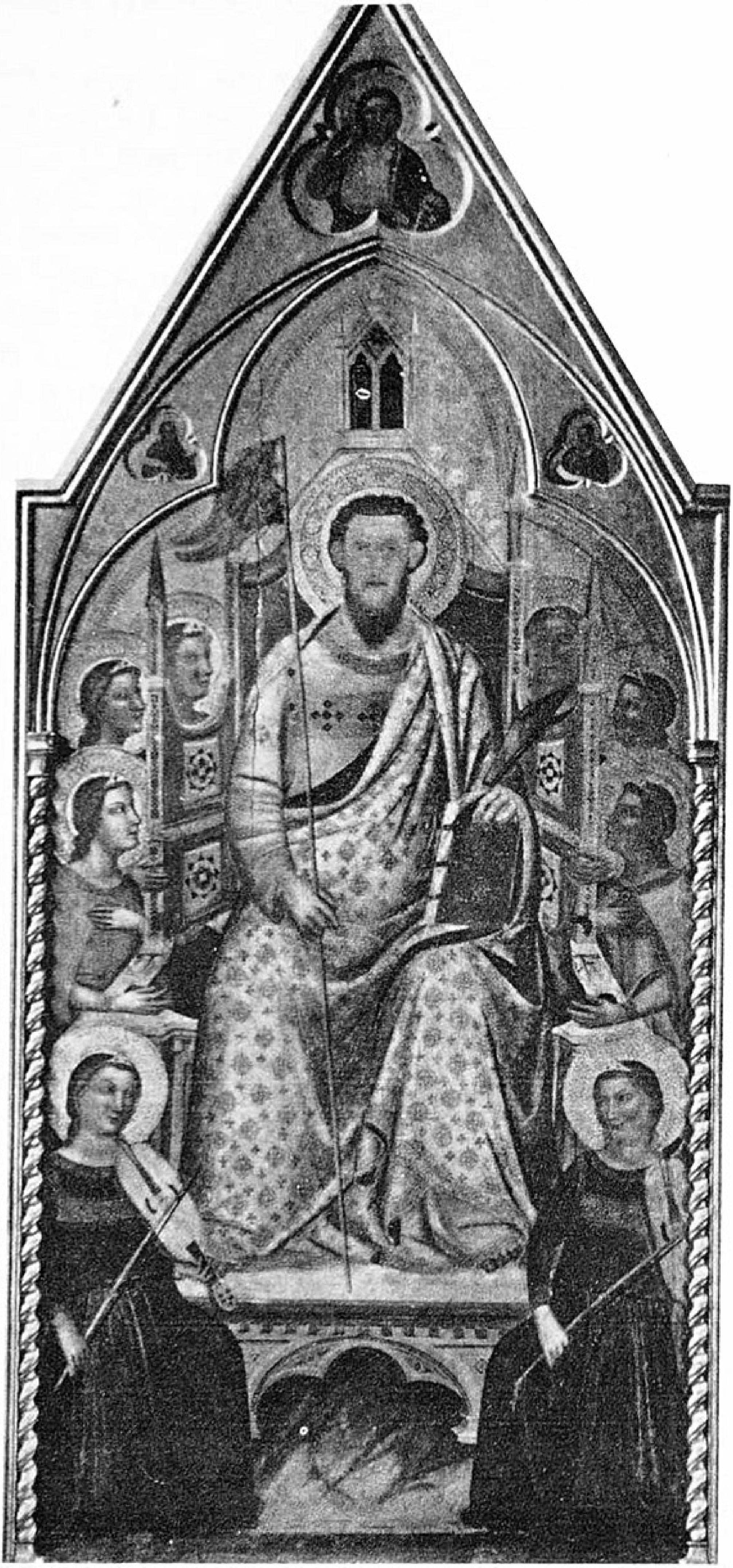


Fig. 174. Jacopo del Casentino, St. Bartholomew. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

we meet with in Daddi's picture of the same subject in the Louvre, is the presence of two angels approaching the seated Virgin.

The above mentioned works reveal Jacopo del Casentino as a not unimportant member of the Giottesque group of painters. In his artistic conception he may even be classed as one of the more independent; his types and proportions are different from Giotto's, reminding us sometimes more of the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece to whom this likeness is very obvious if we compare the angels at the side of the Madonna del Mercato Vecchio with those of the panel of St. Peter in the church of S. Simone, Florence (1).

---

(1) *Horne*, op. cit., p. 101, informs us of the existence of a Matteo di Jacopo, painter, who is mentioned in 1354 and who was a member of the painters' corporation in 1358, and of a painter of the same name who made his will in 1417. Are they the same person and perhaps the son of Jacopo del Casentino? A "Matteo Jacopi di Casentino dipintore" seems to have died in 1373. *U. Pasqui*, Pittori aretini vissuti dalla meta del sec. XII al 1572, Rivista d'Arte, 1917—1918, p. 45.

# CHAPTER III.

## TADDEO GADDI (1).

I think that Ghiberti in the great admiration he expressed for Taddeo Gaddi was nearer to a just appreciation of this painter's merits than those who, especially of late, have severely criticised his art.

Taddeo was certainly the son of Gaddo Gaddi, the mosaicist, who may have executed the Coronation of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Florence and finished the ornamentation of the facade of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome (2).

Cennino Cennini, in his treatise on the art of painting, tells us that Giotto held Taddeo at his baptism and afterwards had him as pupil during twenty four years. He may have perhaps slightly exaggerated the length of time but the fact that Gaddi was Giotto's pupil is confirmed by a signature which Vasari saw on a painting in the old market of Florence (3) which represented the judges pulling out the tongues of the untruthful and under which was inscribed:

"La pura Verità, per ubbidire
Alla Santa Guistizia che non tarda
Cava la lingua alla falsa bugiarda
Taddeo dipinse questo bel rigestro
Discepol fu di Giotto il buon maestro."

Besides this we know nothing of his life except that he died before 1366 as his wife is then mentioned as a widow; her name seems to have been Francesca di Albizzo Ormanni (¹) and in 1383 there is mention of his daughter.

---

(1) *C. F. von Rumohr*, Italienische Forschungen, 1827, new ed. by J. Schlosser, Frankfort, 1920, p. 276. *M. Wehrman*, Taddeo Gaddi, Gymnascal Programm, Stettin, 1910. *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, I, p. 130. *B. C. Kreplin*, in *Thieme-Becker*, Künstler Lexikon, XIII, p. 29.

(2) v. Vol. I, p. 493.

(3) *Bombe*, in Monatsheft f. Kunstwiss., 1913, p. 347.

Some works which have since disappeared are enumerated by Ghiberti, the Anonimo Gaddiano, Antonio Billi and their number is considerably augmented by Vasari.

They mention a fresco in Sta. Croce of the resuscitation of a child by the help of St. Francis, in which the portraits of Giotto, Dante and Taddeo himself were represented, the frescoes in the cloister of S. Spirito, a tabernacle in the via del Crocifisso, a panel in Sta. Maria dei Servi (Sta. Annunziata) and the extant works in the Baroncelli chapel of Sta. Croce, and the Lord at the age of twelve disputing with the Doctors, a painting above the door leading to the sacristy.

Vasari besides these ascribes to Taddeo the frescoes of Giovanni da Milano in the chapel of the sacristy of the same church, and those of Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish chapel which, according to this confusing biographer, Gaddi executed together with Simone Memmi (Martini) with whom he studied under Giotto; Vasari in a few moralizing words speaks of their perfect harmony in this enterprise. According to the same authority, who will forthwith be abandoned, Taddeo also adorned the chapel on the Verna mountain where St. Francis received the stigmata.

About Gaddi's artistic activity we possess the following dates, some of which, however, are not absolutely certain.

He painted a Madonna and Child on the tomb in the Baroncelli chapel of Sta. Croce which tomb bears the date 1327, and from the 24th October 1332 until the 7th of August 1338 he was occupied in decorating the walls of the same chapel with scenes from the life of the Virgin, at least these are the dates given in documents found by Milanesi, which, besides, mention that the work was ordered by Tano e Gherardo di Mico Baroncelli and that over 807 lire (²) were paid for it. According to other sources the construction of the chapel was completed only in 1338 (³); anyhow

---

(¹) *Baldinucci*, op. cit., I, p. 218.

(²) *Milanesi*, note on *Vasari*, I, p. 573.

(³) *Langton Douglas* note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 127 and *Hutton* note on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, I, London, New York, 1908, p. 293. I do not know the original source of this now generally admitted information.

I do not think that the date on the tomb can in any way refer to the execution of the Madonna there which no doubt was painted at the same time as the rest of the decoration.

We find in the Museum of Berlin a small triptych, signed and dated 1334, while another with the date 1336 in the Gallery of Naples is certainly a work from the same hand. In 1341 and 1342 we find him receiving payment for paintings executed in S. Miniato al Monte and in 1342 he signed and dated frescoes in the choir of S. Francesco, Pisa, of which some figures in the vault alone remain (¹); in 1353 he painted in a chapel of the Annunziata church, while a Madonna from the neighbourhood of Poggibonsi, first in the Accademia of Siena and now in the Uffizi, signed by this artist, is dated 1355. Other information concerning Taddeo Gaddi will be found in one of the registers of S. Giovanni fuor Civitas, Pistoia, where he is mentioned, probably in the year 1347, on the occasion of the ordering of the still existing altar-piece, as one of the five most able painters of Florence. This work was paid for partly in 1353 when the records of the church mention that he received five golden guilders. In 1352 he is found buying property in Florence and again in 1365. In 1355 he is mentioned as arbitrator, while he was a member of the commission appointed to supervise the construction of the Cathedral in the years 1359, 1363 and 1366 which last date is the one that accompanies his name in the matriculation list of the corporation of painters at Florence (²).

According to Ghiberti and Vasari, Taddeo Gaddi was also an architect and the latter mentions his name particularly in connection with the construction of the Ponte Vecchio, the Ponte Santa Trinita, the Or San Michele and the tower of the Cathedral, after Giotto's death, but these statements have been proved to be incorrect (³).

The earliest work we now possess by this artist is, I think, the

---

(¹) Vasari reports the signature as having been: "*Magister Taddeus Gaddus de Florentia pinxit hanc historiam Sancti Francisci et Sancti Andreae et Sancti Nicolai, anno Domini MCCCXLII, de mense augustia.*

(²) *Gualandi,* Memorie originale italiane risguardanti le belle arti, VI, Bologna, 1845, p. 188, *Manzoni,* Statuti e matricole dell' arte dei pittori delle citte di Firenze, Perugia e Siena, Roma, 1904, p. 130.

(³) *Milanesi* commentary on *Vasari,* I, p. 587.

series of twelve scenes from the Life of Christ and ten, illustrating the legend of St. Francis, which originally decorated a shrine in Sta. Croce but which have since been transported to the Accademia of Florence (Nos. 104—115 and 117—126)(¹). They obviously are creations of this artist's early years. The compositions again show great variation on those of Giotto's although the first, the Visitation, is an exception; here we see St. Anna in in front of the portico of her house, kneeling before the Virgin who is followed by a maid. The scene of the Nativity diverges somewhat from custom, the Virgin kneeling under an open shelter is in the act of spreading a cover over the Child Who lies in the manger, beyond which are seen the animals, while on the right Joseph and a shepherd kneel in adoration, a second shepherd holding the latter round the shoulders and pointing towards the Holy Child. In the Adoration of the Magi the Virgin and still more the Child bend towards the oldest of the Wise Men who, having placed his crown on the ground, kneels before them kissing the small feet; this portion of the composition resembles Giotto's at Padua but the two other Magi are entirely different. Around an altar from which some flames issue the Presentation in the Temple is depicted (fig. 175); on the left we see the old white-bearded Simon carefully holding the Child Who stretches out His arms towards His mother, the Virgin on the other side of the altar is ready to receive her Babe; in the centre of the picture we see another old priest, while to the extreme right stands Joseph, carrying two doves and on the extreme left Anna the prophetess, holding an unrolled scroll in her hand. In the next scene the Child Jesus is represented seated high up, preaching and gesticulating towards the four old priests who sit below, his parents approach from the right, the Virgin holding out her hands towards her Child very much in the same manner as in the previous painting.

The Lord, baptised in the river Jordan (fig. 176), is depicted kneeling in the fast flowing current. St. John on the left bank

---

(¹) *Schubring*, Primitieve Italiener im Louvre, Zeitschrift f. Christl. Kunst, 1901, p. 364, discovers in this series two different hands, one of which he believes executed a Madonna dated 1334 in the Opera del Duomo, Florence; this author's opinion is contrary to what is generally accepted.

pours water over His head, below him kneels a figure holding some of Christ's clothes while on the other bank we see a bearded male saint doing the same, usually angels are represented here.

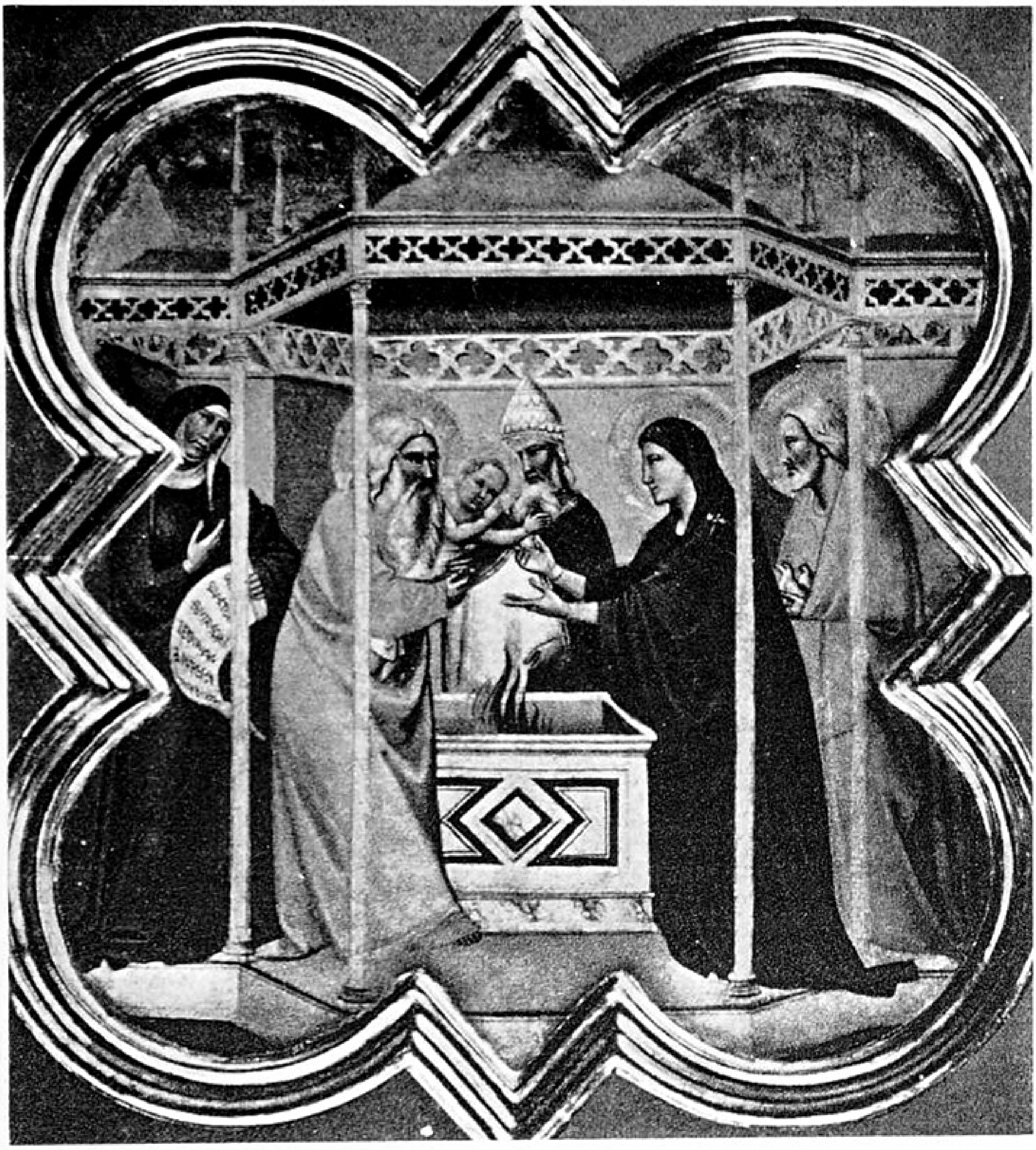


Fig. 175. Taddeo Gaddi, the Presentation in the Temple. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

From on high God the Father sends down a dove towards His Son. The Transfiguration (fig. 177) is represented in the traditional composition, the patriarchs on either side of the Saviour, the three disciples prostrate on the ground.

The Lord's Supper takes place at a round table, St. John leans his head on the breast of Christ, two other disciples are seen conversing. The Crucifixion is composed of the three usual figures, Christ on the Cross, the Virgin and St. John below, both visibly expressing their sorrow. On this follows the Resurrection, a stiff composition in which a rigid tree is all the indication we have that the event occurs outside; the soldiers lie asleep around the tomb from which Christ is seen rising. The same tree is found on the next panel where we see the Lord appearing to the three Maries, an event we find rarely depicted. The last of the series is that of the doubting Thomas allowed to touch the wound in the Lord's side while the other disciples kneel around in adoration.

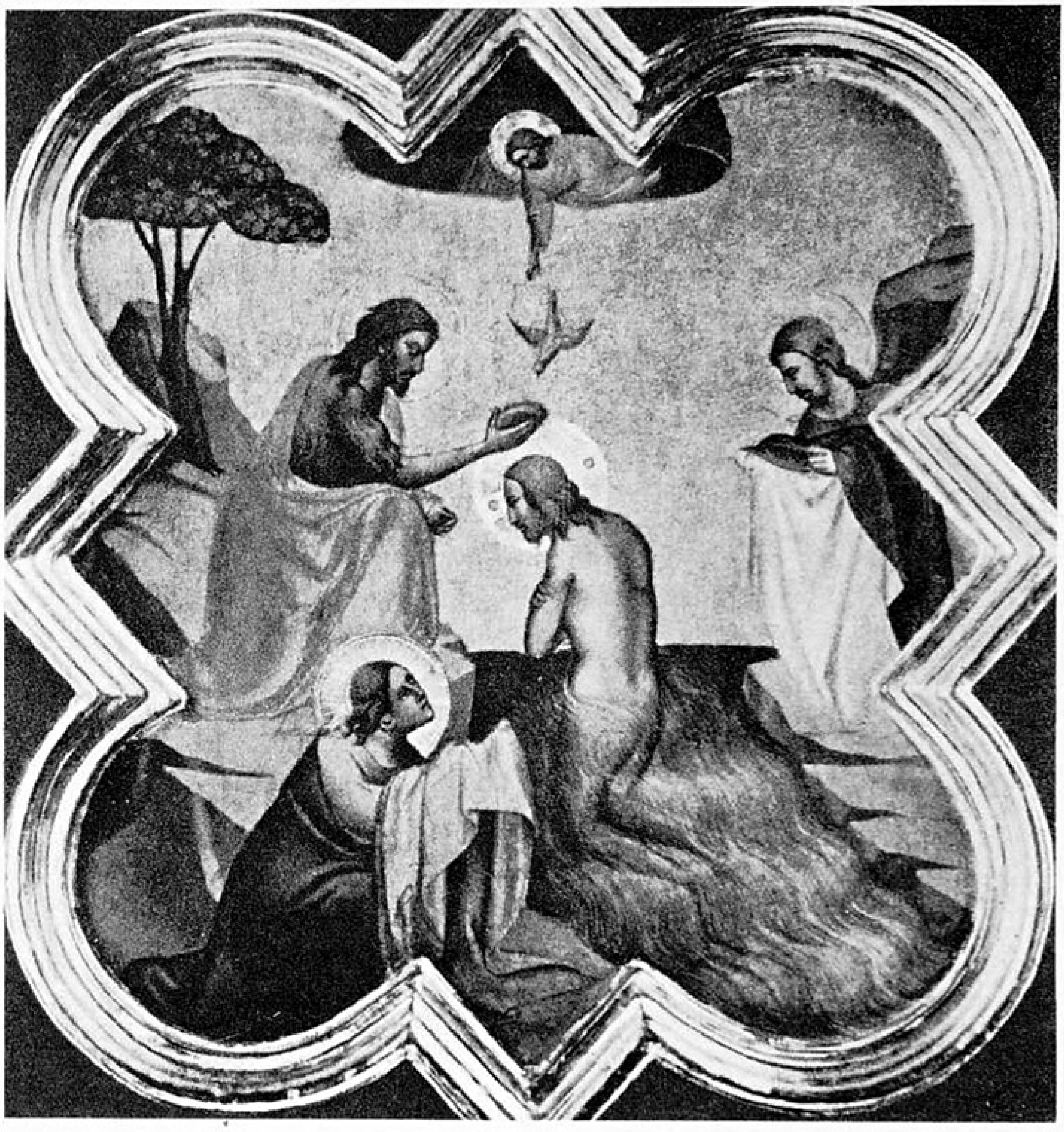


Fig. 176. Taddeo Gaddi, the Baptism of Our Lord. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

Although the compositions of the Gospel scenes do not correspond with Giotto's representations of the same subject, we find that in the ten little paintings illustrating the life of St. Francis, Taddeo on the contrary has, in many instances, followed very closely Giotto's examples. The cycle begins with the saint renouncing his father's worldly wealth which in many points resembles the master's paintings at Assisi and in the Bardi chapel, Florence; the angry father held back by his friends, the bishop covering the naked youth and the small boys throwing stones are all found in Taddeo's composition. The second scene, in

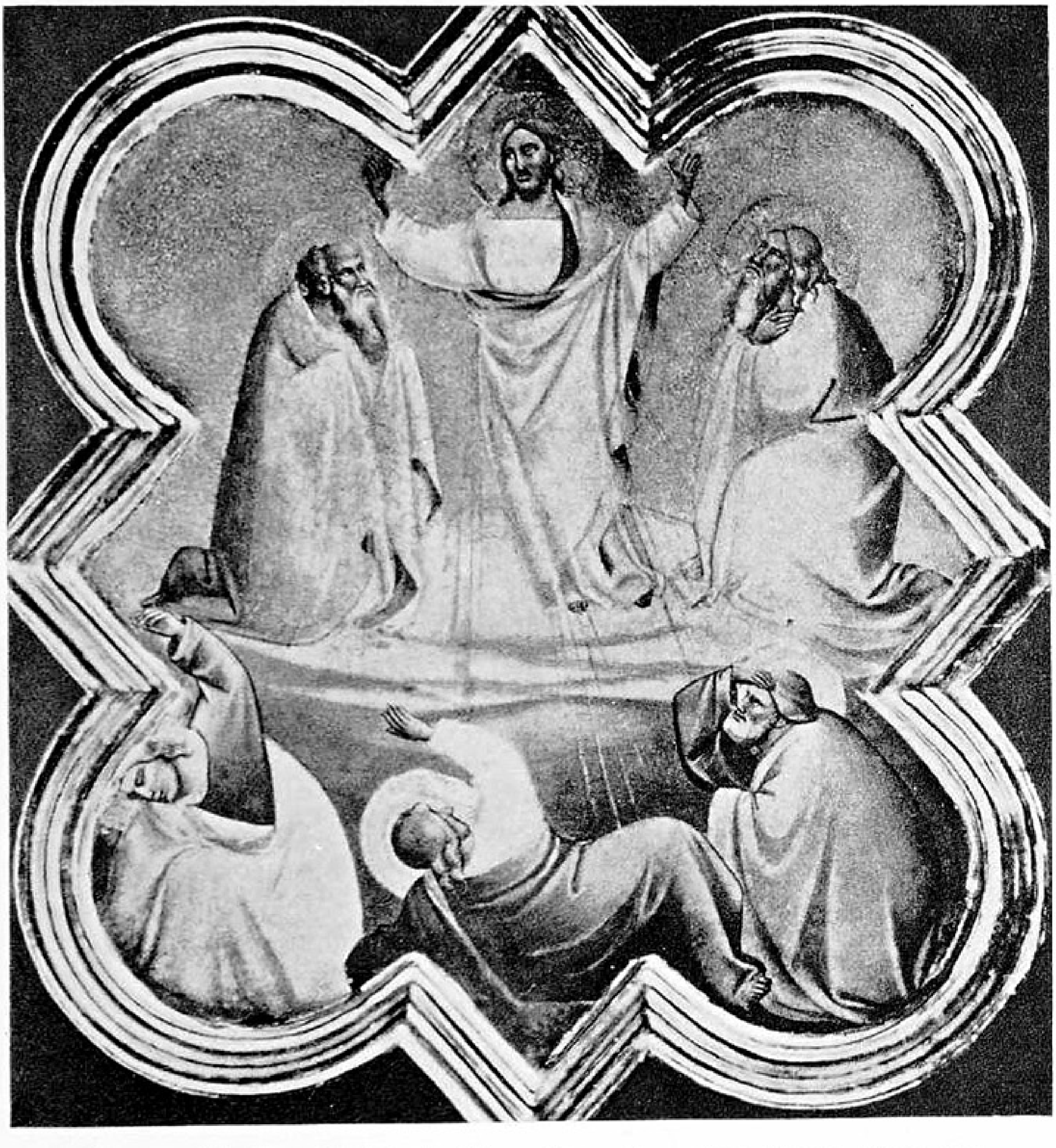


Fig. 177. Taddeo Gaddi, the Transfiguration. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

which the Pope has a vision of St. Francis — now old and bearded — supporting the Lateran Basilica from falling, is also not unlike the depiction of this event at Assisi, only here the Pope lies with his head in the opposite direction while St. Peter, not mentioned in the legend but evidently an addition by the artist as we frequently found on Giotto's paintings, bends over him pointing out the vision; as in the Assisi composition the two old men are seen asleep beside the papal bed. The Pope's approval of the rule (fig. 178) resembles more the fresco in Sta. Croce, especially in some of the details such as the ceiling of the room,

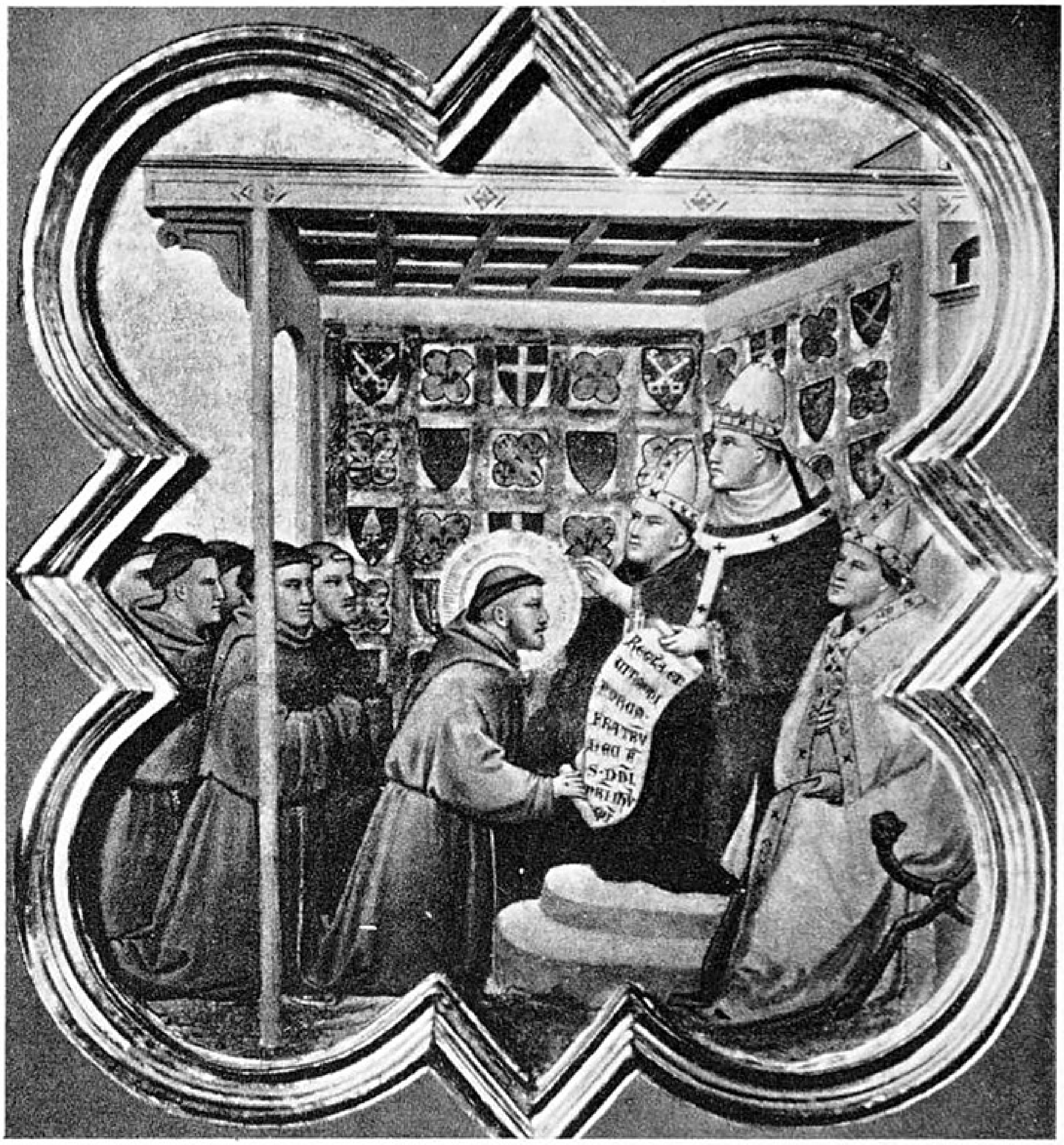

Regula et vita minorum fratrum hec est s. dni nostri

Fig. 178. Taddeo Gaddi, the Confirmation of the rules of St. Francis. Accademia, Florence. Photo Alinari.

the two steps leading to the Pope's chair and the form of the seat of the nearest bishop; also here, besides the Pope, there are only two dignitaries, but the dimensions of the panel would have made a greater number hardly possible. From the left to the right as at Assisi, the saint and his kneeling companions approach the Pontiff. The next three scenes have little in common with the corresponding ones in the Upper Church; the first, the Vision of St. Francis in a fiery chariot, takes place in the interior of a room. Three monks sit on the floor in different attitudes, as if dazzled by the light; resembling those sometimes seen in compositions of the Transfiguration while the fourth, kneeling, stretches his arms towards the half-length figure of the saint who is seen emerging from the box-like chariot on two wheels, from the front and the back of which flames ascend. The next event depicted is the miracle at Greccio in which we see two priests saying mass behind an altar, before which St. Francis stands holding the Child Christ in his arms; behind the saint is a manger near which are found the two beasts looking with interest at the proceedings. St. Francis preaching before the Pope takes place in the same room as the approval of the rules of the Franciscan order; this time the Pope, seated on a similar seat but on the opposite side of the picture, is accompanied by three cardinals, while, followed by a brother, St. Francis slightly gesticulating with his right hand stands before him. Coming now to the apparition at Arles we again find some resemblance with Giotto's composition at Assisi, but more still with that in Sta. Croce, Florence, as is seen in the forms of the two saints and the fact that all the brothers seem aware of the presence of St. Francis which, in contradiction to the text, was also found in the fresco at Florence but not in the one at Assisi; while again the open arches of the front wall of the room in which the vision occurs are very similar to what we found at Florence. St. Francis receiving the stigmata and also the funeral of the saint bear a strong resemblance to those scenes in the Bardi chapel; in the latter scene the saint is depicted on his bier surrounded by nine figures, one being that of the nobleman satisfying his doubts about the stigmata, a detail common to all three series, while the priest, holding an open book, at the head of the dead saint and the monk at the foot carrying a processional banner are points only found in the compositions at Florence; also the soul of the saint taken to heaven by two angels bears more resemblance to what is depicted in the fresco of the Bardi chapel than to what is found at Assisi. An event not represented in either of Giotto's cycles of St. Francis is the martyrdom of the seven Franciscan monks at Ceuta; in this scene the executioner, having already severed the heads of some of the brothers which are seen scattered on the ground, is, with a mighty effect, about to mete out the same fate to another victim, who, with hands clasped in prayer, kneels on the ground; two others with bound hands await their turn; opposite, two mailed soldiers witness the slaughter while overhead we see a half-length figure of St. Francis, stretching out his arms towards his faithful followers. Two panels which form the continuation of these two series are nos. 1073 and 1074 of the Museum of Berlin; to the first must be added the Descent of the Holy Ghost in which the Virgin with clasped hands is depicted in the midst of the Twelve Apostles, some seen from the back, all speaking or gesticulating. A white dove, with streams of light radiating from all sides, descends towards the group.

The second panel depicts the resuscitation of the child of the Spini family who fell from the window, a composition which in no way resembles the fresco in the right transept of the Lower Church. Assisi; here the boy is seen falling out of the window, dead on the ground, and kneeling in prayer after he has been brought back to life; three Franciscan monks kneel at the feet of the dead boy, three other figures around him, one stretching her arms towards St. Francis, who appears in the sky evidently imploring the life of her child.

This series which originally was placed in several rows had a semi-circular upper part on which was represented the Ascension of the Saviour with the Apostles and Virgin kneeling around, and the Annunciation (fig. 179).

None of these paintings is very remarkable from an artistic standpoint, those illustrating the Life of Christ perhaps slightly superior to the representations of the legend of St. Francis, more especially in design.

To account for Taddeo's unfaithfulness to the Giottesque iconography, in as far as the christological representations are concerned, a very interesting reason has been given which seems

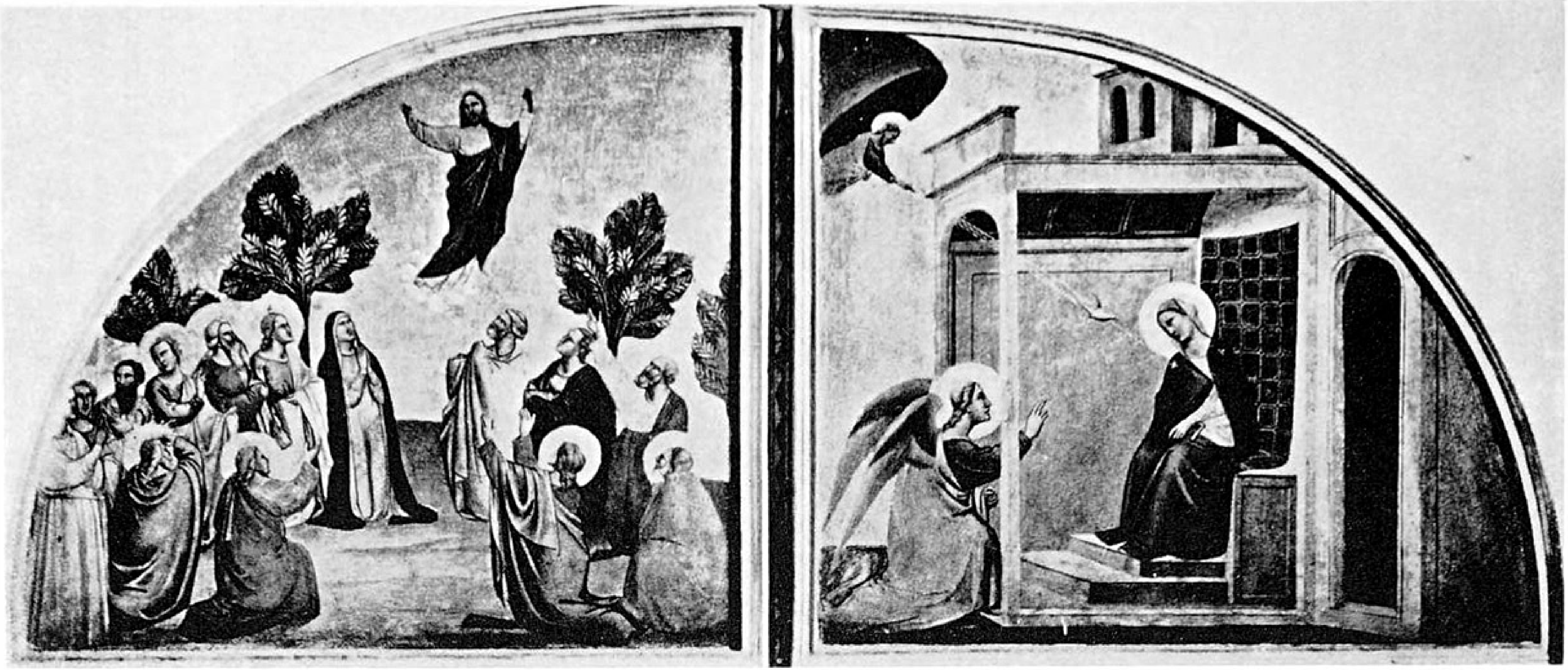


Fig. 179. Taddeo Gaddi, the Ascension and Annunciation. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

to me also to be the right one. The difference in composition of these scenes is all the more striking when we notice that for the illustration of the legend of St. Francis, Taddeo was obviously inspired by those cycles of the life of the saint which Giotto executed at Assisi and Florence (1).

The origin of Taddeo's independence in the representation of the New Testament scenes offers us an interesting example of the influence of texts on iconography. The painter was a friend of Fra Simone of Cascia, an Umbrian mystic who lived in Florence from 1333 until 1338, and perhaps also before. Taddeo even wrote to him complaining of certain ailments and received a long sermonizing answer. Like many popular orators, the preaching of Fra Simone was full of images taken from the Gospels, which were described with such vivacity and precision that each image was fixed in the minds of the auditors. In Fra Simone's "De Vita Cristiana" many similar pictures are expressed in words and the most remarkable accordance will be found to exist between the painter's untraditional compositions and the mystic's descriptions, while one may be allowed to suppose that many of his other paintings were inspired by unpublished sermons. This correspondence may be observed not only in the small panels in the Accademia but also in the frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel (2).

The fact that this obviously early work might have been made when Taddeo was still an apprentice in Giotto's workshop would account for its being the production which most closely approaches the master's style, even although it contains many shortcomings. The figures, especially of the Franciscan series, may be classed as thoroughly Giottesque but not of very excellent quality.

The art of Taddeo Gaddi cannot be explained without admitting the strong influence of Bernardo Daddi also, of which the first traces may be found in the triptych of 1334 and which

---

(1) There is no absolute reason to admit that Taddeo knew the frescoes at Assisi; the details, which make his representations of the Pope's dream, the saint renouncing his father's worldly wealth and the stigmatization, correspond with those at Assisi, are found again in the large panel in the Louvre, while for the others he may very well have been inspired by Giotto's Florentine cycle.

(2) *I. Maioni*, Fra Simone Fidati e Taddeo Gaddi, L'Arte, 1914, p. 107.

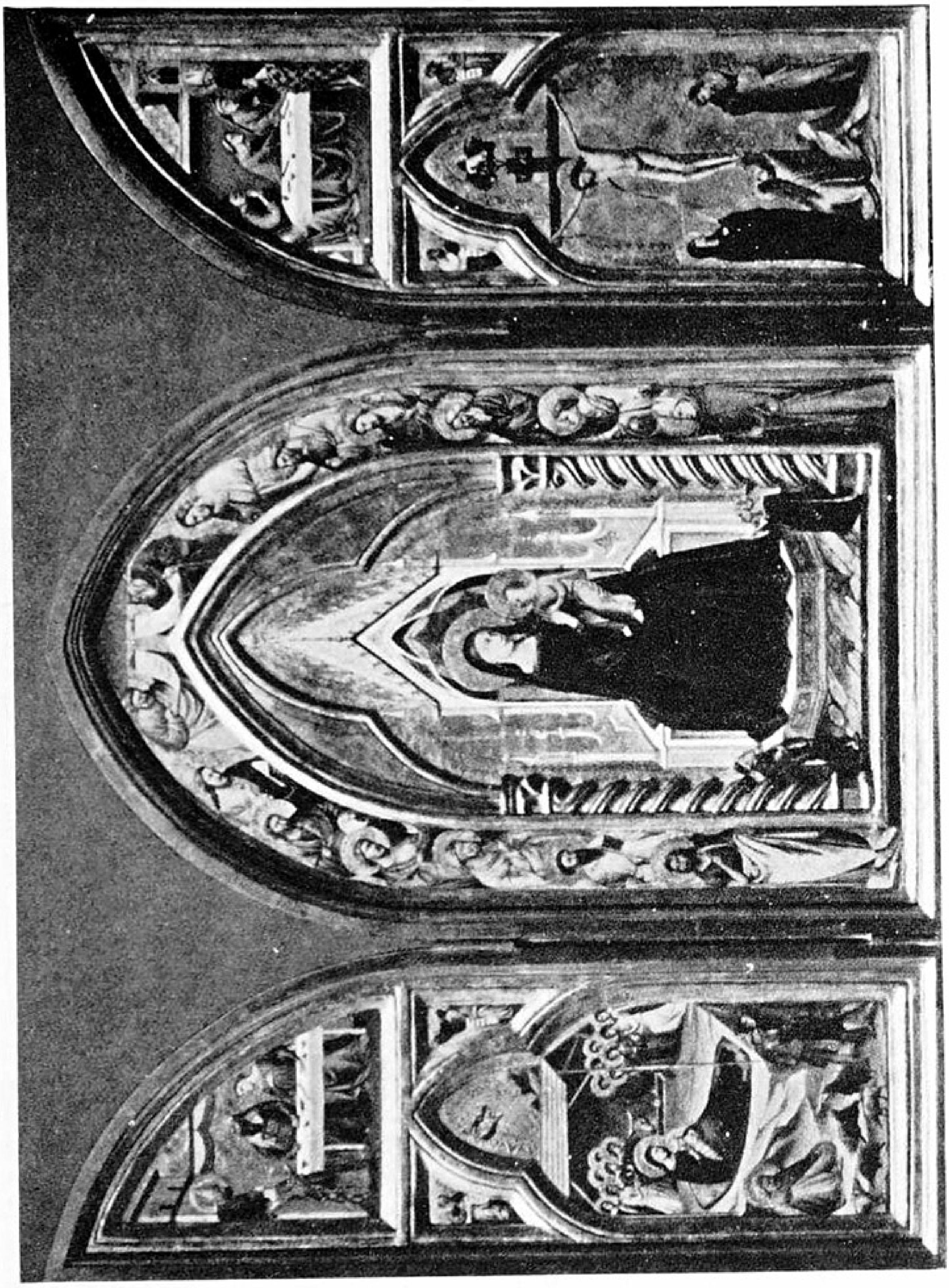


Fig. 180. Taddeo Gaddi, triptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.
Photo Hanfstaengl.

from that date onwards may always be recognized in the productions of this artist intermingling with the Giottesque elements.

The triptych which forms no. 1079 of the Gallery of Berlin

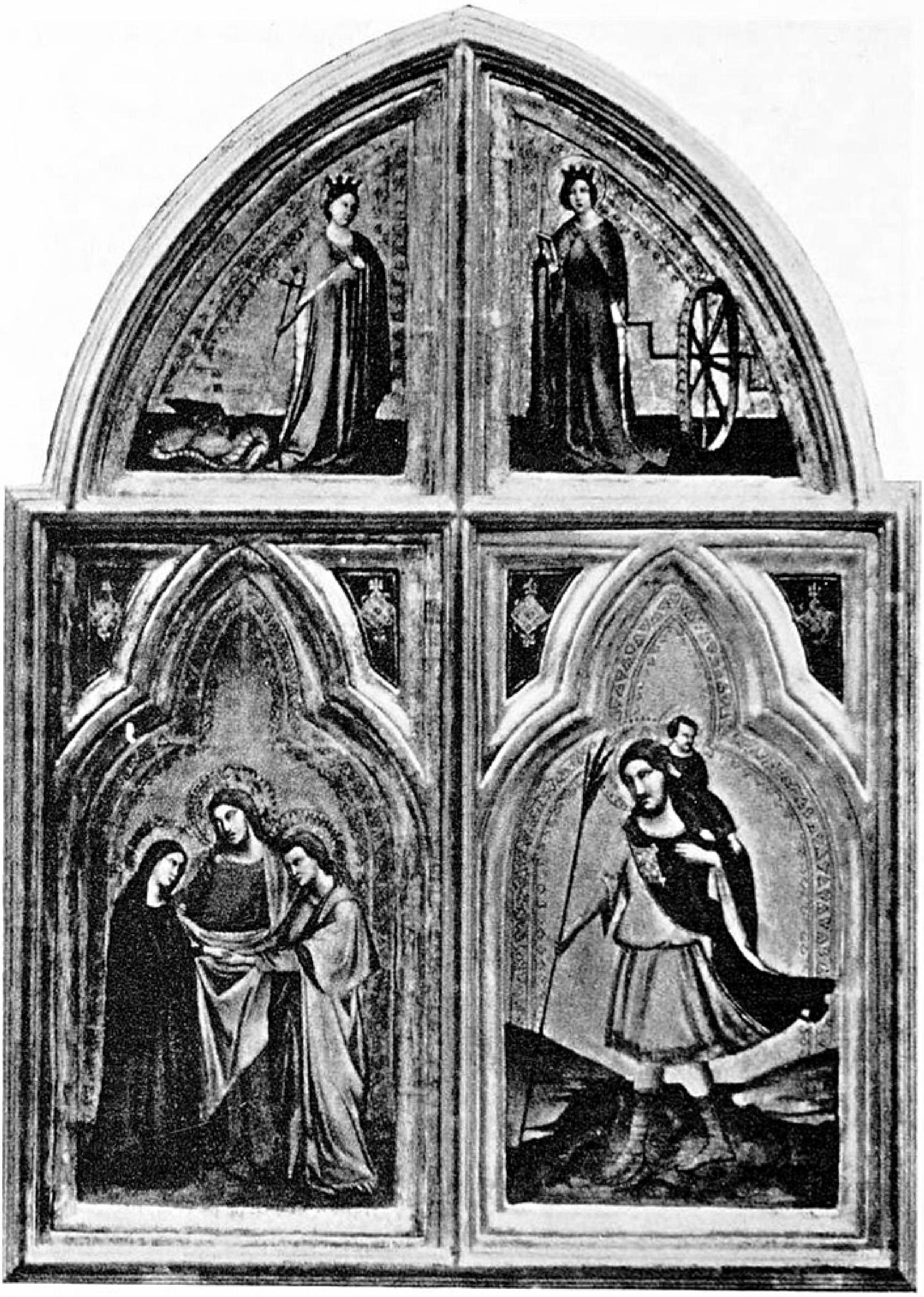


Fig. 181. External surface of the wings of the previous picture.
Photo Hanfstaengl.

(figs. 180 and 181) shows us in the centre the Madonna seated on an elaborate throne playing with the Child, Whom she holds in a free and natural manner; in the lower corners are the portraits of the donor and his wife, both kneeling. Two small pillars and a

Gothic border separate this central panel from the frame which is ornamented with twelve half-figures of Apostles, St. John the Baptist on the left and St. Zenobius (?) on the right. The side panels, besides the Nativity and the Crucifixion, each contain a scene illustrating a miracle of this latter saint. On the right we see St. Zenobius rescuing from his evil surroundings the child slave of a heathen king who declares his disbelief in the saint's power, and on the left St. Zenobius restoring him to his rejoicing parents. Below the former we find depicted Christ on the Cross between the Madonna and St. John with Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the crucifix; the Nativity on the left wing bears much resemblance to the composition in the Lower Church, Assisi, only the bath of the Child is not found in the triptych.

The external surfaces of the lateral panels are ornamented with the figures of Our Lord between the Virgin and St. John, — "Woman behold thy son" — St. Christopher carrying the Infant and SS. Margaret and Catherine above. Although of inferior quality I do not think we should attribute this part of the triptych to a pupil as is done in the catalogue of the Berlin Museum.

Resembling in all points the central part of the triptych of Berlin is another panel which belongs to the Lehman collection in New York (fig. 182). The Madonna, identical in type, is seated on a throne of the same elaborate Gothic model; here also a small donor kneels at either side. It is no doubt a production of the same early period and probably once formed part of a similar triptych.

If we had no other works of Taddeo's but this and some other similar triptychs, his place would not have been in the school of Giotto but in that of Bernardo Daddi. The one in Berlin is a copy, only showing a few unimportant variations, of this latter artist's triptych in the Bigallo, Florence, dated 1332. From there Taddeo borrowed not only the subjects and their compositions but also the more elongated forms, which although more graceful than Giotto's, are not so monumental, the more regular but less natural draping which is not without a Gothic element, the more religious and sentimental expressions, and such physical types as the man with the pointed black beard which is characteristic of Daddi but entirely foreign to Giotto. The Child Jesus is perhaps the figure which most betrays Taddeo's fidelity to the former and independence of the latter of these two masters. A detail

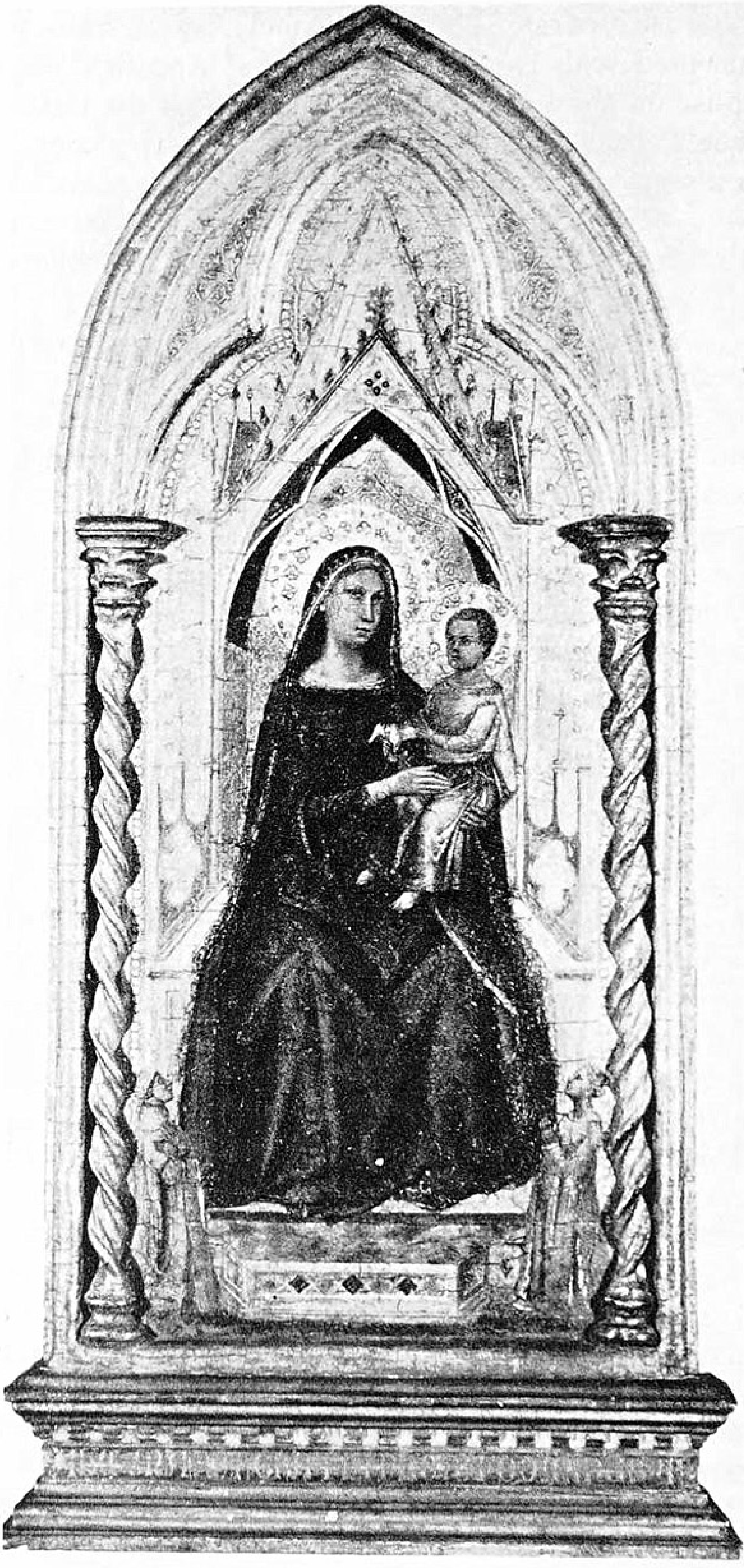


Fig. 182. Taddeo Gaddi, Madonna. Lehman Collection, New York.

which we find repeatedly in Daddi's Madonnas is the back of the throne formed by a richly ornamented cloth attached at intervals to the frame. This is also seen in the picture of Berlin as well as in two little panels, originally each the centre of a triptych, one in the collection of the Historical Society of New York and the other in the Museum of Strasbourg. These two paintings may be of almost the same date as the one in Berlin and the central figure in all three cases is practically identical.

The Madonna in Strasbourg whose face has a somewhat more elongated form, is seated on an elaborate throne, very similar to the one in the picture of Berlin and Daddi's triptych in the Bigallo, while the adorers, three in number, are here depicted kneeling in front. The surrounding figures do not form a frame but are grouped at either side. Besides six angels, we find here SS. Peter, Bartholomew and Francis on the right and on the left the Baptist, St. Dominic and another Apostle. In the New York panel five saints are placed on either side; the young bishop to the right is identical to the St. Zenobius who in the signed triptych terminates, on one side, the frame of figures around the Virgin.

Somewhat inferior, but certainly by Taddeo himself, is the similar small triptych in the Gallery of Naples, dated 1336 (fig. 183). It represents in the centre, the Virgin on an ornamental throne, holding the Child on her arm between SS. Peter, Paul, Antony and a holy bishop, while in the wings we find the two figures of the Annunciation and below the Baptism and the Mourning over the Lord's body under the Cross (¹).

The figures here are somewhat less refined; while some, like the Madonna herself, announce Taddeo's later manner, others betray a resemblance with those of the less beautiful panels in the Accademia. The peculiar features of the Madonna of the Annunciation of the Naples picture show many points in common with the figure who, on the right of the Baptism panel at Florence, holds Our Lord's cloak.

In this same early period we should place the altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin and groups of saints and angels in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, which bears the signature of Giotto (figs. 184 and 185). This signature does not seem to be a later addition

---

(¹) Reprod. in *d'Agincourt*, Pittura, pl. CXXIV, as forming part of the Borgia Museum.

but the panels are certainly not by Giotto himself; they may however be products of his "botega" and more than probably are by the hand of Taddeo Gaddi. This polyptych consists of five panels under each of which a predella contains a half-lenght figure.

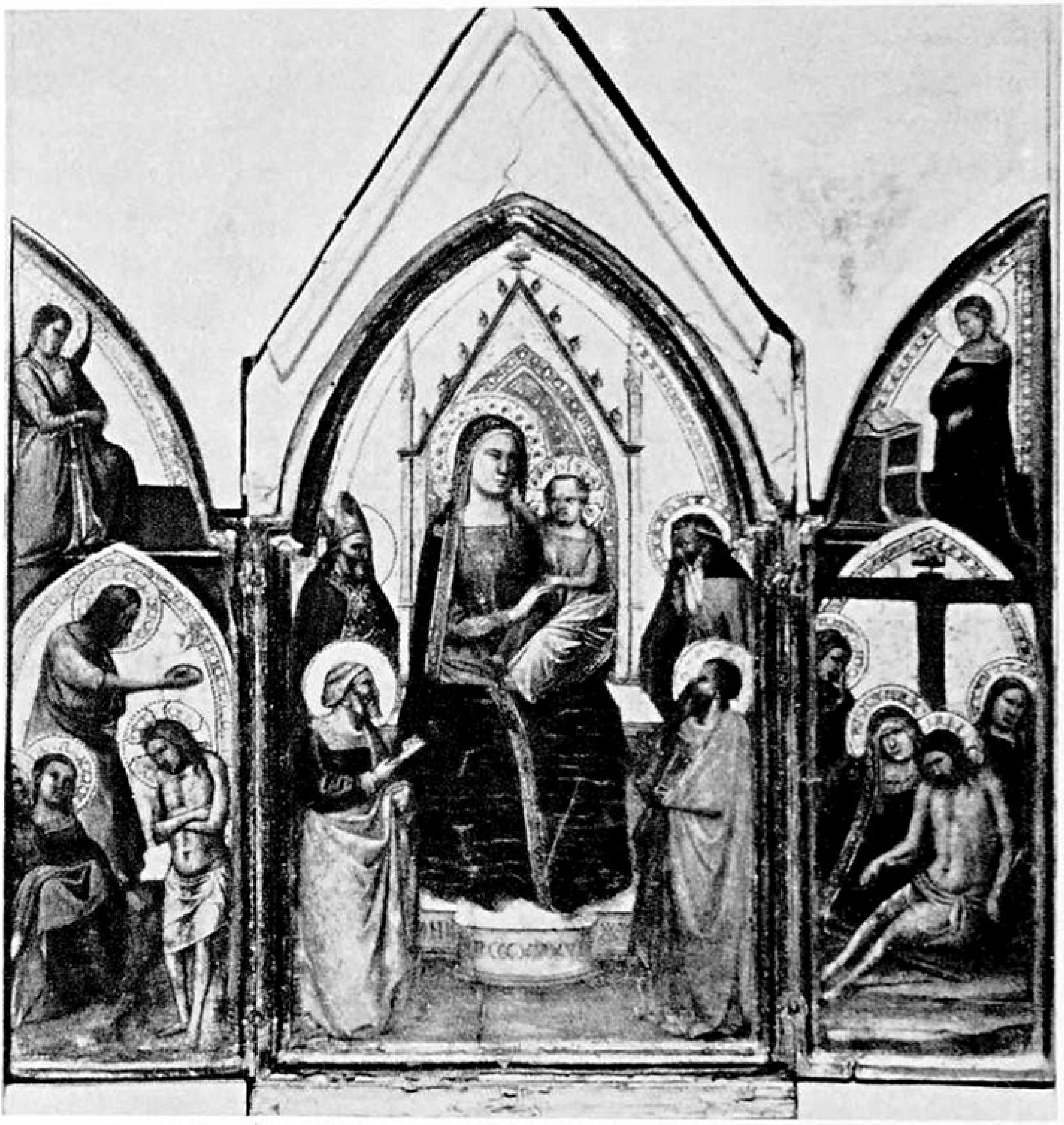


Fig. 183. Taddeo Gaddi, triptych, 1336. Gallery, Naples.

In the centre the Virgin, seated on the same throne as the Saviour, receives on her inclined head the crown from the hands of her Son. In front kneel four angels two of whom carry censers the back of the throne is composed of the curiously attached draping which we find frequently in Daddi's paintings. The groups in the four other panels are not identical; in front of each we find angelic musicians while the figures most distant are also angels;

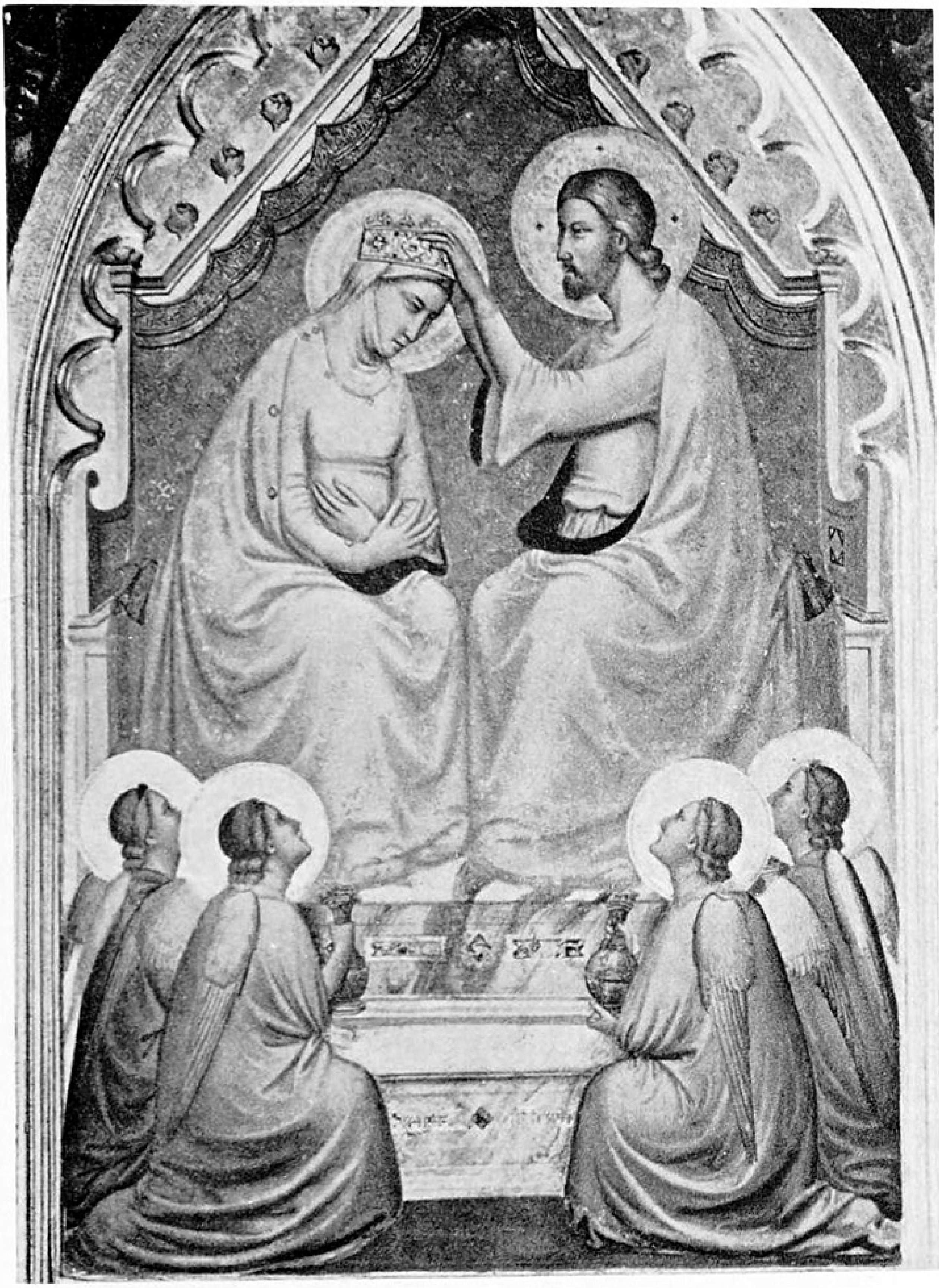


Fig. 184. Taddeo Gaddi, the Coronation of the Virgin, central part of a polyptych. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

the saints between are not arranged rigidly, their draping, elongated forms, dark beards and sentimental expression remind us sooner of Daddi than of Giotto.

This painting has of late been frequently attributed to Gaddi.

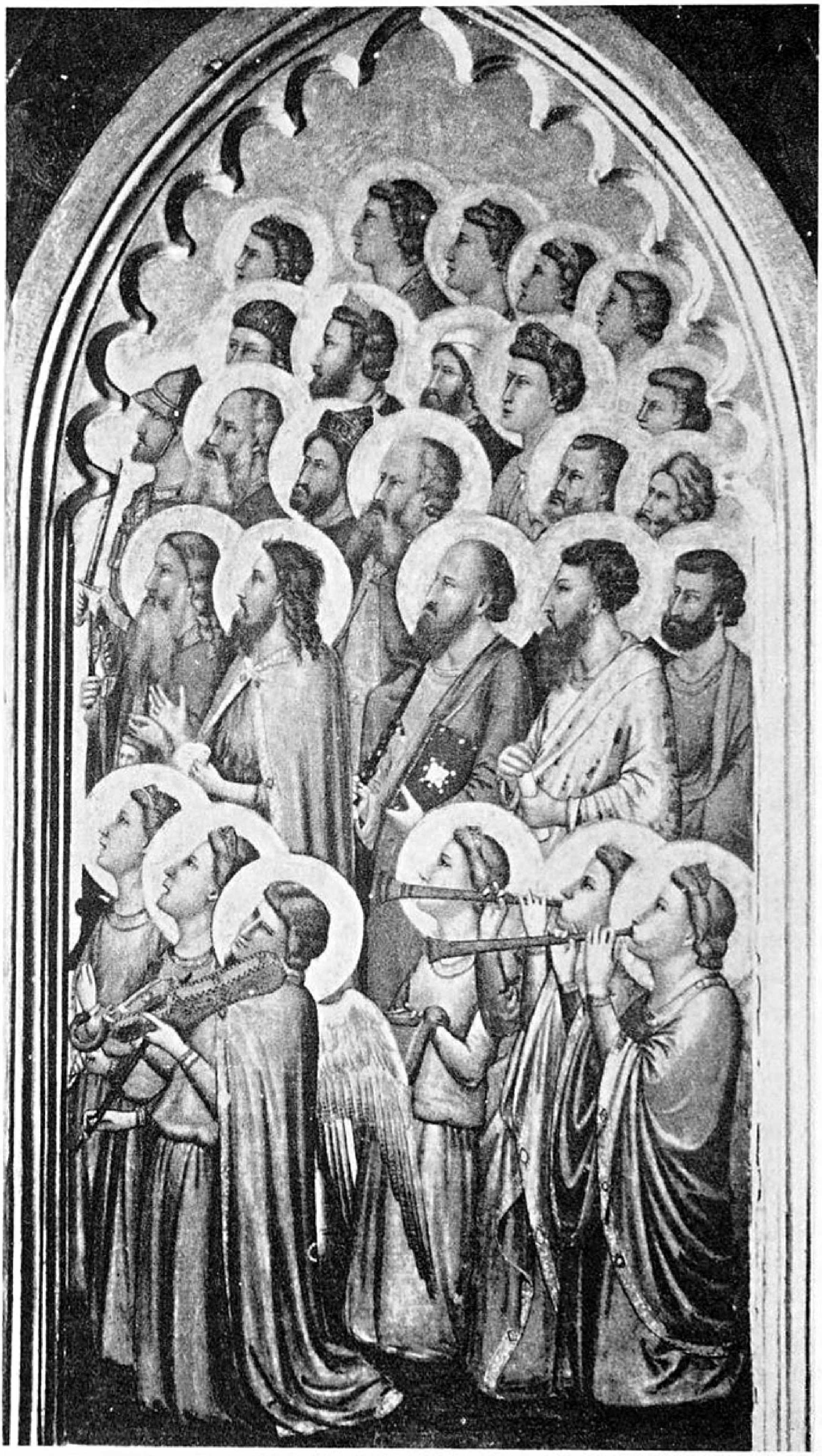


Fig. 185. Taddeo Gaddi, Saints and angels, lateral panel of a polyptych.
Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Alinari.

whom I also believe to be its author, but we cannot call it a very characteristic work of this master. On the whole it may be said to be more beautiful and of an altogether higher standard than the painter's usual productions (¹). We are not, however, sufficiently acquainted with Taddeo's earliest activities to form an exact opinion of the capacities of this so frequently varying artist.

The collection of Christ Church College, Oxford, possesses a fragment of a panel representing four angelic musicians at the foot of a throne (²), which seems to me a possible work of this same period and manner.

A predella in the Museum of Dijon, on which is depicted the Nativity taking place under a shelter, is also a youthful work of Taddeo's. The Madonna, seated on the ground, holds the Babe Whom two shepherds have come to adore, while in the background we see an angel bringing the glad tidings to their sleeping companions. Two angels hover over the central group near which Joseph is seated in meditation.

To this youthful period must also be ascribed the fragment of Jesus at the age of twelve teaching in the Temple, a work which Ghiberti and other early authors included in the list of this master's productions. We see the handsome figure of the Lord seated on a large throne and to the right, the head of one of the priests with whom the young Christ argues; the two young figures under an archway on the same side cannot be the anxious parents whom one might expect to find here.

The elongated shape of one of these faces and the light and dark effect around the chin remind us somewhat of the painter who executed the St. Francis series at Pistoia and to whom I attributed some other paintings, amongst them the triptych in Mr. Babbot's collection, Brooklyn, and the Assumption in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. This probably explains why these two latter works have been sometimes ascribed to Taddeo. These two panels, however, show a softness of expression, weakly graceful forms and a smoothness of design absent in Gaddi's own works.

Of a slightly later date and betraying more influence of Bernardo Daddi, is a small panel in the Louvre, the principal scene of

---

(¹) About Mr. Berenson's attribution of the Death of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum to the same hand as this panel v. p. 160 note 2 of this volume.

(²) *T. Borenius*, Pictures etc. of Christ Church, Oxford, no. 7.

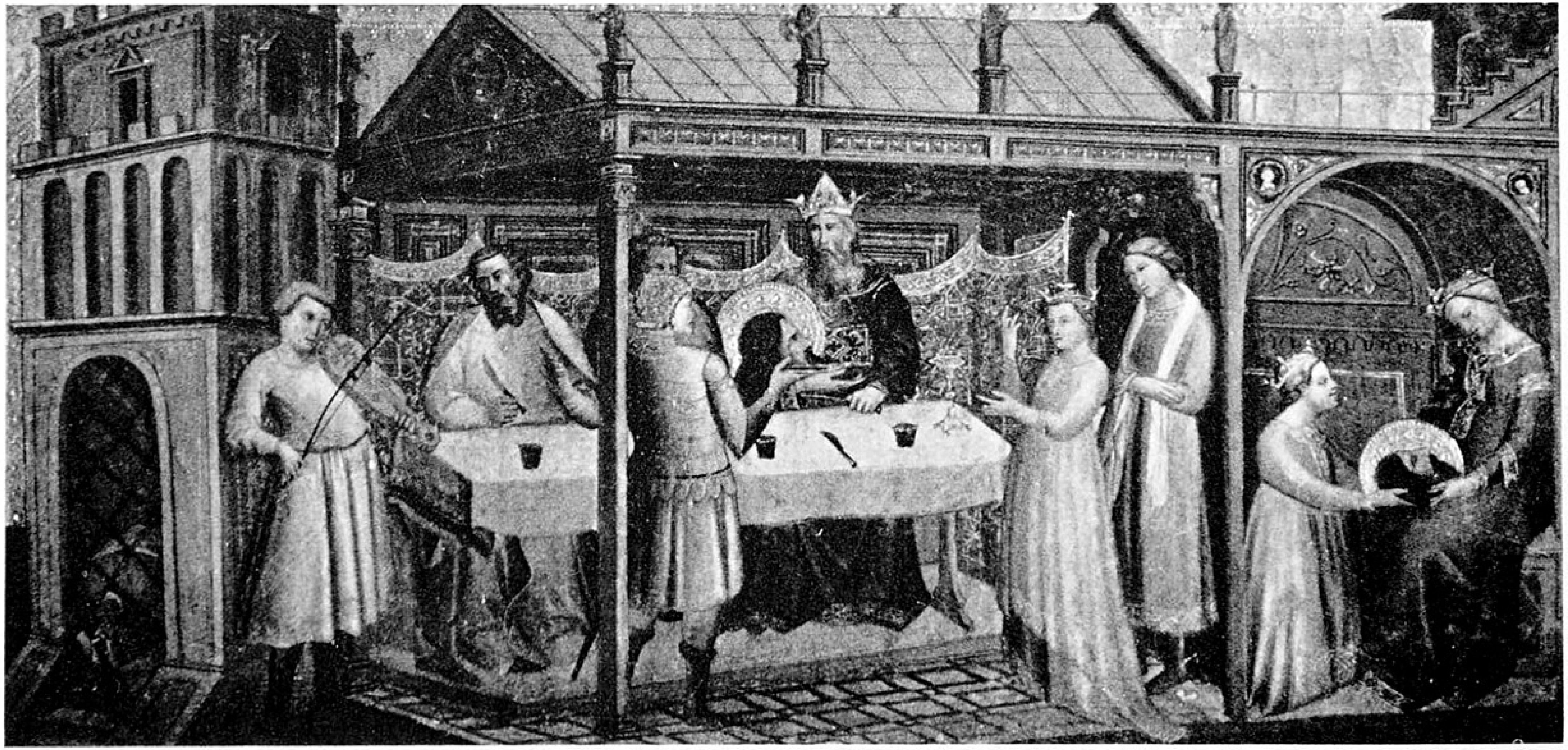


Fig. 186. Taddeo Gaddi, Herod's feast. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Alinari.

which is the dance of Salome; she is seen on the right, offering to her mother the head of John the Baptist whose body is depicted lying on the ground under a tower on the left (fig. 186). The composition may be said to be a free copy of Giotto's fresco in Sta. Croce but there is a considerable difference in the style of execution. Several Gothic elements may be observed in the draping while the type of the king has been taken from one of Daddi's models.

Considering the style of the frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel I am inclined to believe that Taddeo executed them, all the same, after 1338. Although the figures still possess that slenderness which we do not meet with in dated works from now onwards, it is obvious from this decoration that a transformation was taking place in the master's manner. The Madonna above the tomb is, of all the frescoes, the one in which we find most of the Daddesque gracefulness, much less evident in the paintings illustrating the history of Anna, Joachim and the Virgin. The first two scenes, Joachim driven from the Temple and Joachim in exile, are depicted in one lunette, they show some points in common with the corresponding scenes that Giotto painted at Padua, but the compositions are very different; in the first we see in a large Temple which the painter has represented by the back wall and many pillars, a priest violently driving Joachim, who holds a lamb, away from the altar while two other men, one kneeling, the other carrying a lamb, approach; a second priest stands in the background and in the left corner three figures are seen conversing. On the other half of the lunette we find Joachim represented seated in a rocky landscape listening attentively to an angel who flies down from heaven to announce to him the glad tidings; two young shepherds, approach gesticulating while a third, seated in the foreground, carries a flute on which he has evidently just been playing to his sheep near by. Following immediately on this scene is the meeting at the Golden Gate; it is again very different from Giotto's composition in which the gate alone is depicted, here we see the town behind its walls; the attitude of Joachim and Anna is much less affectionate, the women behind take little part in the proceedings while the shepherd, who follows Joachim, looks unconcernedly at the spectator; this last figure, however, closely resembles the one on Giotto's fresco at Padua.

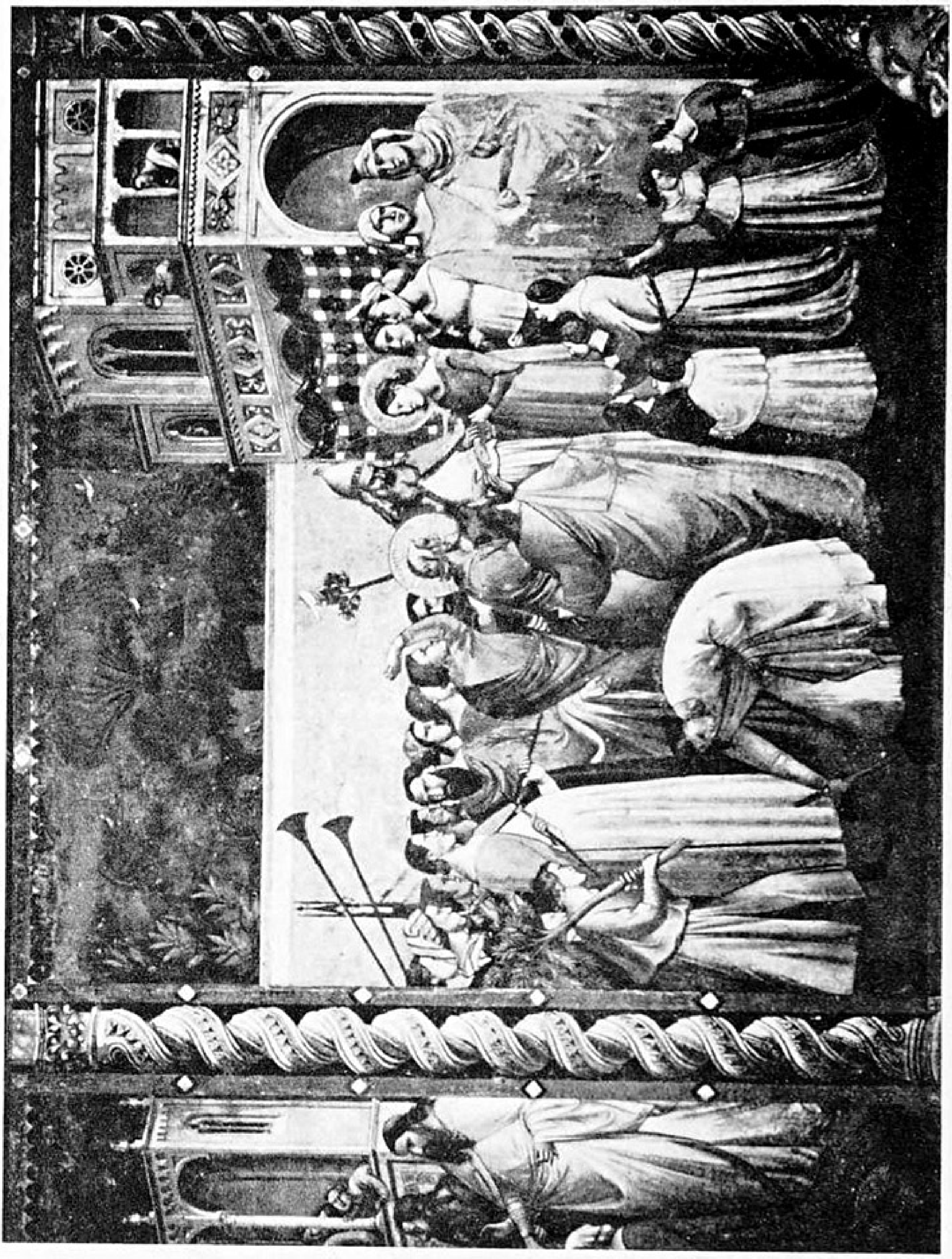


Fig. 187. Taddeo Gaddi, the Betrothal of the Virgin. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

The Nativity of the Virgin has more in common with Giotto's composition; in both the Child is seen after her bath, the two mid-wives busily occupied with her. The repainting of the background has effaced the figure of St. Anna in bed. The Presentation in the Temple bears no resemblance to the composition in

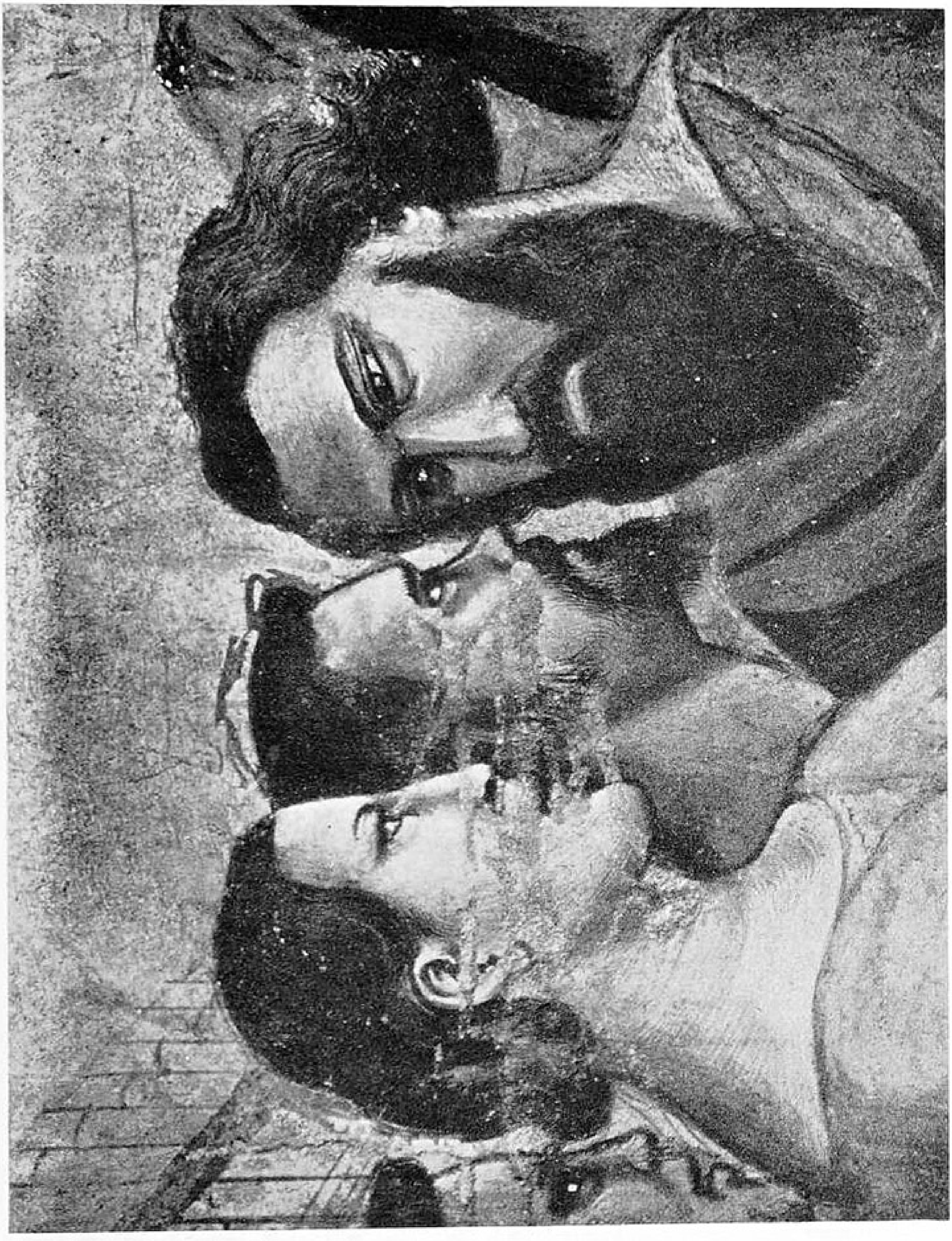


Fig. 188. Detail of fig. 187.

Photo Brogi.

the Scrovegni chapel; here the temple is a large monumental building similar in aspect to the one on the first scene; the number of steps, fifteen, as mentioned in the Apocryphal Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, a detail not considered by Giotto, is here represented. The young Virgin has just climbed five of them, many people on all sides of the elaborate temple and from a window of a house on the left assist at the miracle; at the top of the steps a priest awaits the holy child who has just turned round to greet her parents who stand on the left and are depicted much larger than the other figures.

The next scene, the betrothal with Joseph (figs. 187 and 188), has attracted a large crowd, which the artist has grouped skilfully; the priest is seen joining the hands of the betrothed, the bridegroom carrying in his hand the flowering rod on which a dove has descended, one of the unhappy suitors is seen in the act of breaking his rod, another making gestures of discontent. On the left behind the crowd, musical instruments are visible although the players do not enter into the scene; on the right are several small girls who follow their playmate. The background is formed by a house and garden wall over which one can see the tops of plants.

In the representation of the Annunciation Taddeo has not improved on Giotto's composition, for he depicts the Virgin seated while the angel flies towards her from heaven. Following the Gospel text for the Visitation Taddeo exaggerates in making St. Elizabeth kneel before the Virgin, the sentiment of which event Giotto, as I pointed out, expressed so well.

A very remarkable scene is the Annunciation to the shepherds (fig. 189); they are depicted lying in the open against a hilly background, nearby are some sheep and a dog who, just aroused, seems to bark at the apparition; both figures have half risen out of their sleep, one stretches his arm out as he looks towards the angel, the other shields his eyes from the blinding light radiating from him. The composition is very interesting and it is an event which was not separately depicted in Giotto's series of the Life of Christ, but was seen, as is generally the case, taking place from the roof of the hut in which the Child is born.

In the next scene we see the shepherds coming to adore the Divine Babe (fig. 190); like Giotto, Gaddi has placed the Holy Family under a wooden shelter; the Madonna sits on the ground with the Infant in her arms, Joseph with his hands clasped round his knees seems in deep meditation and a shepherd looks over a rock at the sacred group while two angels fly above the roof of the hut. The star guiding the Magi has been conceived in a peculiar manner, as we have not seen previously; the star is

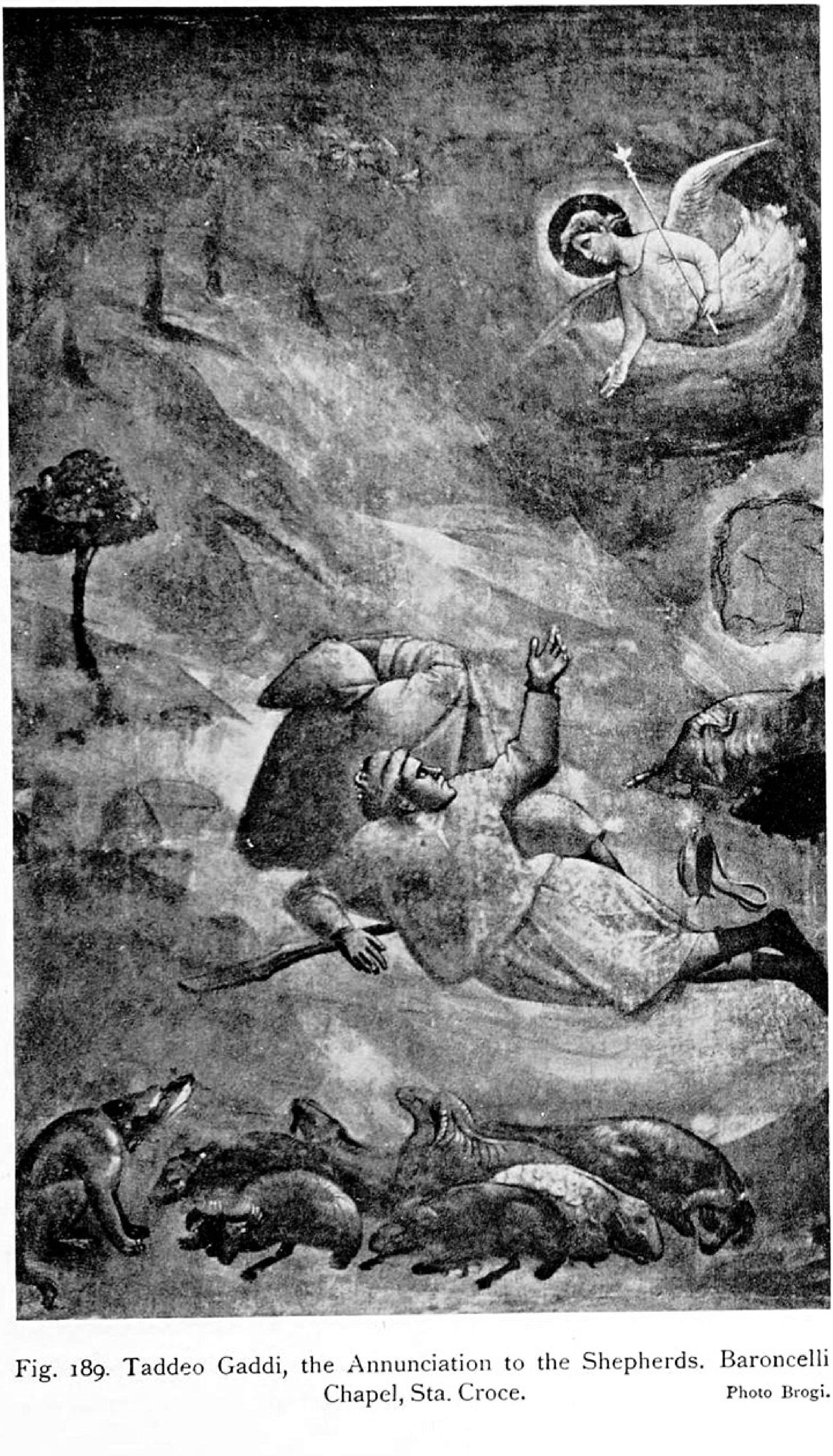


Fig. 189. Taddeo Gaddi, the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce. Photo Brogi.

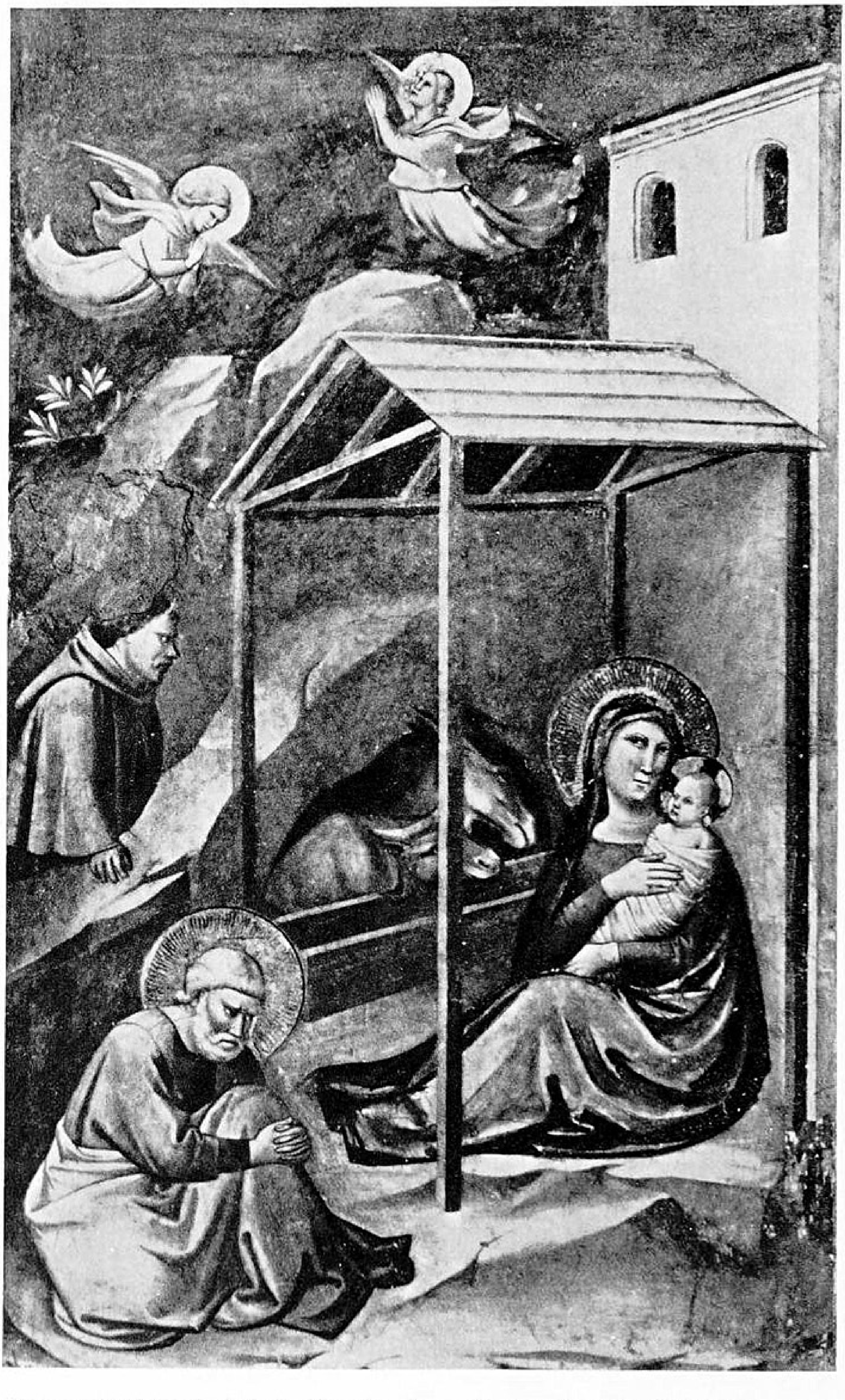


Fig. 190. Taddeo Gaddi, the Shepherds coming to adore the Child. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Brogi.

given the form of the Divine Babe before Whom the three Wise Men kneel in adoration, one shielding his eyes in order to get a better view.

Following on this is the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 191) which, as in the Giottesque fresco of the Lower Church, Assisi, occurs in the ornamented portico of a house; the old bearded Magus is depicted kissing the feet of Christ Who bends towards the adorer, the two younger ones stand behind; the heads of a horse and a camel appear in the rear. Instead of an angel escorting the Virgin, Taddeo has depicted Joseph seated on the right and seriously watching the old Magus prostrated before the Child.

The well designed majestic figures of Joseph holding the blossoming rod and David carrying the head of Goliath (fig. 192) are depicted in architectural Gothic frames at the sides.

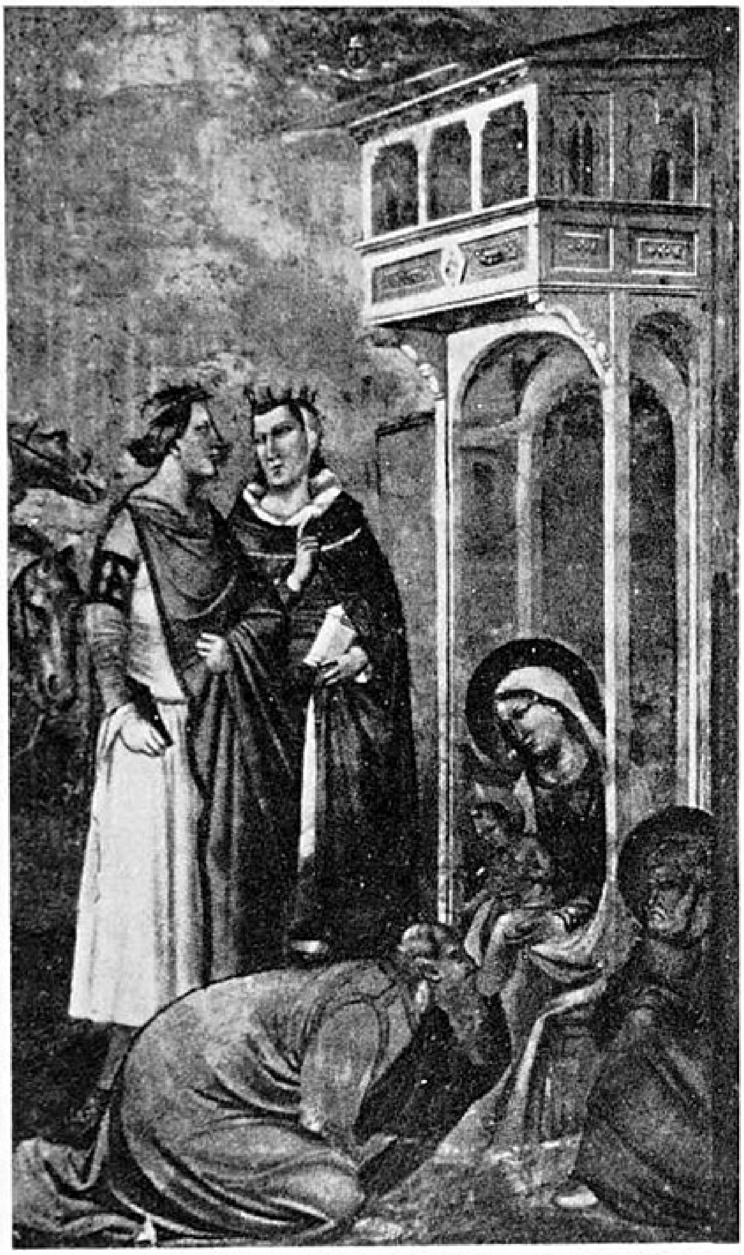


Fig. 190. Taddeo Gaddi, the Adoration of the Magi. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

The ceiling is decorated with eight personifications of the virtues, all three-quarter figures of women holding the symbol of the virtue that they represent and each with a quadrilateral nimbus; they are Humility, Fortitude (fig. 193), Temperance, Justice, Prudence, Charity, Hope (fig. 194) and Faith. Taddeo has not tried, as Giotto did in his symbolical figures at Padua, to make them express anything of the idea they personify, but evidently thought the emblem they carry, sufficient.

Considering this series of frescoes critically we are struck by the lack of sentiment of any sort, all the more evident on account of the painter's keen sense of realism which he clearly manifests in the scenes of the Annunciation to the shepherds and to the Magi. His phlegmatic temperament has resulted in the production of a Meeting at the Golden Gate in which the gestures alone seem to indicate some of the great love which Giotto rendered in such a touching manner. Even this element has been explained by the influence of Simone da Cascia, but this seems to me somewhat exaggerated although the difference in iconography in general is certainly, as I said before, the result of the mystic's treatise.

In his works Taddeo does not seem to have been preoccupied about space and perspective as Giotto obviously was. The distancing is generally incorrect as will be seen in the Adoration of the Magi in which the building seems further away than the group underneath it. The figures in the Nativity of the Virgin do not appear to be in any way surrounded by the walls of the room in which the event takes place.

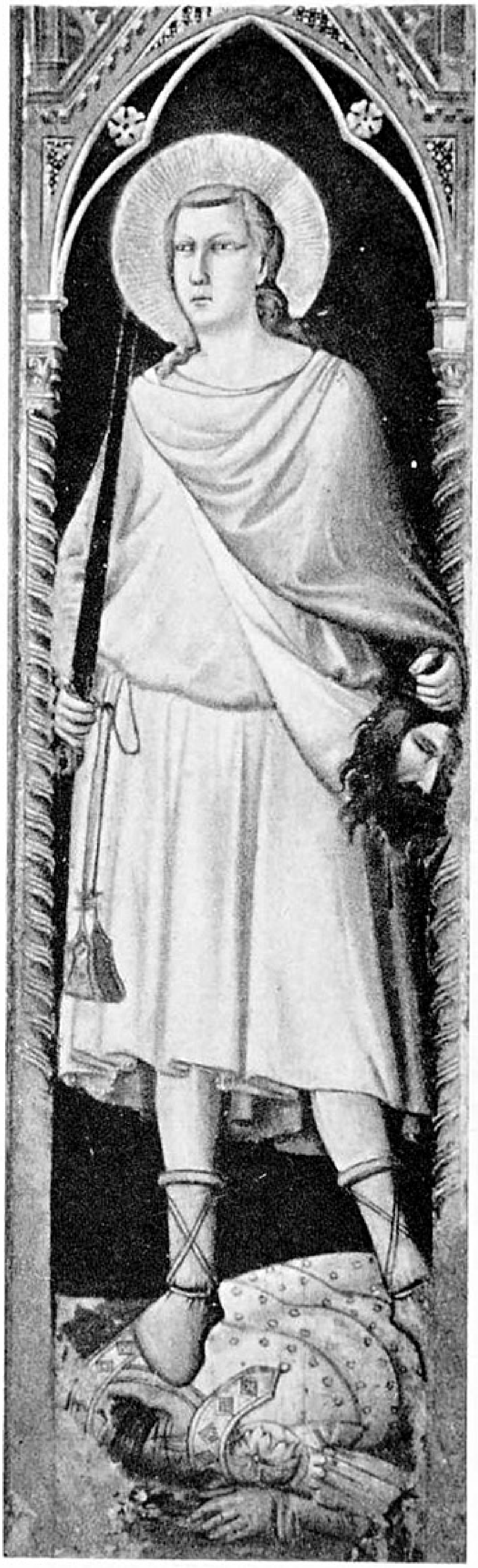


Fig. 192. Taddeo Gaddi, David. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

The artist has made an interesting attempt in the picture of the angels announcing the glad tidings to the sleeping shepherds. It is true that here again the representation of space has been rather neglected; the technical novelty consists in the illumination of the figures. It is possible that this too is the result of Fra Simone's writings in which there is question of this sudden light noticed by the shepherds; anyhow Taddeo seems to have been satisfied with his rendering of it for we again find the same effect in the frescoes of the Magi guided by the star and in the allegorical figure of Hope.

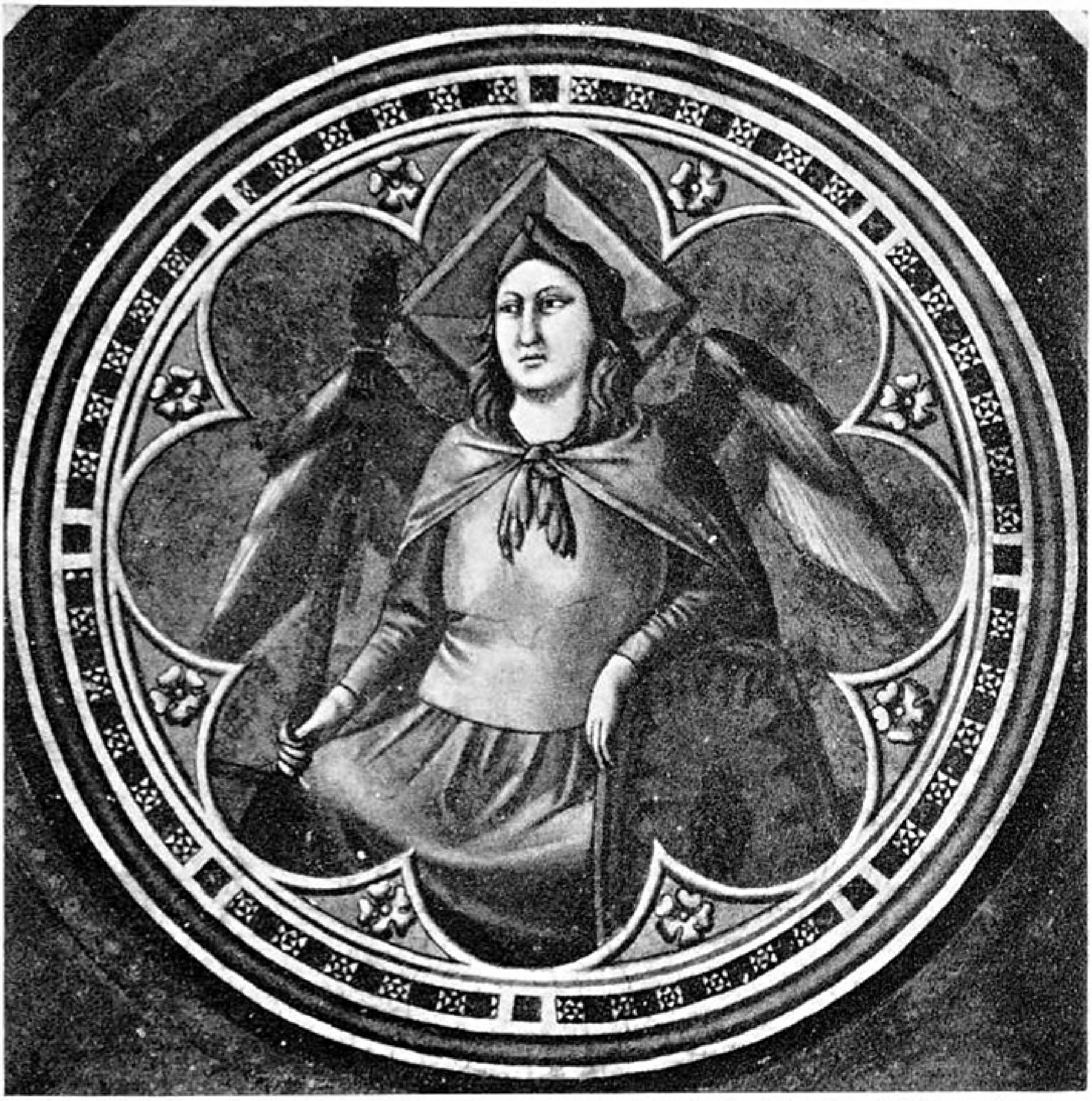


Fig. 193. Taddeo Gaddi, Fortitude. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

It was no doubt about this time that Taddeo executed an Entombment of the Lord — now considerably restored — in the Bardi chapel.

I think that on the whole it may be said that with the orna-

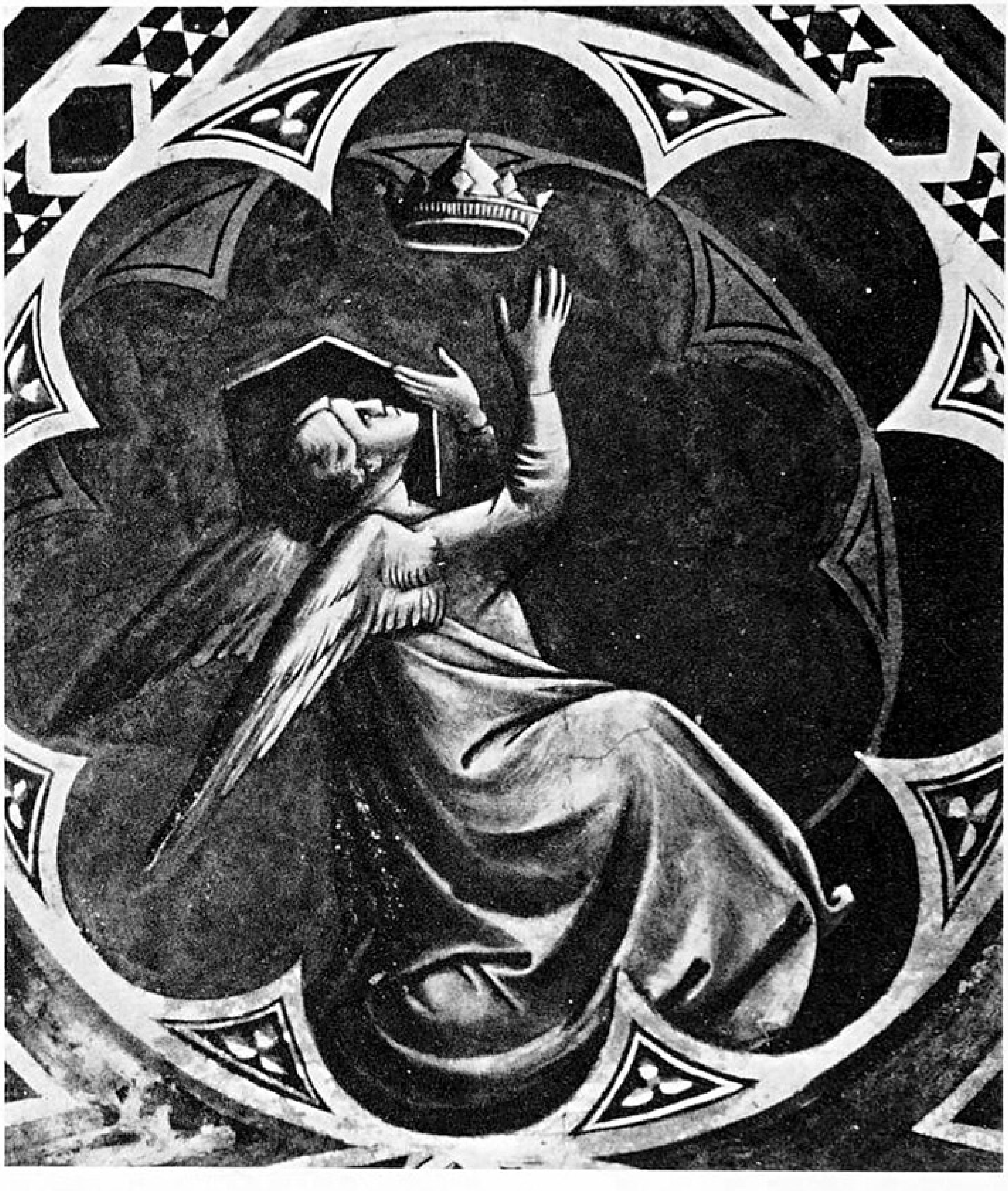


Fig. 194. Taddeo Gaddi, Hope. Baroncelli Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

mentation of the Baroncelli chapel, Gaddi enters into his second and less happy manner. Although the figures and especially the features may in general be qualified as animated, they are frequently coarse. The types are now taken in more equal proportion from the models of Daddi and Giotto, but the structure and proportions of the figures seem those of the latter, executed, however, in rather an unskilful manner in which these elements degenerate into heaviness. It also becomes evident here that Taddeo will never acquire Giotto's narrative spirit, although his frescoes perhaps attain a higher degree of decorative effect. We shall return to this subject later when trying to assign to this artist his proper place in the development of Florentine painting.

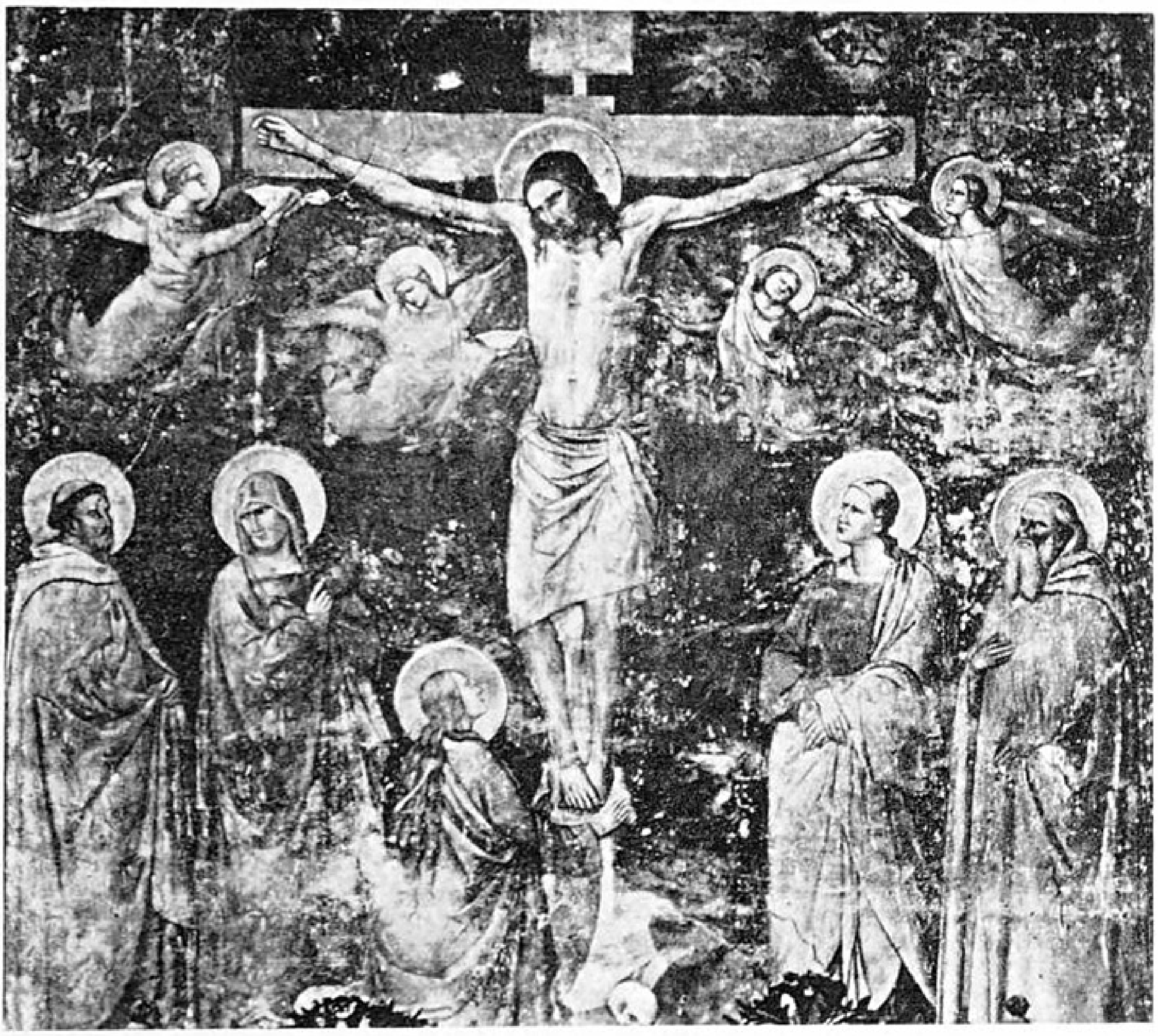


Fig. 195. Taddeo Gaddi, Crucifixion. Ognisanti, Florence,
Photo Brogi.

The Crucifixion in the sacristy of the church of Ognisanti (fig. 195) belongs I believe to the same period as the paintings in the Baroncelli chapel. The figure of the Lord is surrounded by four angels, the Magdalene kneels at the foot of the Cross while at either side stand the Virgin, St. Francis, St. John and St. Antony Abbot. It it especially in comparing the figure of the Madonna with some of those of the previous frescoes that we observe the great resemblance between these two works.

If we place the decoration of the Baroncelli chapel after 1338, the period of its execution almost coincides with the works of Taddeo Gaddi in the crypt of S. Miniato (¹) and in the vault of S. Francesco, Pisa (1342).

The former consists of the ornamentation of ten divisions of the vault, each containing four medallions inclosing half-length figures of saints and other personages. Although many of these paintings have been somewhat ruined by restoration, enough remains to prove that they were of better quality than the contemporary medallions in the vault of the chapel of Sta. Croce. The broadness of several of the figures really reminds us of Giotto's monumental forms and the expressions are more spiritual.

As to the paintings in the church of Pisa, Vasari tells us that Gerardo and Bonacorso Gambacorta brought the artist here and that he executed scenes from the lives of SS. Francis, Andrew and Nicholas in which he painted his own portrait. Vasari's statement is here corroborated by a letter from Taddeo Gaddi to Tommaso di Marco Strozzi (²).

In the arch leading to the choir we find busts of the Twelve Apostles; the vault is divided into four triangular compartments three of which are ornamented with pairs of saints, Dominic and Augustine, Francis holding the rules of his order with Louis and Benedict with Basil; while in the lower corners are represented allegorical figures of Temperance, Wisdom, Humility, Chastity, Fortitude and Penitence. Four other similar figures of which Faith, Hope and Obedience remain, were painted in the fourth triangular vault of the ceiling around St. Francis. These frescoes show strong relief in the forms and the faces; the particular clarity of the colouring is partly due to repainting which however does not hide the fact that this was one of Gaddi's good works.

Recently a panel in the collection of Ph. J. Gentner, Worcester, U. S. A., representing St. John the Evangelist whose emblem, the eagle, supports a book in which the saint is about to write, has been rightly associated with the half-length figure of St. Miniatus, with

---

(¹) *L. Dami*, Boll. d'Arte dell Ministero della Pubbl. Istr., 1915, p. 217.

(²) La scrittura di artisti italiani reprodotta con la fotografia, Florence, 1871. In this letter there is also question of an altar-piece for the same church.

the suggestion, however, that it may have been executed shortly after 1342 (¹). Although the connection is very obvious, we find here a striking example of the fact that the master executed his panels with much more care than his frescoes.

We now come to a stage in the art of Taddeo which is characterized by a broadening of the forms, a softening — not to say weakening — in the design as well as in the sentiment, and an increase of the Gothic element in the draping. This last detail which certainly did not derive from Giotto's art but which he may have acquired from Bernardo Daddi, is much more evident in Taddeo's productions then in the latter's.

The picture which furnishes us with a date for this manner of the master, is the altar-piece in S. Giovanni fuor Civitas, Pistoia. It was for the execution of this picture that the authorities inquired who were the most able Florentine painters and on the short list of five artists, Taddeo's name is the first mentioned (²).

It is generally agreed that this document dates from 1347, certainly not earlier but possibly somewhat later (³). The picture was apparently finished before 1353 because in that year we find the following entry in the church ledger: "*A maestro Tadeo per resto della tavola di nostra donna, fiorini V d'oro*" (⁴). From these words I think we may infer that the painting had been finished some time previously and was being paid for in instalments and not, as has sometimes been considered, that Taddeo had finished the work at that moment. Consequently I believe this altar-piece to have been executed towards the year 1350.

The central part of this polyptych is occupied by a representation of the enthroned Virgin surrounded by six cherubim. On the lateral panels are the standing figures of SS. Peter and John

---

(¹) *R. Offner,* Due quadri inediti di Taddeo Gaddi, L'Arte, 1912, p. 116.

(²) The others are Maestro Stefano (Giottino), Orcagna, who is named together with his brother Nardo, Puccio Capanna and a certain Francesco who worked in the botega of Andrea (Orcagna ?). Libri di entrata e uscita di S. Giovanni fuor Civitas, v. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 126, note 1.

(³) *A. Chiappelli,* Di una tavola dipinta di Taddeo Gaddi e di altri antiche pitture nella chiesa di S. Giovanni fuor Civitas, Bullet. Stor. Pistoiese, II, 1900. fasc. 1; *Zdekauer* Opere d'Arte Senese a Pistoia, Bull. Senese di Stor. Patr., 1901, fasc. 1.

(⁴) *Langton Douglas,* note 2 on *Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 136 note 2.

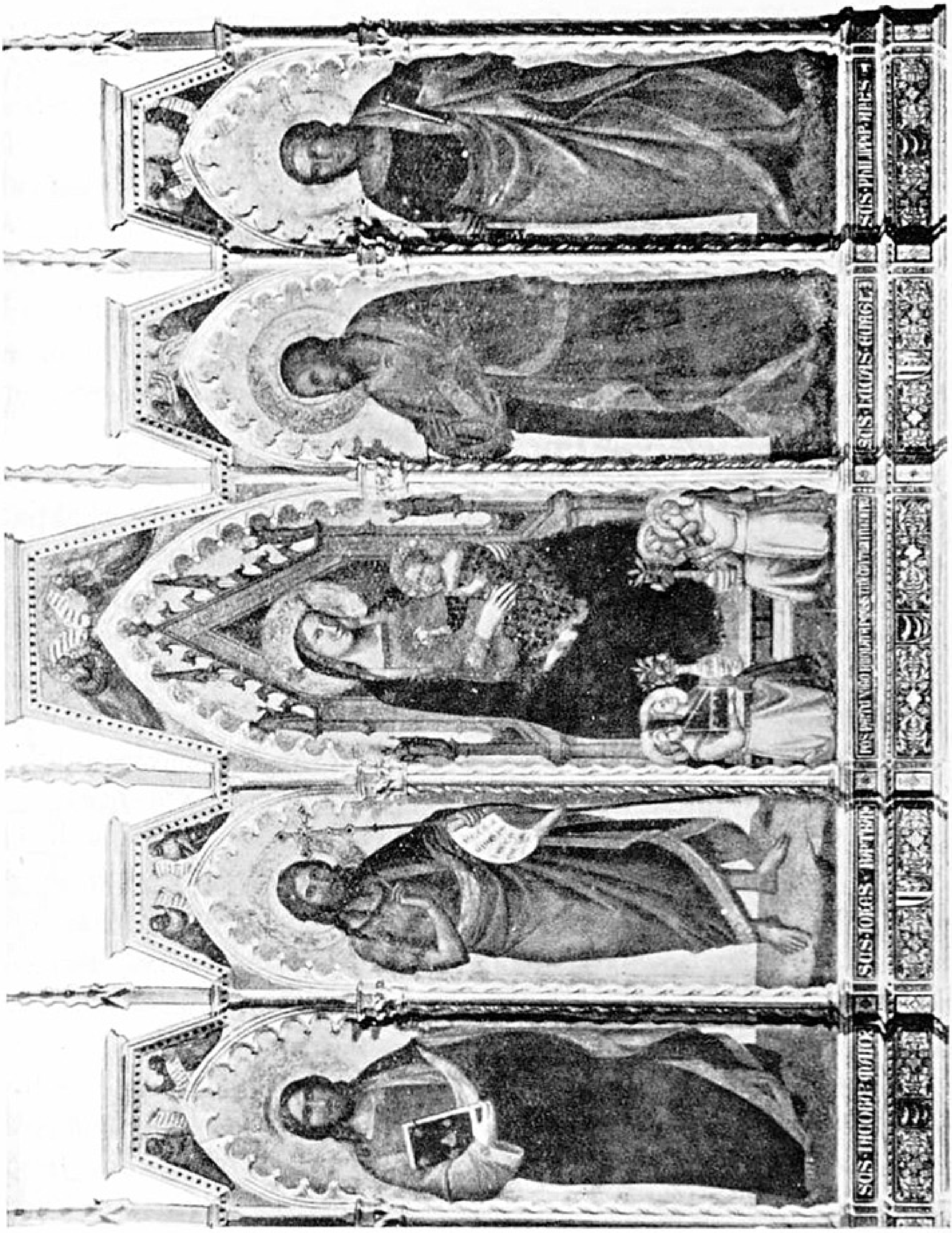


Fig. 196. Taddeo Gaddi, polyptych. Sta. Felicita, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

the Baptist to the right, and to the left SS. John the Evangelist and James; eight small half-length figures of Aspostles are depicted above them, while over the Madonna we see the figures of the Annunciation. The medallions and spandrels contain half-length figures of Our Lord and of angels.

This somewhat damaged picture in Pistoia seems to me, notwithstanding Cavalcaselle's severe judgment, one of the finest products of Taddeo's later manner, one expressing much sentiment and in which the monumental figures are very graceful.

Closely connected with the polyptych at Pistoia in style and technique but of a somewhat inferior quality, is the picture in the sacristy of the church of Sta. Felicita, Florence (fig. 196).

In the centre, on a rich Gothic throne ornamented with small statues, the Madonna is seated holding in a natural attitude the Child Jesus, Who grasps a little bird in His right hand, four small angels kneel at the foot of the throne, two carrying vases of flowers and two playing on musical instruments; figures of saints occupy the lateral panels, on the right SS. Luke and Philip, on the left the Baptist and St. James the Elder. Two small prophets holding scrolls are depicted above each of the five panels. The faces are full of expression, the gaze somewhat penetrating, the figures are well proportioned but the draping is heavy and lacks the grace of the previous work.

We find the same style in a mural painting in the refectory of Sta. Croce (figs. 197 and 198) in which the centre is occupied by the mystical tree of Bonaventura, below which is a representation of the Last Supper. At the sides four small scenes represent St. Francis receiving the stigmata, St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse blessing a meal, an event in the life of St. Benedict, and Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ Who is here seen seated at a table with two other figures. In all of these paintings the artist seems to have somewhat neglected the proportions of the bodies, which mistake becomes much more obvious in the Bonaventura tree, on the trunk of which the Lord is crucified; below on the left a group of figures support the fainting Madonna. St. Francis holds the foot of the Cross while on the right we see Bonaventura sitting writing, St. Antony, St. Dominic and St. Louis of Toulouse. A miniature figure of a nun kneeling behind St. Francis is probably that of the donor. The figures are strongly designed, sculptural and very effective but often out of proportion. The more important of the two paintings is the Last Supper in which the forms of the human body have been more carefully observed. The variety in attitude and expression of the disciples is very superior, St. John leans his head on the Saviour's breast; Judas seated alone at the other side of the table is about to take the piece of bread. Some of the modern art critics ascribe this work in its entirety to Taddeo Gaddi, I am, however, of opinion that the Last Supper and the scenes of the Magdalene are by his hand and that the rest of the decoration was executed with the assistance of pupils. In the two representations which I ascribe to the artist himself it is especially

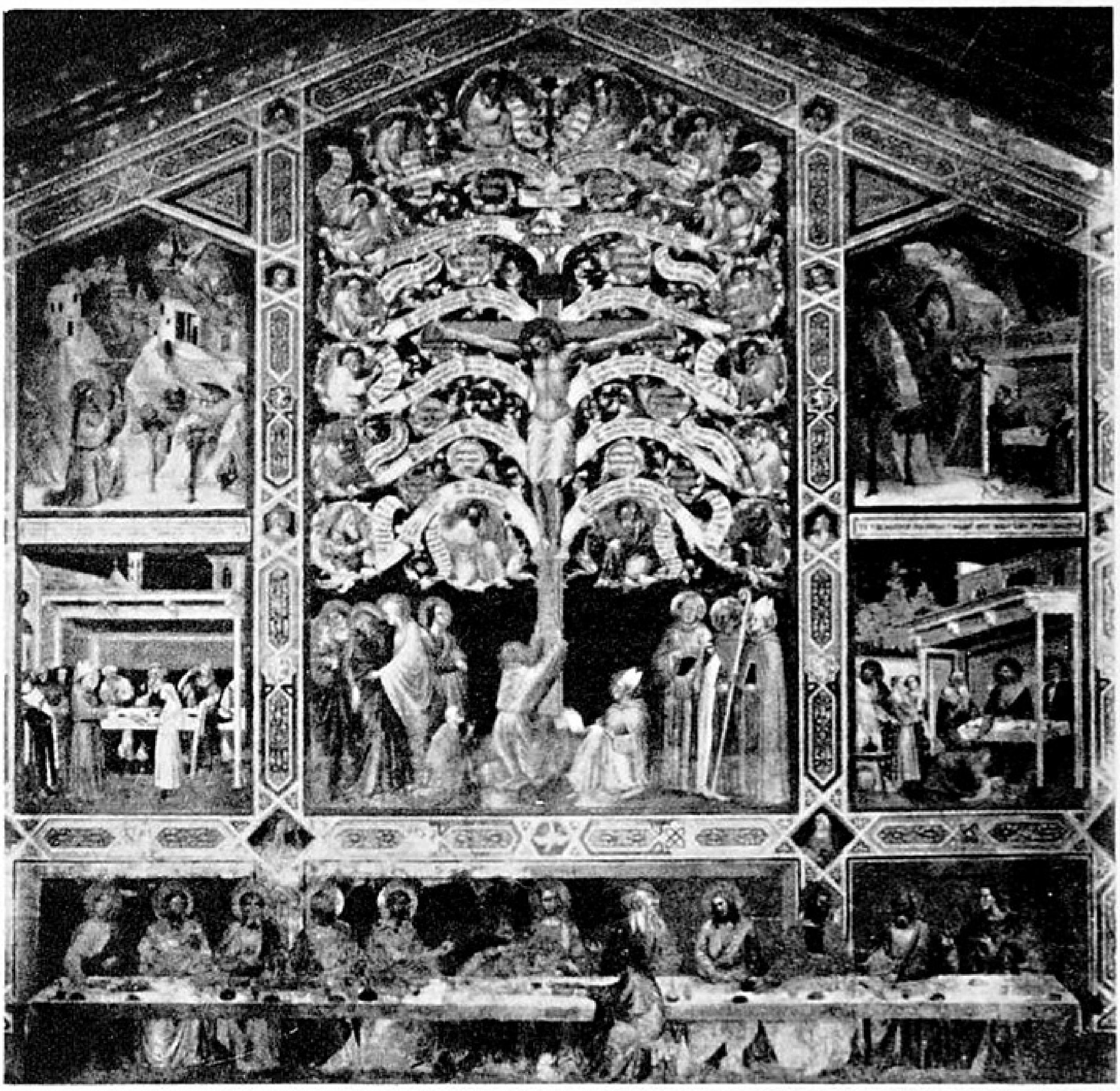


Fig. 197. Taddeo Gaddi, fresco in the Refectory of Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

the broad Gothic draping, the features and the soft expressions which remind us of the paintings at Pistoia and in S. Felice; but the execution seems of an inferior standard which may perhaps be partly explained by repainting. In the scene of the history of St. Benedict we see the same light effect from above as we remarked in the frescoes of the Baroncelli chapel; here, however, it is less evident.

The figure of a female saint on the right hand wall of the same room, may be attributed to Gaddi.

A fine half-length figure of an old bearded saint, writing, which is preserved in the Bandini Museum at Fiesole, is of much the same quality as the altar-piece at Pistoia and may very well once have been a lateral wing of a similar polyptych.

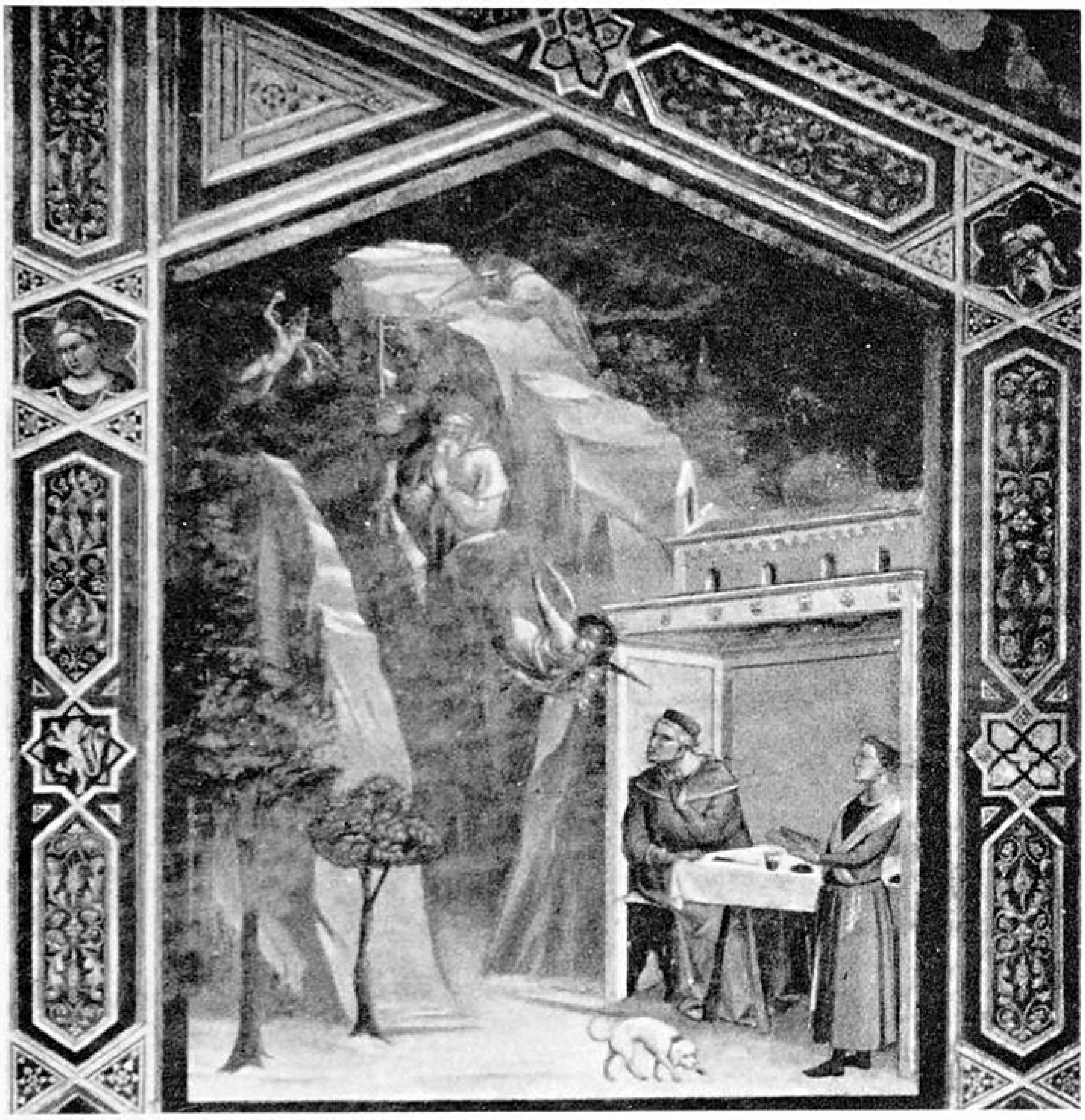


Fig. 198. Detail of fig. 197.

Photo Alinari.

Three other pictures still belong to this same manner and period. Two of them are crucifixes of the Giottesque type, one in the church of S. Giorgio at Ruballa, the other in the collection of Mr. F. Mason Perkins at Lastra a Signa. Both possess that softness of expression and design which, we found, characterized

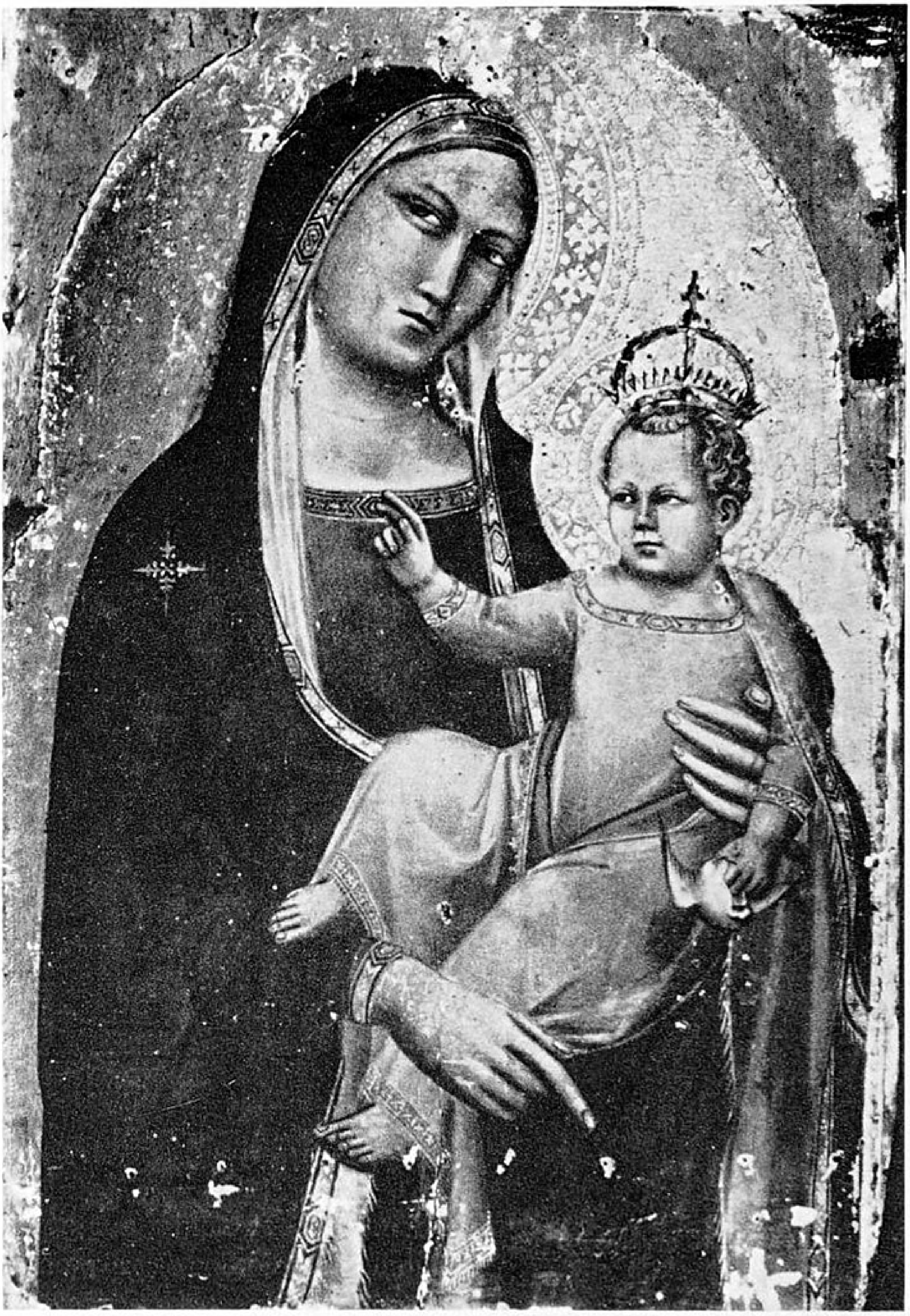
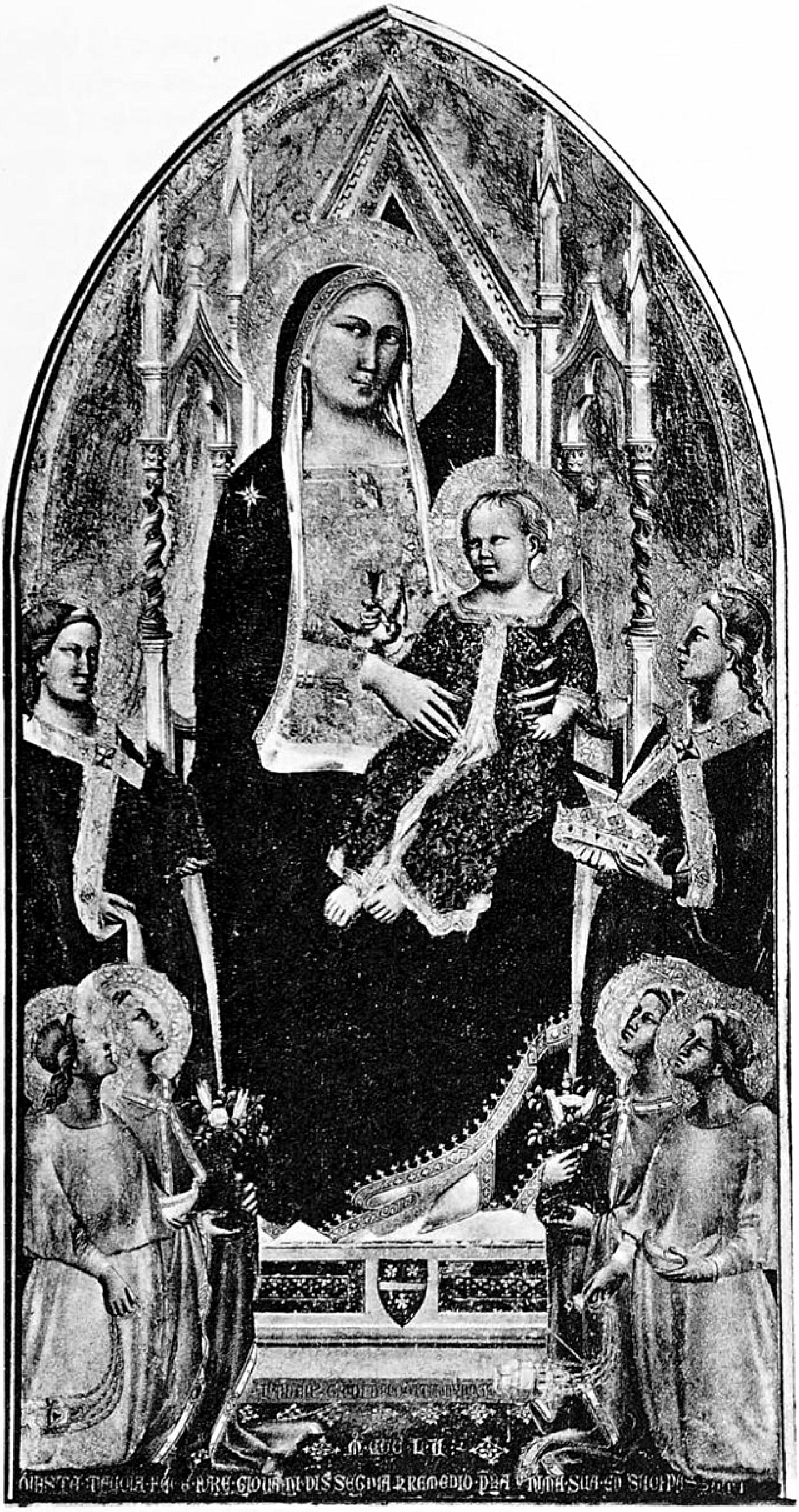


Fig. 199. Taddeo Gaddi, Madonna. S. Lorenzo, Le Rose (near Florence).
Photo Brogi.

Taddeo's productions of this stage. The third is a half-length figure of the Madonna holding the Child, Who holds out His hand to bless, in the church of S. Lorenzo at Le Rose near Florence



*MADONNA (1355)*
*By Taddeo Gaddi, Uffizi, Florence.*

*Photo Anderson.*

(fig. 199); it strongly resembles the central figure of the polyptych in Sta. Felicita but is of better quality (¹).

There is yet another altar polyptych which shows some points in common with the one at Pistoia. It forms part of the Metropolitan Museum, New York and represents in the centre the Madonna enthroned behind whom two angels hold a curtain; the saints on the lateral panels are SS. James, Stephen, John the Baptist and Lawrence, and again the spandrels are occupied by figures of prophets (fig. 200). Comparing this painting with those of the previous group we observe a decided heaviness in the proportions, the figures seem to have become shorter and broader with a tendency towards clumsiness.

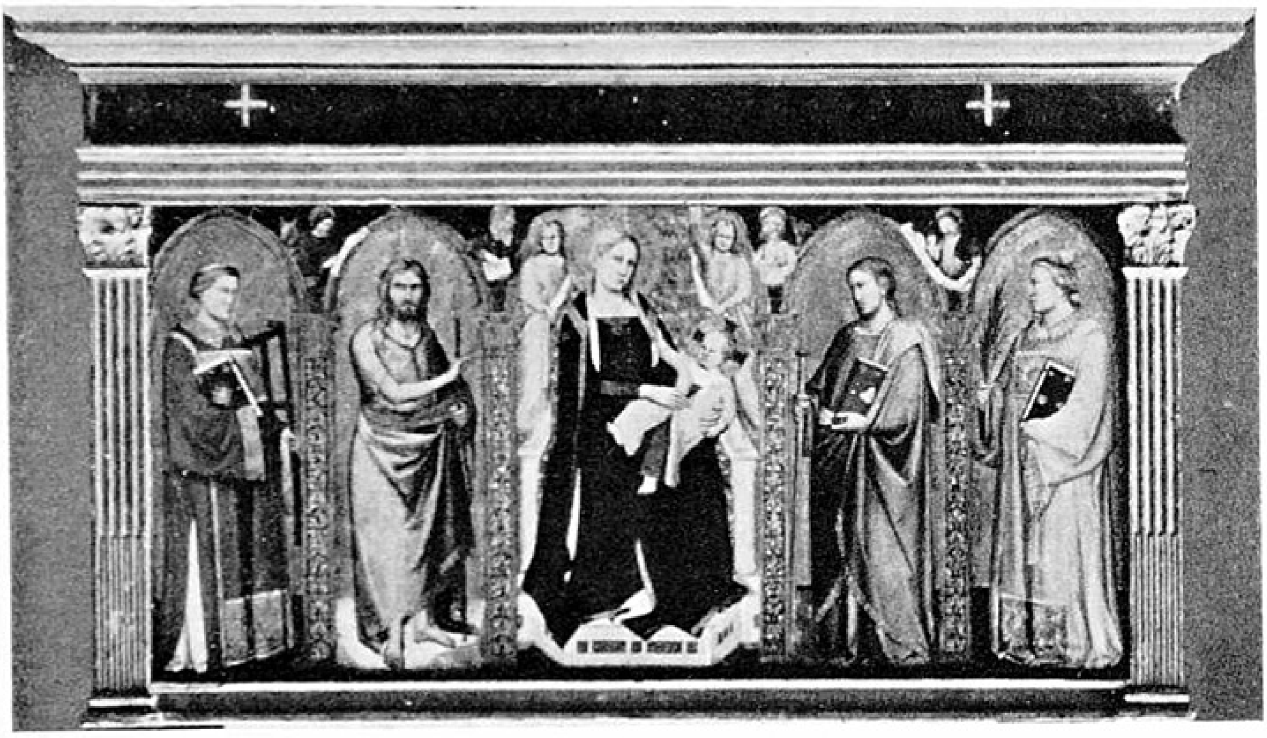


Fig. 200. Taddeo Gaddi. polyptych. Metropolitan Museum, New York.

This last painting may be contemporary with a signed and dated work of the master, a panel representing the Madonna at the foot of whose throne we read: "*Taddeus Gaddi De Florentia me pinxit MCCCCLV*", along with the name and coat of arms of the donor, Giovanni di Ser Segnia (plate V). This panel which originally hung in the church of S. Pietro at Megognano, near Poggibonsi, was first brought to the Gallery of Siena and afterwards to the Uffizi. The Madonna is seated on a handsome

---

(¹) *R. Offner*, op. cit.

Gothic throne with the Child, Who grasps a small bird, on her knee. Two angels, one at either side, offer a crown and a receptacle, while four others, swinging incense burners and carrying flowers, kneel below. The picture is a fine production of Taddeo's monumental manner. The aspect of the Child Christ is new to Taddeo's art; His hair is no longer curly and the type reminds us more of Giotto's than of Daddi's, whose model until now had invariably been followed.

Very similar to this panel is a fragment of another now in the Gallery of Castiglion Fiorentino (¹) also representing the enthroned Madonna while traces of a saint remain visible at each side.

As we know that Taddeo lived until 1366 we can ascribe to the last years of his life, some works in which the clumsiness of the forms becomes still more obvious.

In the church of S. Martino a Mensola near Florence we find an altar-piece depicting the Virgin enthroned between SS. Justina and Margarita with small half-length figures in the apices, the Annunciation, the half-length figure of the dead Christ between two adorers and the Massacre of the Innocents in the predella (fig. 201). The Child again is of the Daddiesque type but the broadness, especially of the side figures, exceeds even what might be called the monumental type. The figures, however, of the principal panel are not without a certain regular beauty but the decoration above and of the predella must have been left to an assistant.

A Madonna belonging to Mr. Kerr Lawson in London is very similar to the central figure of the above panel; the Virgin again is enthroned and holding the Child Jesus Who is here very animated and playful; her features remind us of those of the Madonnas in Sta. Felicita and at Le Rose, so that in all probability we should place it somewhat earlier than the previous work.

A Madonna in the church of Sta. Verdiana at Castel Fiorentino in the Val d'Elsa (²) also belongs to this group but it is of such inferior quality that it may only be a school work.

The dead Christ between the Virgin and St. John in the Jarves

---

(¹) *A. Del Vita,* Di un opera ignota di Taddeo Gaddi, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 477.

(²) *I. Vavasour Elder,* Spigolature di Val d'Elsa, Rassegna d'Arte, 1909, p. 159.

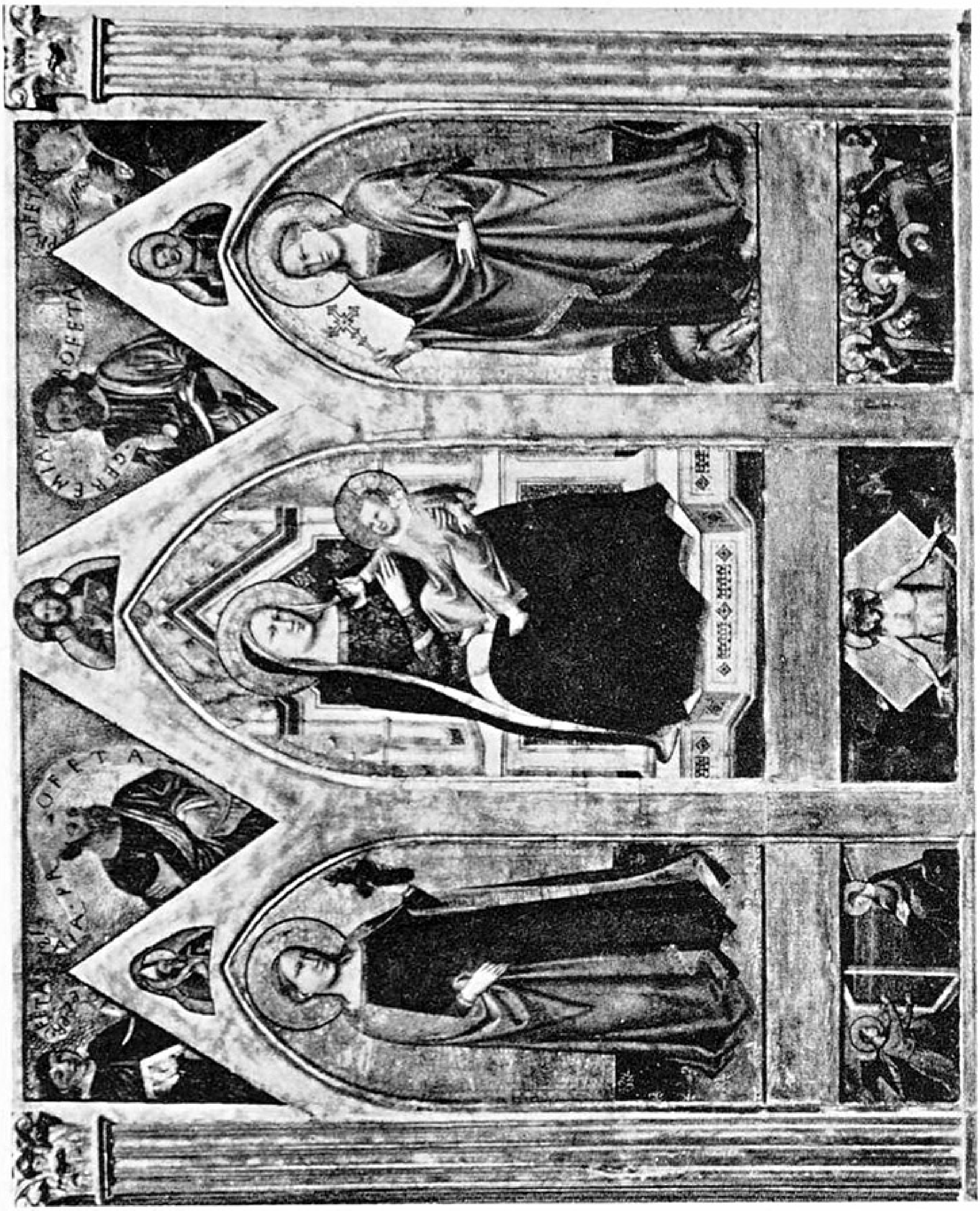


Fig. 201. Taddeo Gaddi, Madonna and Saints. S. Martino a Mensola (near Florence).

Photo Brogi.

collection, Newhaven, U. S. A. is probably part of a bigger picture and is also executed with little care. The design is hard and the shapes angular and ungraceful (¹).

A painting which, until quite recently, hung in the Uffizi (no.

---

(¹) *Sirén,* Descriptive Catalogue. p. 27.

19) and was there attributed to Taddeo's school, may very well be a production of the master's old age. It represents the half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child, Who is unusually large; below we see the Lord rising from His tomb with four saints at either side, while above, He is depicted between two prophets. The proportions are broader than in any of the other works but the appearance of the Madonna and the style of execution are those we found in Taddeo's later productions (¹).

Among the works of Taddeo Gaddi's school, the most important is the series of frescoes in the castle of Poppi in the Casentino, illustrating events from the lives of Our Lord, the Virgin and the two SS. John (fig. 202). I do not think that we can hold the master responsible even for the cartoons of these works; the manner followed by the pupil is that of Taddeo, shortly after the decoration of the Baroncelli chapel. These frescoes have been attributed to Jacopo del Casentino. A series of five half-length figures — the Madonna and four saints — all separated by the frame in the manner of a polyptych in the chapel of the castle, can be attributed to the same hand. Perhaps the same painter also executed the much restored triptych in the old sacristy of S. Lorenzo, Florence, representing the Virgin surrounded by angels in the centre, and at the sides St. Lawrence and an aged female martyr; above are the two figures of the Annunciation while below many kneeling adorers are depicted. Certainly by the same artist is an enthroned Madonna between six saints in the Gallery of Tours (no. 286).

Taddeo's later manner was followed by the author of a handsome but somewhat later panel which is to be found in Sta. Maria delle Grazie of Stia (Casentino); the Virgin is seen enthroned between SS. Catherine, Dorothy, John the Baptist and Antony

---

(¹) I also find mention of the following works by Taddeo Gaddi which are unknown to me: *Englewood*, U. S. A., Platt coll., a prophet; *Florence*, the late Bartolini Salimbeni coll., a portable altar, Madonna, saints, the Crucifixion, Resurrection of Drusiana, the Stigmatization of St. Francis; *Vienna*, Lankoronski coll., two Apostles; Ouroussoff coll., tabernacle with the Annunciation, Crucifixion and saints Mr. *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 144, admits Vasari's attribution to Taddeo of the frescoes representing the afflictions of Job in the Campo Santo, Pisa, which, as we shall see in vol. IV, may have been painted by Taddeo Gaddi and repainted by Francesco Neri da Volterra.

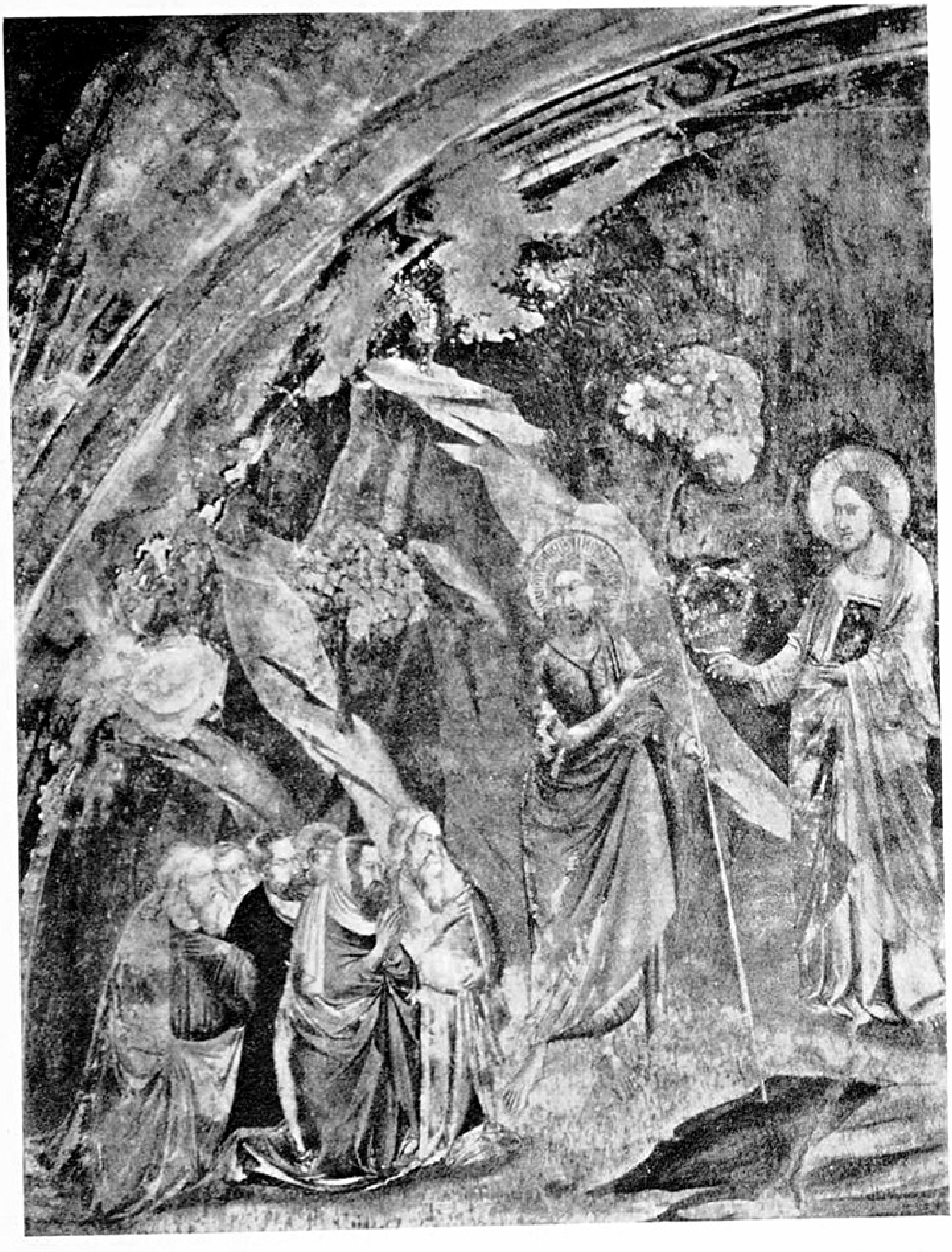


Fig. 202. School of Taddeo Gaddi, the meeting of Christ and the Baptist. Castle of Poppi (Casentino). Photo Alinari.

Abbot, while the predella is ornamented with the figure of the Lord and four busts of saints.

The Bandini Museum at Fiesole contains an Annunciation which was executed in the immediate surroundings of the master. An important enthroned Madonna, who seems to be teaching the

Child Christ to read, is to be found in the Gallery of Parma (no. 446). It shows obvious Gaddiesque elements.

The widely spread conception of Taddeo Gaddi as a somewhat unsuccessfull follower, imitator and vulgarizer of Giotto seems to me erroneous (¹). Giotto, it is true, was without any doubt his real master and when executing the Coronation of the Virgin in Sta. Croce, Gaddi certainly formed part of Giotto's workshop. We find proof of this apprenticeship in almost all his productions but Taddeo owes nearly as much to Bernardo Daddi as to Giotto and we notice this influence not only in the small panels which he executed exclusively at the beginning of his career, but also in the more majestic ones which may be compared with Daddi's Madonnas in the Vatican, in the Museum of Berlin in the one forming the centre piece of the polyptych in the Uffizi, and many others. Taddeo's representation of the Infant Christ is generally a close imitation of Daddi's; the types of many of the other figures have been borrowed from the same source, as well as the gracefulness and slightly Gothic draping which were utterly foreign to Giotto and which Gaddi introduced into pictures in which he was otherwise entirely dependent on Giotto; this will be noticed if a comparison be made between the fresco of Salome dancing before Herod in the Peruzzi chapel and Gaddi's rendering of the same subject in the Louvre.

Taddeo Gaddi, then, cannot be numbered amongst those almost contemporary with the great leader like Paccino di Buonaguida and the Masters of the Vele and the St. Cecily altar-piece; he belonged to a later group which very soon abandoned most of Giotto's skilled instruction and indulged in the production ot harmonious pictorial ensembles of frescoes, the decorative effect of which may even be said to rival that of gobelins, but of which the separate figures can in no way compare with those of these first Florentine Trecento painters. The good Giottesque tradition, however, was preserved in panel painting which from now onward leads a somewhat independent existence.

Taddeo obviously did not attempt to produce pictures with a narrative value or religious sentiment and for this reason his

---

(¹) *Cavalcaselle* likens Taddeo's relation to Giotto to the one which, in a subsequent age, existed between Giulio Romano and Raphael.

figures lead us to believe that his temperament was more phlegmatic than was perhaps really the case; nor do we find in his works any great effort to depict space or the surroundings of his personages with realism. Already in some of the Baroncelli frescoes we notice this weakness in the design and lack of harmony in the composition which are amongst the great mistakes in the wall-paintings of his son Angelo; but the ornamental effect of the ensemble of frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel is perhaps greater than Giotto's and is only surpassed by the Sienese masters of the same period. I shall conclude by saying that Taddeo, who was the first to start in Florence the merely decorative fresco painting which was to become of such great importance, must be given an eminent place in the art history of his city.

# CHAPTER. IV.

## THE SIENESE INFLUENCE IN FLORENCE.

### BERNARDO DADDI (1) AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

Bernardo di Daddo di Simone has been wrongly understood, firstly by Vasari who calls him a follower of Spinello and who gives the date of his death as 1380, and secondly — which is much rarer — by Crowe and Cavalcaselle who treat him as a negligible figure to whom only a few lines have been devoted. (2)

The truth of the matter is, however, that Bernardo Daddi is one of the most refined painters who may be found in Florence in the early 14th century, a true artist, full of sentiment and possessing a keen sense of beauty.

Daddi was almost a contemporary of Giotto's, only outliving him eleven years although his artistic career must have begun about twenty years after the great Florentine's; Daddi, consequently, belongs to a generation preceding but little that of Taddeo Gaddi.

The first mention we find of Daddi is his matriculation in the corporation of physicians and "speciali" which took place between 1312 and 1320, and as his name is inscribed just after the half of the ledger which covers this period we may take it to have been about 1317. He again appears amongst the founders of the corporation of S. Lucca which, as we have previously remarked, probably came into existence in 1339; that he was then a well known painter in Florence is evident from the fact that he was elected councillor of the guild (¹). He is mentioned in the matriculation of the guild as inhabiting the quarter of Porta S. Lorenzo (²) but a document informs us that in 1335 he bought a share in a house in the Via Larga and leaving the St. Lawrence quarter came to live there.

---

(1) *Milanesi*, Commentary on *Vasari*, I, p. 463. *H. Thode*, Studiën zur Gesch. der Ital. Kunst im 14ten Jahrh., Repert. für Kunstw., 1888, p. 13; *G. Vitzthum*. Bernardo Daddi, Leipzig, 1903; *W. Suida*, Studiën zur Trecento Malerei, Repert. für Kunstw., 1904, p. 385, 1906, p. 108; *O. Sirén* Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 157; *Thieme-Becker*, Künstler-Lexikon, VIII, p. 253.

(2) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. Hutton, I, p. 421; in the ed. L. Douglas. II, p. 177, this account is longer.

As his name in the ledger of the guild is accompanied by the date 1355 (³), it has been assumed that this was the year of his death; it is however certain that Bernardo died in 1348, as in August of that year trustees were chosen for two of his three sons, which would lead us to suppose that their father was not old at the moment of his decease.

Two of his sons became artists; they were Daddo Daddi, painter, whose name is found in the ledger of the corporation of "Medici e Speciali" and Simone Daddi, architect and sculptor. No work of either one or the other is known to us.

About his artistic career we also possess the following information.

In his chapter on Jacopo del Casentino, Vasari dismisses Bernardo Daddi in a few words, mentioning besides the extant frescoes in Sta. Croce, some paintings he made above the town gates of Florence. Billi, and after him the Anonimo Gaddiano, refer to his works at Pisa in S. Paolo a Ripa and in the Campo Santo where according to them he executed the fresco representing Hell; the latter authority adds that Daddi was a pupil of Giotto's and this is the only source which provides us with this information.

An inventory of 1432 mentions a panel representing the vision of St. Bernard which Bernardo painted in 1335 for the chapel of the Palazzo Vecchio (⁴) and another, which until about 1570 was to be found in Sta. Maria Novella representing three Dominican saints, signed by the artist and dated 1338 (⁵).

As to extant works we find signed paintings dated 1328 and 1333 (or 34), while in 1346 and 1347 Bernardo appears in the re-

---

(¹) *Manzoni*, op. cit., p. 117.

(²) *Gualandi*, op. cit., p. 180.

(³) *Gualandi*, op. cit., p. 177.

(⁴) *Milanesi*, Commentary on *Vasari*, I, p. 467.

(⁵) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 673, note 2.

cords of the "compagnia" of Or San Michele as receiving payment for a picture of the Virgin which certainly can be identified with the one we now find there in the tabernacle of Orcagna. Besides these authentic works we have other dated paintings which without any doubt can be ascribed to the master, and which enable us to classify numerous other works in the different periods of his career.

Daddi's greatest qualities are the refinement of his design and the serene regular beauty of the features; the development of his art is not marked by an increase in the monumental aspect of his figures which is often the case as an artist matures, but we must sooner conclude for Daddi that at the outset, probably under Giotto's influence, his manner was more majestic, as will be noticed in his first dated work. This manner, however, he was unable to interpret with success. The increase of the Gothic element seems, on the contrary, a factor to rely upon in attempting to classify Daddi's works chronologically.

In the first dated work then, the three figures of 1328 now in the Uffizi (fig. 203) but originally in the church of the Ognisanti, there is no trace of Gothic draping, but Giotto's influence is more obvious than in any of Daddi's other works.

The three half-length figures, the Virgin, St. Matthew and St. Nicholas, seem to reflect Giotto's art at the moment he produced his most monumental figures, but Daddi, in following his master's manner, does not imitate it. The types are not really Giotto's but the proportions, relief and draping, especially of St. Matthew, betray the source of inspiration. Looking at this painting with a knowledge of Daddi's later productions, we fully realise that the artist was here working at a task which did not really suit his temperament. It seems besides probable that this is a youthful production; at a riper age he would not have painted the rigid doll-like Babe Who is not in unison with the other three serene and beautiful figures. Small medallions in the apices contain the half-figures of the Saviour and of two angels while the inscription in a border immediately below runs: "*Anno Dni MCCCXXVIII fr. Nicholaus de Mazinghis de Campi me fieri fecit p. remedio anime matris et fratum. Bernardus de Florentia me pinxit.*"

To this early stage in Daddi's career we can attribute a few other works, some of which may even have been executed before

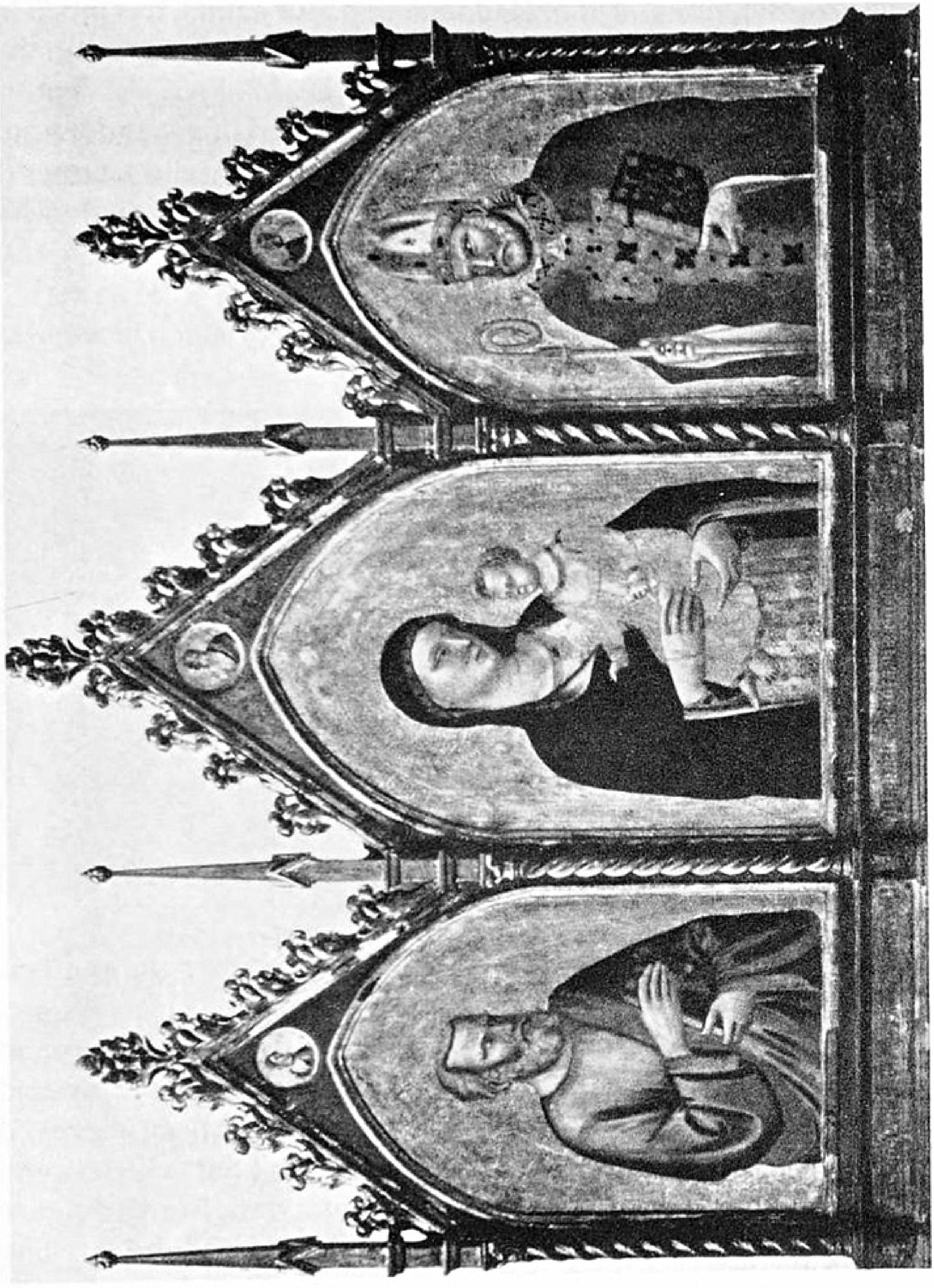


Fig 203. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Saints, 1328 Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Anderson.

the above panel and some between it and the next dated work — the triptych of 1332 in the Bigallo — but none, in all probability, later than this date.

A painting in the Gallery of Prato (no. 4) (fig. 204) representing half-length figures of the Madonna and four saints, has much in common with the panel in the Uffizi. Not everyone agrees in the attribution of this picture to Bernardo Daddi. Prof. A. Venturi observes its resemblance to the work in the Uffizi but does not seem to come to a definite conclusion; Cavalcaselle ascribes it first to Agnolo Gaddi, then to Pacino di Buonaguida, whom he places as a follower of Agnolo (¹), while Count Vitzthum and Mr. Sirén call it a painting of Bernardo's school.

In form and attitude the central figure very much resembles the Madonna in the Uffizi; she carries the Child in a somewhat different manner, clasping one hand round His little body and holding His foot with the other; the Infant has not been improved upon, He is depicted grasping His Mother's veil but is lifeless and rigid. On the left we find St. Bartholomew, a dark bearded figure wearing a decorated cloak of light coloured material and carrying a book and a knife, and St. Francis in his monk's habit with arms crossed looking heavenward. As a pendant to these figures we have St. John the Evangelist, not unlike the St. Nicholas of the Uffizi panel but with longer hair and beard, and St. Catherine of Alexandria holding a book and a palm leaf. The great difference

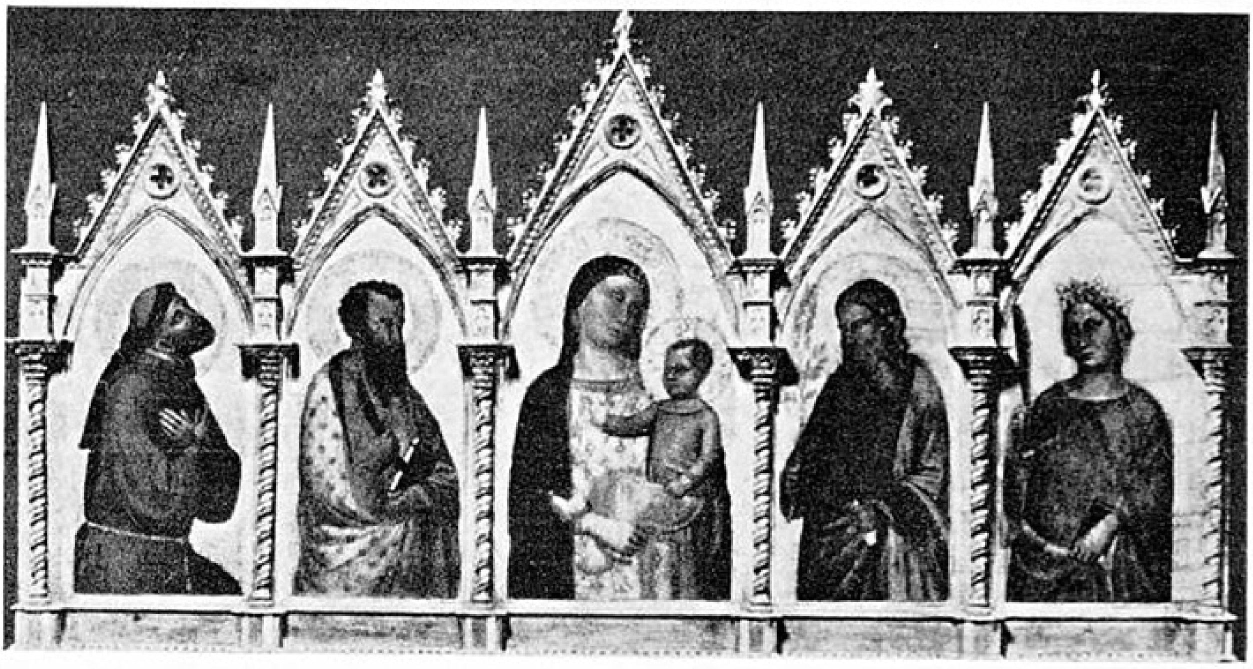


Fig. 204. Bernardo Daddi, polyptych. Gallery, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

---

(¹) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. Langton Douglas, II, pp. 245 and 253.

between this work and the one with which we have compared it, may be accounted for by the excellent state of preservation of the colours, which include red, pink, green and gold in large quantity.

Daddi's most important early work is the Madonna, holding the Child, Who blesses with one hand and holds a little bird in the other, enthroned between six angels in the church of S. Martino alla Palma, Florence (fig. 205) (1). Here, besides the similarity in type of the Madonna, we find identical proportions and the same attempt to produce monumental figures executed in a manner which, as before, is not very successful. In this panel the rigidity, which struck us in the figure of the Babe in the Uffizi altar-piece, is obvious in the arm of the Virgin.

Although, on account of the smiling Virgin, the spirit of the work is somewhat different, I believe we can ascribe to the same moment of his career a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child Who again holds a little bird and grasps one of His Mother's fingers with His other hand. This panel belongs to the collection of Mrs. Gardner, Boston; a bust of the Saviour is depicted at the apex of the picture which no doubt once formed part of a polyptych.

Probably the only two frescoes we have of Bernardo Daddi were executed at this early period; they represent the martyrdom of SS. Stephen and Lawrence and ornament the walls of the Pucci-Berardi chapel of Sta. Croce, Florence (figs. 206 and 207). The former is illustrated by two events on one fresco; to the left the saint, his eyes turned towards heaven, is depicted being roughly treated by one of the four jailors as he appears before the high priest who stretches out an arm towards the prisoner; on the right the martyr, kneeling in prayer, is being stoned by three of his guards; the fourth, the yet unconverted Paul, standing on one side, looks on. Above in the right corner Christ appears in the sky.

Against a somewhat similar background of architecture we see Tiberius giving orders to a man about the martyrdom of St. Lawrence who, as Prof. A. Venturi rightly remarks, lies on the grill "like a fallen gladiator"; he raises himself on one arm using

---

(1) *F. Mason Perkins,* Un dipinto inedito di Bernardo Daddi, Rassegna d'Arte, 1913, p. 189.

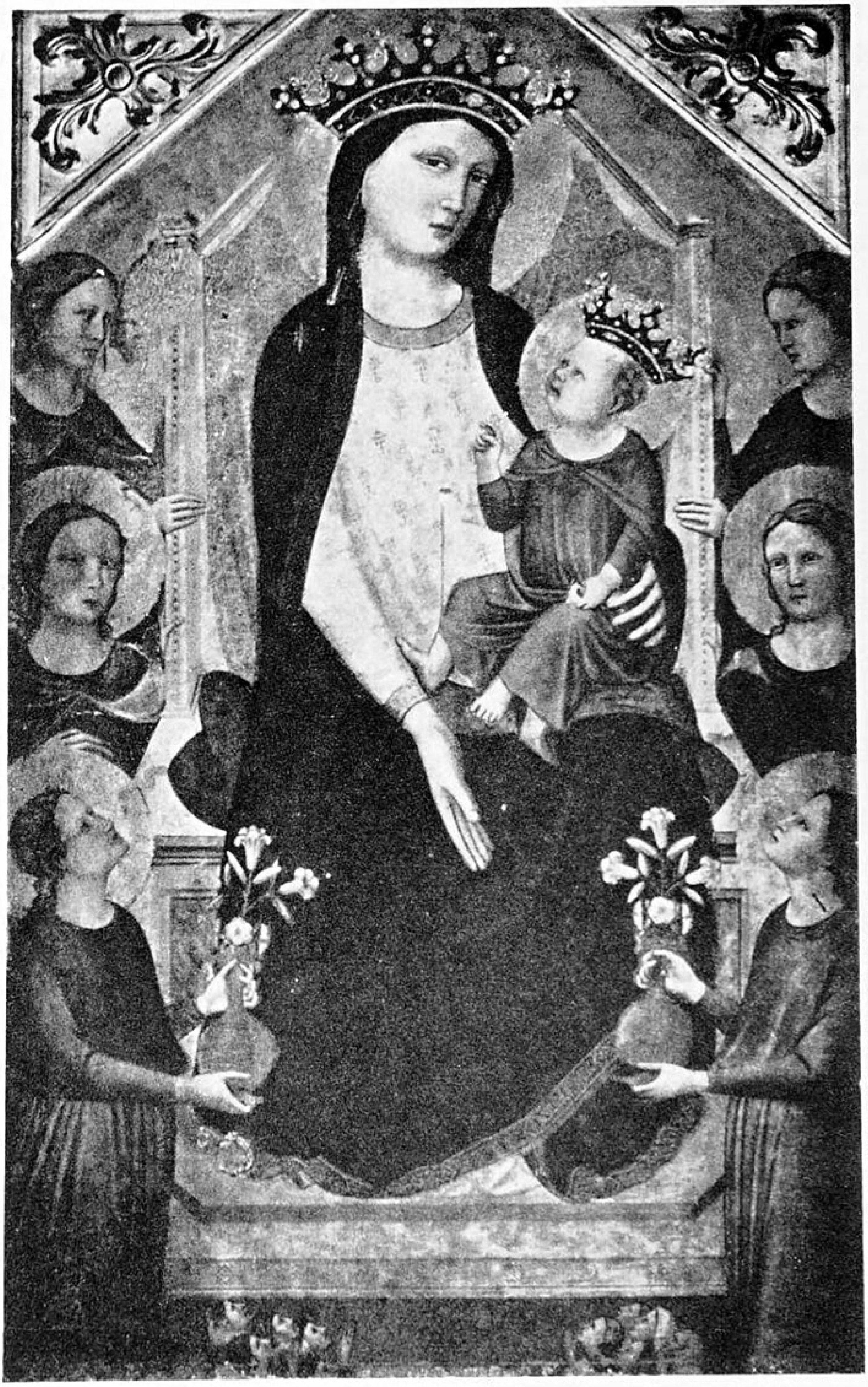


Fig. 205. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Angels. S. Martino alla Palma (near Florence).

Photo Alinari.

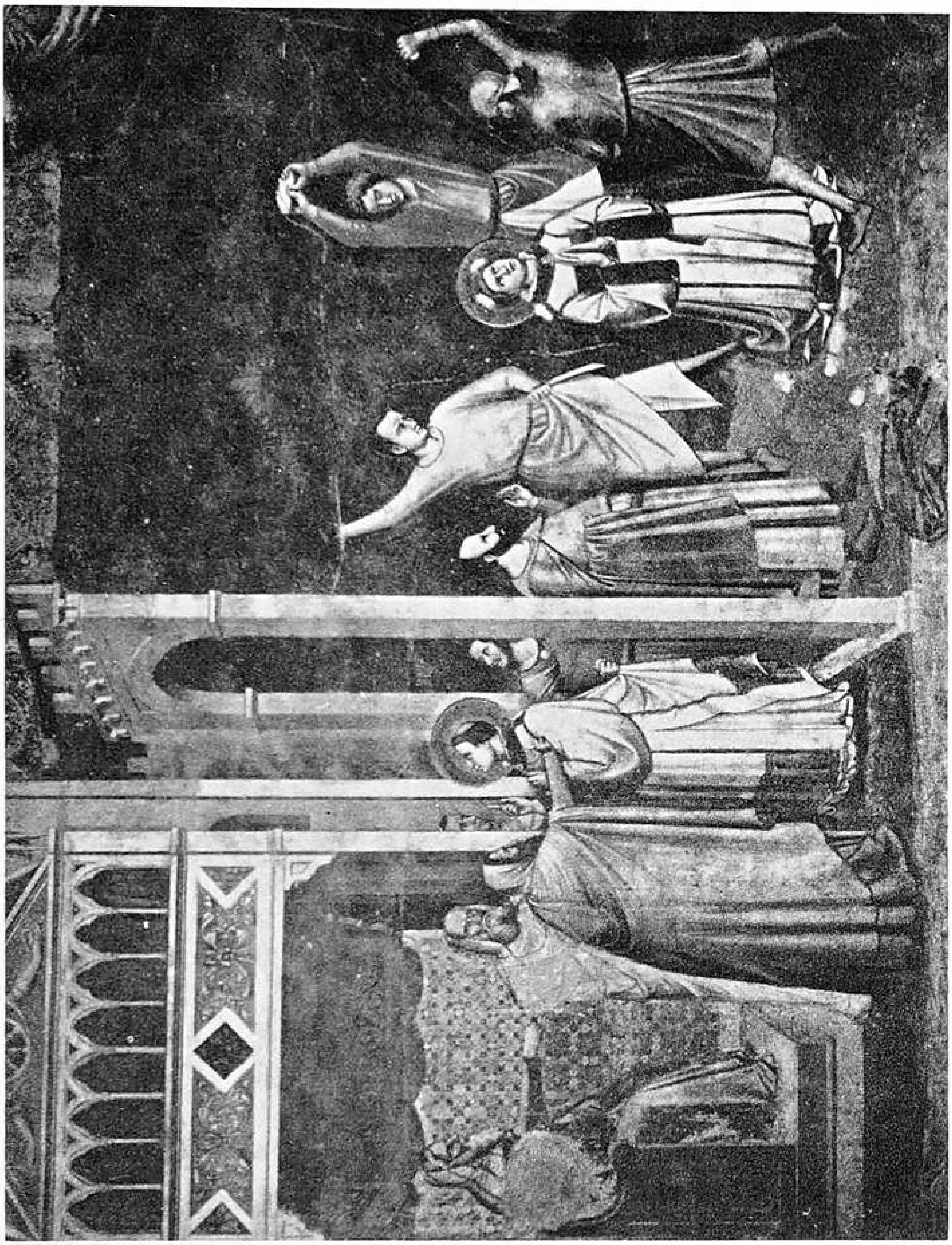


Fig. 206. Bernardo Daddi, the Martyrdom of St. Stephen. Pucci-Berardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

the other to emphasize his argument; around him four men are busily occupied with the fire, one poking it in a business-like manner, the second near by throwing on more fuel, the third approaching with another supply, while the fourth at the other end of the grill manipulates the bellows; behind this last figure

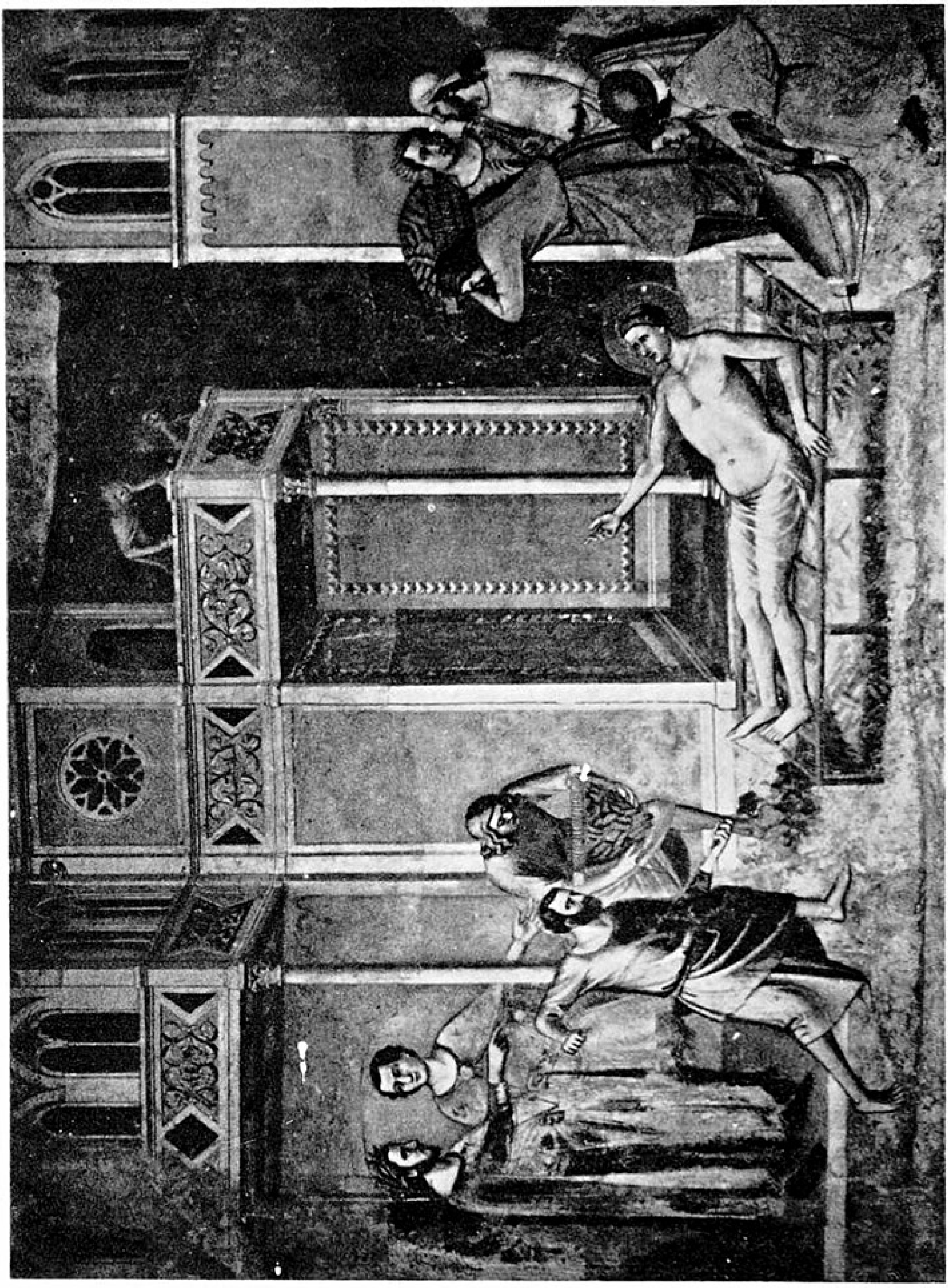


Fig. 207. Bernardo Daddi, the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Pucci-Berardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

two men stand quietly conversing, two others, evidently sympathizers, are seen in the window of a house sorrowing over the fate of the martyr.

Near the window of the chapel we notice two figures of saints.

Without following Giotto's technique, Daddi in these compositions borrowed many details from his master's examples and like him faithfully followed the Golden Legend, which mentions that the Lord appeared to St. Stephen and also that the men who stoned him took off their cloaks which they placed near St. Paul, who is here seen holding one over his arm while another lies at his feet. The type of Jewish priest who drags the saint before his judge is not unlike one who appears in Giotto's frescoes at Padua in the Betrayal of Judas and again another in the Mocking of the Saviour, in which latter scene we see a face amongst the officials on the right which we find again in the man who handles the bellows. The architectural backgrounds are very like some of Giotto's. The projecting balcony supported by a pillar, seen on the St. Lawrence fesco, is depicted in the representations of the Annunciation to Anna, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the Visitation. The upper part of the facade of the house on the left half of St. Stephen's martyrdom is very like that found in the first scene of the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church, Assisi, that of the man spreading his cloak on the ground for the young saint to walk on; in both, two angelic figures support the rose window of the classical building; similar angels are found on the top of the tabernacle in the miracle of Greccio at Assisi, and at Padua on the façades of the houses in which the Annunciation to St. Anna and the Nativity of the Virgin take place. The simple rose window found in Daddi's fresco also occurs in the representation of St. Francis' funeral and the little ornamented roof in the scene of the vision of Brother Guido, both works in the Upper Church which we attributed to a pupil of Giotto. It is very remarkable that these paintings by Bernardo Daddi should more closely approach Giotto's earlier labours at Assisi than the later ones in the two chapels of Sta. Croce, which our artist had here under his eye. Although Daddi abandoned his master's synthetic composition, his influence remains visible, for the spirit of these two frescoes, even if the figures are too phlegmatic, is more the outcome of the narrative and illustrative tradition than Gaddi's wall-paintings, which lead the way to the production of merely decorative fresco. We do not observe, however, any attempt to place the figures inside the room in which the action occurs or to surround them with space; perspective is imperfect, the ground seems to slope while the architecture and the personages are depicted independent of one another and the scenes, especially that of the stoning of St. Stephen, are incoherent. Except for some good light and shade effects, the figures are rather flat and the ensemble is characteristic of an artist who is in the habit of painting Madonnas and saints on gold backgrounds.

The same remark may be applied to two predella panels, with scenes from the legend of St. Cecily in the Gallery of Pisa, which in style most closely resemble the above mentioned frescoes.

A few panel pictures seem to betray more connection with the next group than with those of Daddi's earliest stage; however, certain souvenirs of the latter are still too obvious for us not to mention them together.

The Gallery of Berlin possesses one of these broad panels similar in shape to the one in the Uffizi, but the greater beauty of this painting perhaps entitles it to be grouped with the later works. The half-naked Child playfully grips the chin of His Mother who tenderly but seriously looks down upon Him. The lateral panels show the holy bishops Salvius and Benedict, while the predella has been painted by Bicci di Lorenzo. This picture may be contemporary with an entirely repainted polyptych in one of the rooms occupied by the directorate of the Accademia of Florence; its attribution to Daddi however on account of its bad condition, is rather dubious. The date of execution, 1333, as well as that of the restoration, 1530, are both inscribed. Besides the half-length figure of the Madonna we find those of SS. Nicholas, Benedict and the two Johns.

If, in mentioning these two works, I have encroached on the next group, the first production of which is the Bigallo triptych of 1333, it is because later we do not find any paintings composed entirely of half-length figures which seem to belong particularly to Daddi's early stage. Several characteristics are peculiar to this group: the proportions of the figures are more Giottesque than in any other productions of the master and the Madonnas as well as the saints — except the St. Francis in Prato — are never depicted full face or in profile but always three quarters which seems to have been the artist's favorite angle.

The next period which covers the years between 1333 and 1336 or there about, is the one during which Daddi painted the best of his small triptychs, which replaced the more archaic diptych and which this master seems to have been the first to produce. Besides himself, a great number of pupils and later followers adopted this very pleasing form of panel, innumerable examples of which are spread throughout the public and private collections of the world.

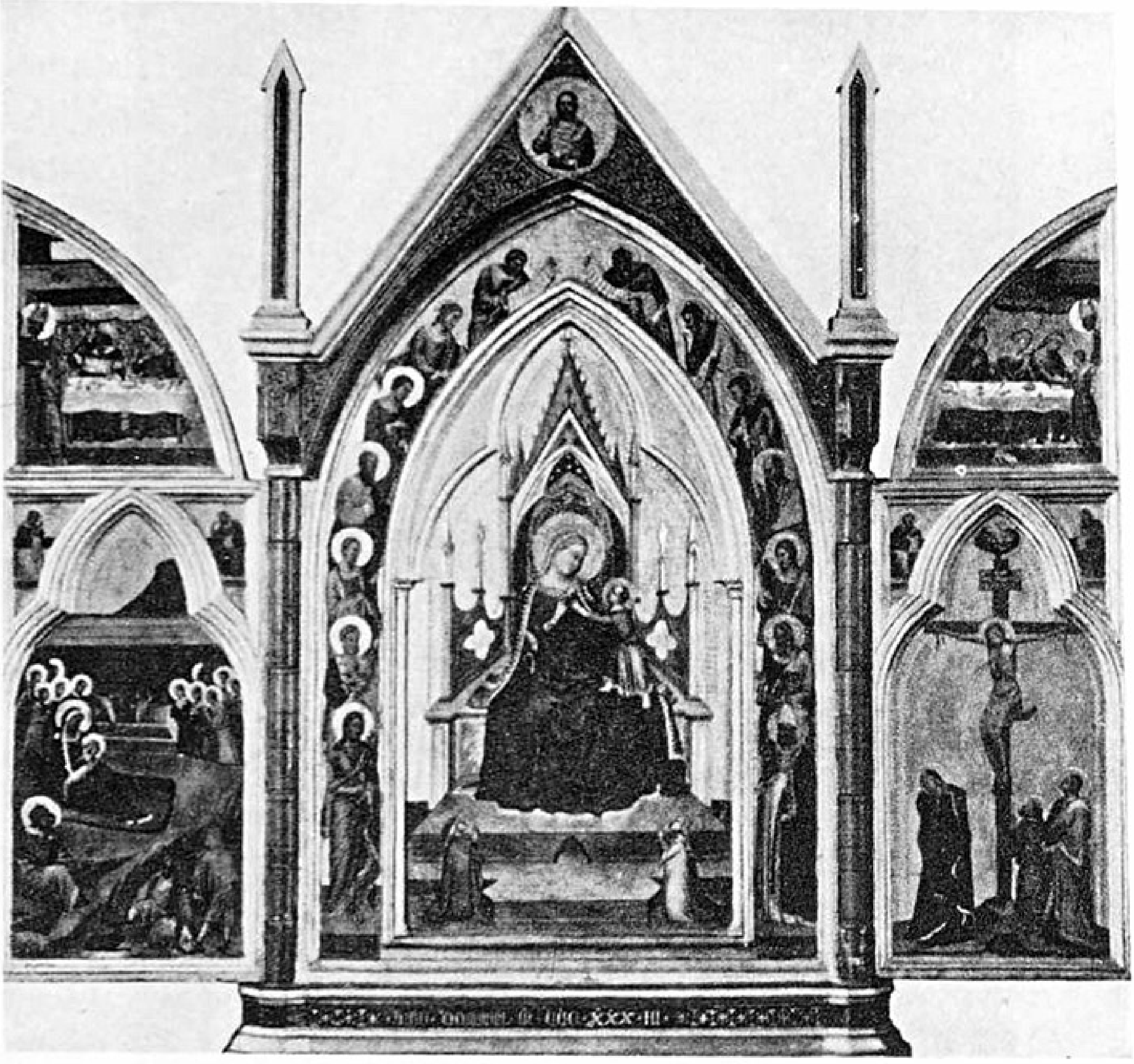


Fig. 208. Bernardo Daddi, triptych, 1333. Bigallo, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

The triptychs or parts of triptychs which can be attributed to Daddi himself or to helpers who were so completely dominated by Daddi, that we can consider their works as the master's own productions, are not less than eighteen in number; of these, the painting in the Bigallo of 1333 is the earliest dated one (fig. 208).

In the central panel we find the Madonna and Child in a frame of saints with two small adorers at her feet, and on the wings the Nativity and the Crucifixion; in the latter the Lord is seen crucified

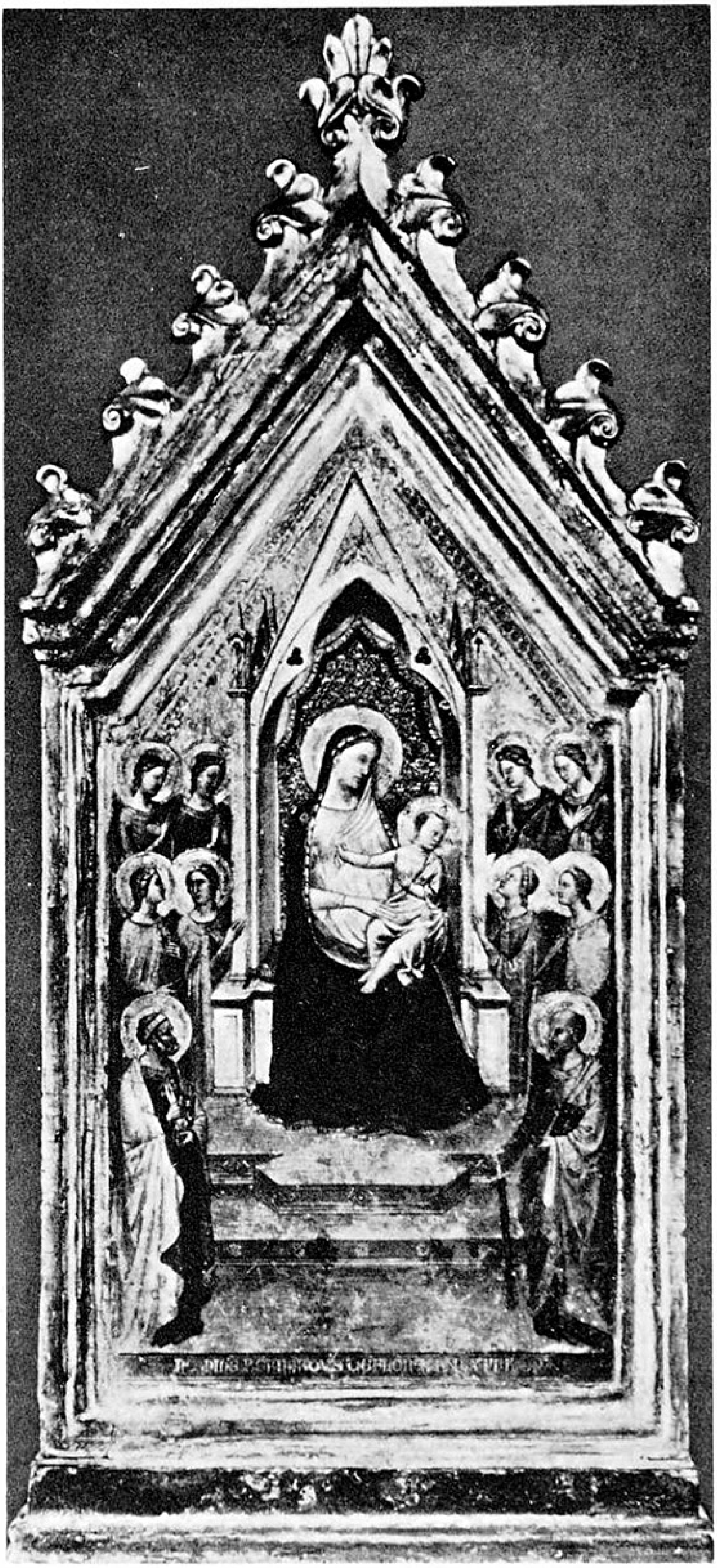


Fig. 209. Bernardo Daddi, centre of a triptych, 1334 (?).
Accademia, Florence. Photo Brogi.

on a high Cross with the Virgin, St. John and St. Francis at the foot. In the upper corners of these lateral representations two male saints are painted; above are two events from the legend of St. Nicholas: the saint taking the child away from the heathen monarch who is seen seated at table with a lady, and the holy man returning the infant to his rejoicing parents. On the doors of the panel are depicted SS. Martin and Christopher and above SS. Margaret and Catherine, while a medallion of Christ ornaments the apex. Herr Suida does not agree that this is a work of Daddi's but claims it for a special artist of his own to whom he also attributes other similar triptychs.

On account of the somewhat broad proportions, I think we should compare with the above work another triptych once in the "Museo Cristiano" of the Vatican but which, since the foundation of the Gallery, seems to have disappeared. It represented the Madonna between the Baptist and a holy bishop.

Either the same year or the year following Daddi must have painted a triptych, the central part of which is now in the Accademia of Florence and is signed *"Nomine Bernardus de Florentia Pinxit H. op. Anno Dom. MCCCXXXII..."*, but the date is obviously incomplete and we must add one if not two years to it (fig. 209). The Madonna is here seated on a throne which is as elaborate as the one of the Bigallo triptych, although somewhat different in form; four angels stand on either side while SS. Peter and Paul are depicted in the foreground.

The general composition is here less hieratic than that of the previous work in which the saints formed a frame around the Madonna who seemed to occupy a separate panel. The principal figures of this painting form, with the lateral ones, a single group which is not altogether lacking in depth, a certain effect of distance having been obtained by the arrangement of the surrounding figures.

The date, 1334, is to be found under a triptych in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, U. S. A. (fig. 210), and although I do not know the original I dare say the attribution to Daddi is correct. The subject here is exceptional; instead of the Madonna, we find in the central panel a representation of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John seated in desolation at either side and Mary Magdalene clinging to the foot of the Cross. In the left panel we see Our Lord praying in the Garden of Olives and the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, while on the right are SS. Catherine, Reparata, James the Great and Antony Abbot. The attribution of this triptych to Daddi has sometimes been doubted but it seems to be a work from the master's own hand, although perhaps not one of the happiest of this period (¹).

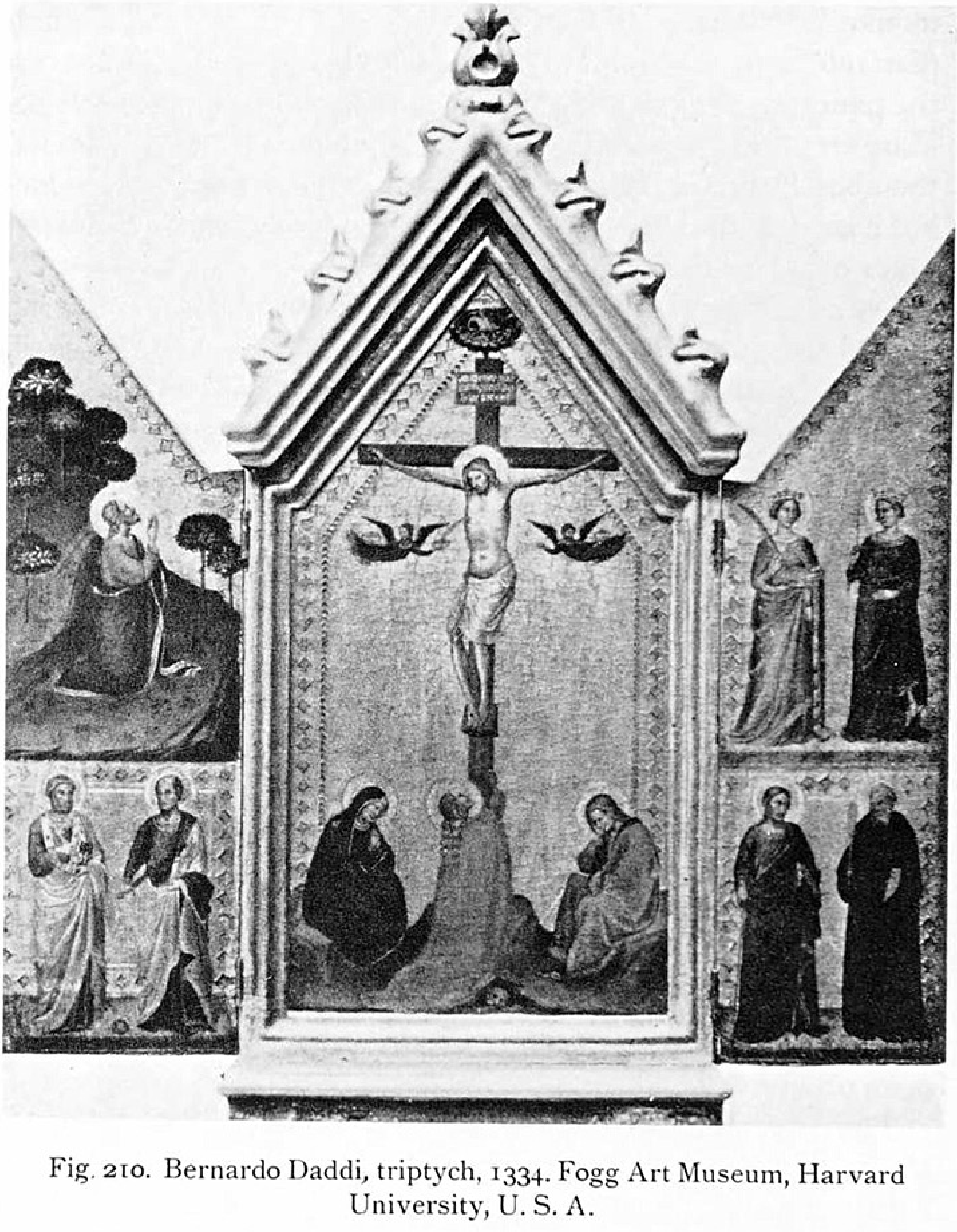


Fig. 210. Bernardo Daddi, triptych, 1334. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, U. S. A.

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 270. *M. E. Gilman*, A triptych by Bernardo Daddi, Art in America, 1918, p. 210. *Fogg Art Museum*, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1919, p. 35.

A very fine triptych in the Gallery of Siena is dated 1336 and seems for the greater part a replica of the one in the Bigallo (fig. 211). Only, whereas in the latter the Child Jesus stood affectionately and somewhat agitated on His Mother's knee, here we find Him quietly seated and holding out His hand in blessing. Groups of angels with St. Peter and St. Paul stand at the sides of the throne while the Baptist and a holy bishop are depicted more in the foreground. Only slight differences can be detected

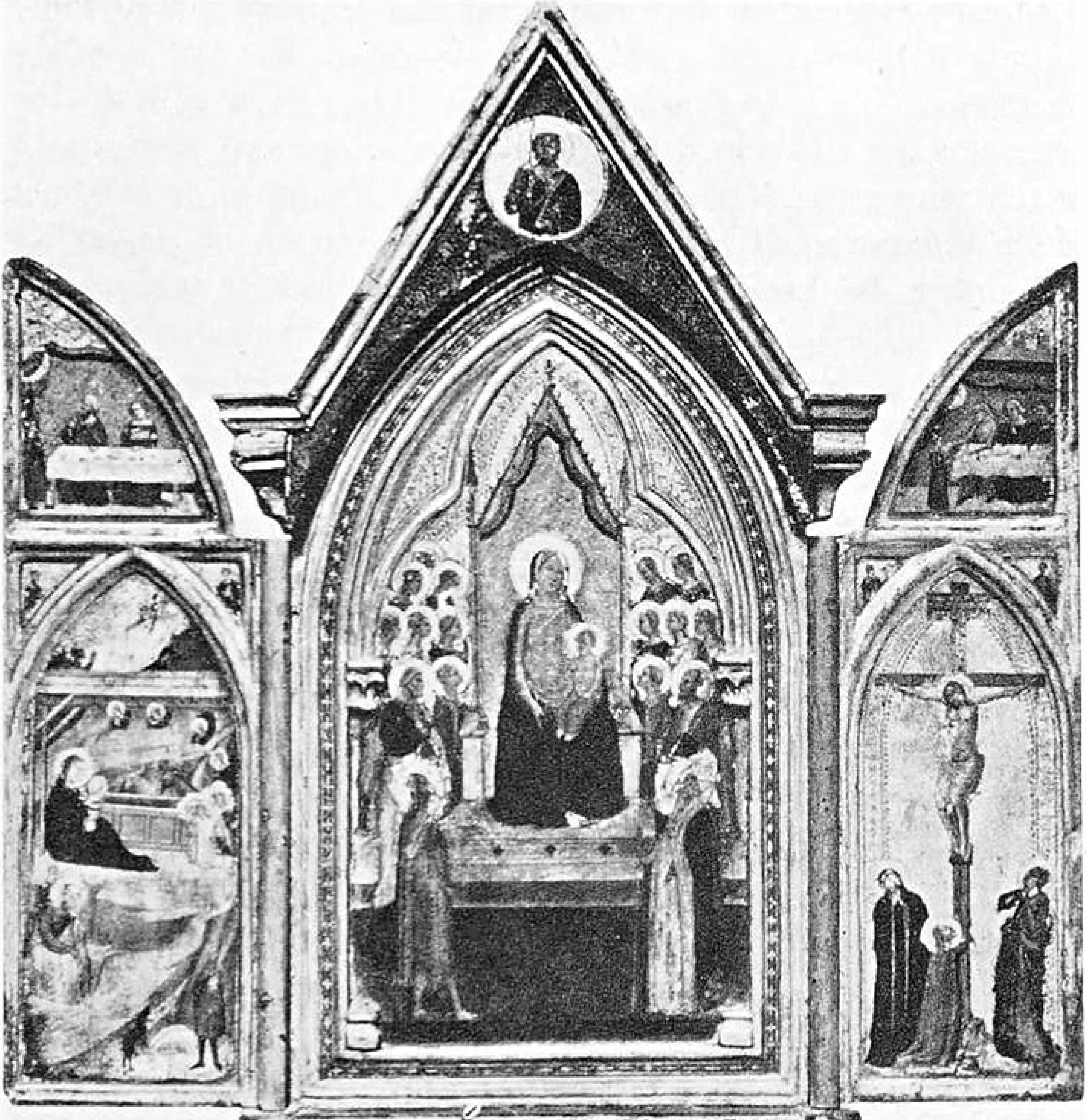


Fig. 211. Bernardo Daddi, triptych, 1336. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

in the lateral panels: the figures around the Nativity are less numerous and the Magdalene replaces the figure of St. Francis. Above, the two miracles of St. Nicholas are represented in almost identical compositions.

Closely resembling the manner of this triptych but perhaps slightly earlier, is the one in the Meerman van Westreenen Museum in The Hague, showing in the centre the Virgin giving breast to the Child in the midst of ten saints and angels and in the wings the Nativity and the Crucifixion with a figure of the Annunciation above either representation. A medallion containing the Eternal is depicted in the apex of the central panel.

A small picture in the Museum of Nice (no. 159) representing the Virgin with the Child standing on her knee between St. Antony and a female saint while two angels support the curtain which forms the back of the throne, is less characteristic of Daddi's art but might also be from his hand. Perhaps originally it had a different shape and also formed the central piece of a triptych.

There are but few of Daddi's works of this period which have not the form of a triptych, one, however, will be found in the magazins of the Uffizi; it is a large half-length figure of the Madonna dated 1333, but is now in such bad condition that we cannot obtain a precise idea of its original appearance.

Another production of about this time has been recently acquired by the Museum of Naples. It is a half-length figure of the Madonna holding the Child tenderly pressed against her (1).

The Museum of the Cathedral of Florence possesses a fine picture of Daddi's with the date 1334, showing us in the centre a half-length figure of the Madonna holding an open book and looking through a sort of frame through which she extends her right hand towards three kneeling donors. At the sides are the upright figures of SS. Catherine and Zenobius; above, the Lord is depicted while below three small figures kneel in adoration.

In the Vatican Gallery we meet with a replica (no. 90) of the figure of the Virgin but it is less finely executed and seems to me of somewhat later date (fig. 212) (¹).

---

(1) *A. De Rinaldis*, Una Madonna di Bernardo Daddi, Bolletino d'Arte del Minist. del Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 277.

The next dated work is of 1338 and as it clearly manifests an ulterior phase in the artist's development I should now like to ennumerate the characteristics of the group we have just dealt with and see what other works may be attributed to this period.

It will be observed that a Gothic element is present in almost all the productions of this stage in Daddi's career. In the Bigallo triptych it is very marked in the draping of the Virgin under the Cross; we find it also in the painting of the Fogg Museum while in the Siena panel the figures near the Crucified are those which most obviously mark this change. It should besides be observed that even in these small representations the proportions, especially of the Madonna, remain monumental but the Giottesque broad sturdiness has been replaced by a greater elegance which, however, does not always improve the build of the figures. Especially in the triptych of 1336 we notice a rigidity and weakness in the design of the Baptist which will frequently be met with in works of the following group.

Daddi's independence of Giotto is here most obvious in the types of the faces which, in losing individuality and force of expression, gain a regular and harmonious beauty and a somewhat sad softness of expression, all characteristics which sooner remind us of Siena than of Florence.

The earliest works of this group — one perhaps dating before the Bigallo triptych — are a triptych in a private collection in Stockholm and a Crucifixion in the Blumenthal collection, New-York (²). In the centre of the former the Virgin is depicted surrounded by four angels and two saints each of whom presents a kneeling donor. To the left we find St. Francis receiving the stigmata and to the right the Lord on the Cross with the Virgin St. John and the kneeling Magdalene while above are the two figures of the Annunciation. The central Madonna makes a gesture very similar to the one we found in the picture in S. Mar-

---

(¹) Mr. *Sirén* now admits that this picture is probably a work of Daddi's, Alcune note aggiuntive a quadri primitivi nella Galleria Vaticana, L'Arte, 1921, p. 101. Previously he believed it to be a school production of his workshop; Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 272.

(²) Reprod. in Sirén, op. cit., pls. 143 and 148.

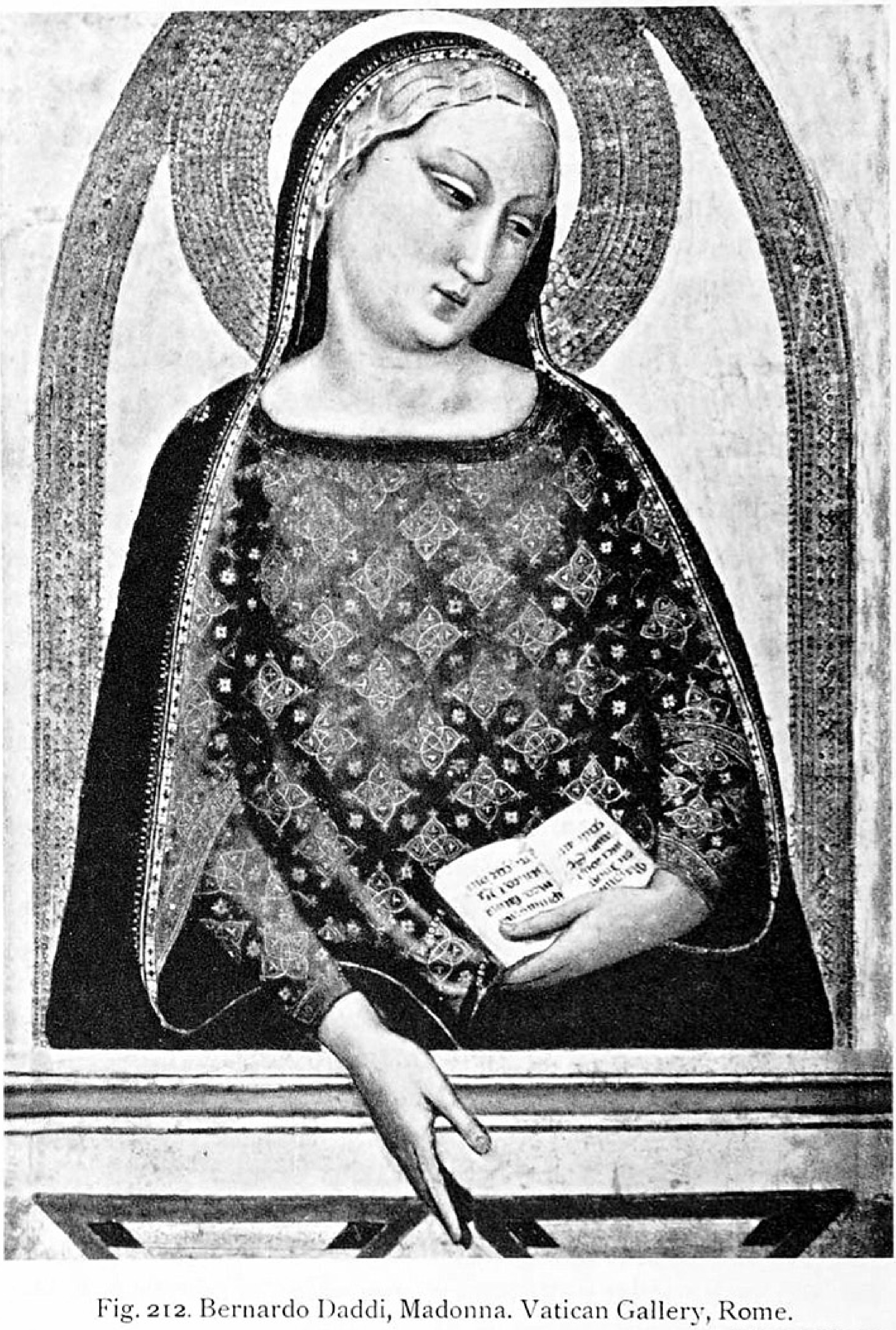


Fig. 212. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

tino alla Palma but without the rigidity that we observed there.

The traces of Gothic influence, which are to be noticed in much of the draping of this picture, are more marked in the Cru-

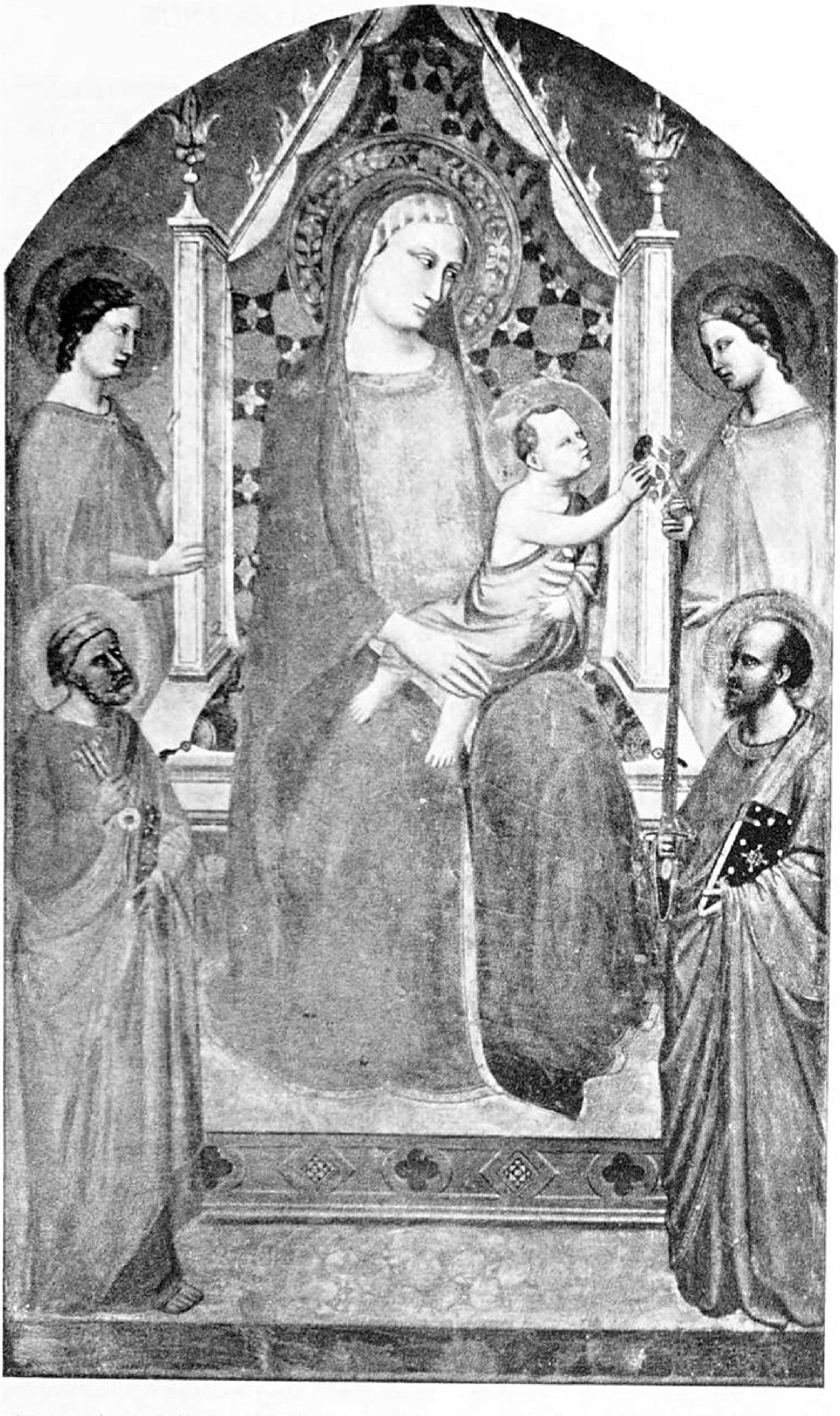


Fig 213. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna, Angels and Saints. S. Giusto a Signano (near Florence).

Photo Reali.

cifixion of the Blumenthal collection, the composition of which is identical to the one on the right wing of the above triptych.

Strongly resembling the signed panel of 1334 (?) in the Accademia and the painting of the same year in the Fogg Museum is the tryptych in the Castle of Meiningen (¹) which represents centrally the Madonna and Child, the latter in an attitude very similar to that of the signed picture, between St. Francis and a holy bishop. The wings contain on one side the Apostles and on the other the Lord crucified, with the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross, while above are the two figures of the Annunciation.

In the Vatican Gallery there is a small painting of the Virgin holding the Child erect on her knee in which the lateral figures are absent and which does not seem to have ever formed part of a triptych.

In the church of S. Giusto at Signano we find a more important representation of the Madonna of this period (fig. 213) which closely approaches the panel of 1334 (?) in the Accademia. Here the Madonna is seated on a similar throne and in a somewhat similar attitude but altogether much better designed; so too the Child Whom she holds upon her knee and Who turns round to accept a rose offered by an angel standing on the right, the one on the left places both hands on the arm of the throne; below on either side stand SS. Peter and Paul, each holding a book and his own emblem. Besides the excellency of design and colour, the artist has succeeded in giving a depth of expression to all the figures, such as we find but rarely in his works.

One of the finest paintings which Bernardo produced during this, his most happy period, is a small Annunciation in the Louvre; it is full of a spiritualized beauty of a kind quite foreign to Giotto and his pupils (fig. 214).

The Virgin is seen seated under an open portico which forms the lower part of quite an illogical building. An iconographical peculiarity will be found in the presence of the two angels who kneel in front of the Madonna. Above, the Eternal Father between angels sends forth the dove which symbolizes the Holy Ghost.

The types of the beautiful faces, all depicted in profile, will be

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Alcune opere sconoscuite di Bernardo Daddi, L'Arte, 1905, p. 280.

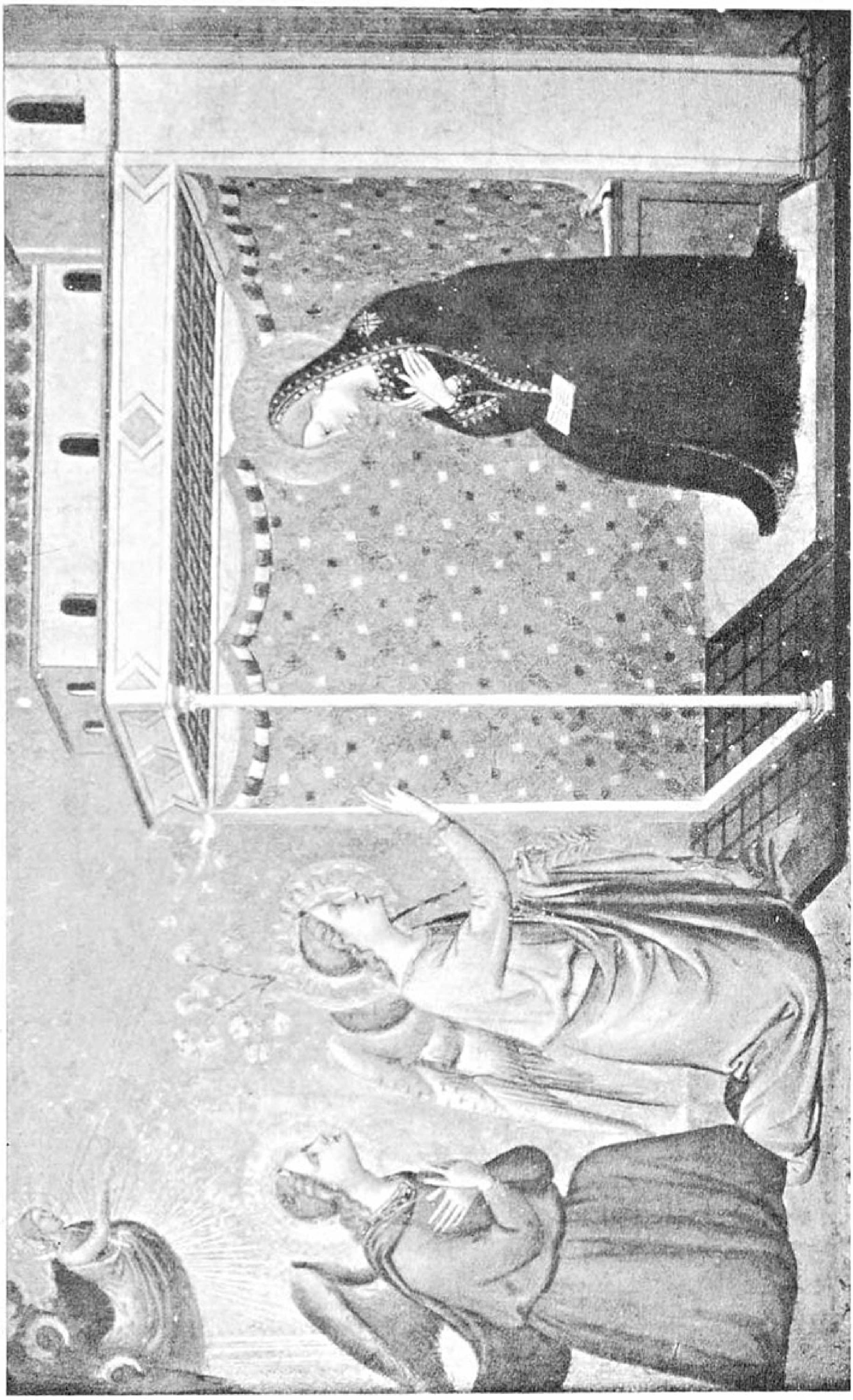


Photo Alinari.

Fig. 214. Bernardo Daddi, the Annunciation. Louvre, Paris.

found amongst the angels which surround the Madonna in the little triptych of 1336 at Siena.

Although less idealized, I think we should attribute to the same years of Daddi's activities the seven small panels, which illustrate the history of the Holy Girdle of the Madonna, and which form part of the town Gallery of Prato (¹).

They represent (1) the Apostles around the empty tomb of the Virgin, St. Thomas showing them the holy girdle which the Virgin gave him at the moment of her Assumption (fig. 215), (2) St. Thomas, followed by the other Apostles, gives the girdle into the safe custody of a priest, (3) Michael Dagomari in Palestine in 1096 receiving his bride from the hands of her mother who, in the fourth scene, is depicted giving her son-in-law the cintola in a bag, (5) Michael and his wife returning to Italy in a very small boat, (6) Michael, having fallen asleep with his head on the relic, is removed by two angels and his body placed on the floor, (7) Michael on his deathbed hands the relic, still in the same bag in which he received it, to the canon of the Cathedral of Prato (fig. 216).

Here also we find some very beautiful faces and a mixture of extremely graceful and more sturdy figures. The master, however, was obviously occupied in relating his story and did not find an opportunity for producing as spiritualized a picture as the Annunciation in the Louvre. Many of the figures show a strongly marked Gothic element.

Some small round-topped panels, which have been grouped together by Mr. Sirén in describing the one belonging to the Jarves collection at Newhaven, illustrate the legend of St. Dominic and may very well have formed part of the predella of an altar-piece which Daddi is known to have painted in 1338 for a chapel in Sta. Maria Novella and which represented three Dominican saints (²). The one at Newhaven depicts the vision that St. Dominic had of SS. Peter and Paul handing him a book and a sword (fig. 217) (³);

---

(¹) These panels, as well as the following series in the Vatican, have been hesitatingly ascribed by Messrs. Khvoshinsky and Salmi to the "Master of the Vele of Assisi".

(²) *O. Sirén,* Descriptive Catalogue etc., p. 22.

(³) The Golden Legend really mentions a book and a stick.

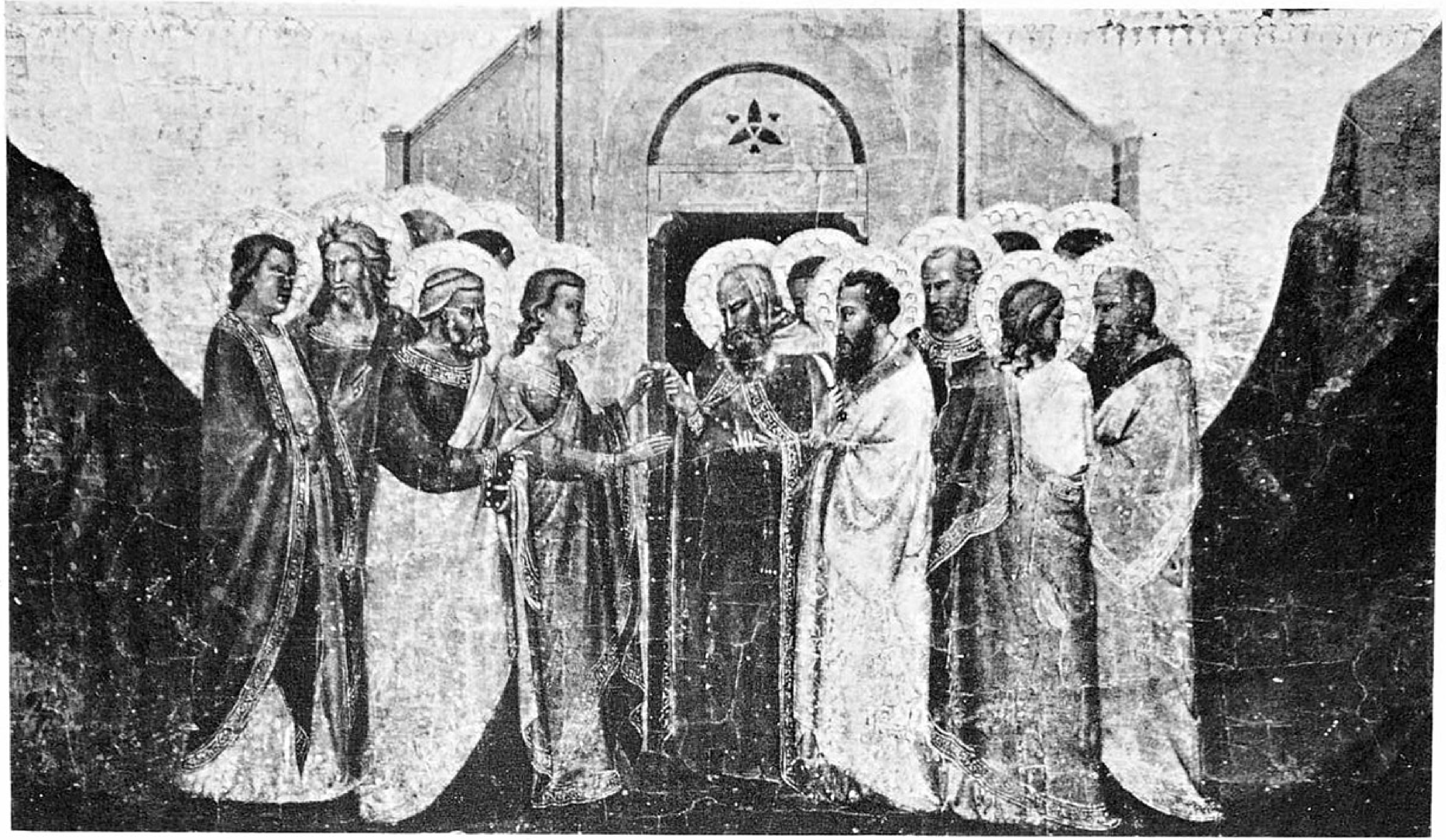


Fig. 215. Bernardo Daddi, St. Thomas shows the holy belt to the other Apostles. Gallery, Prato. Photo Brogi.

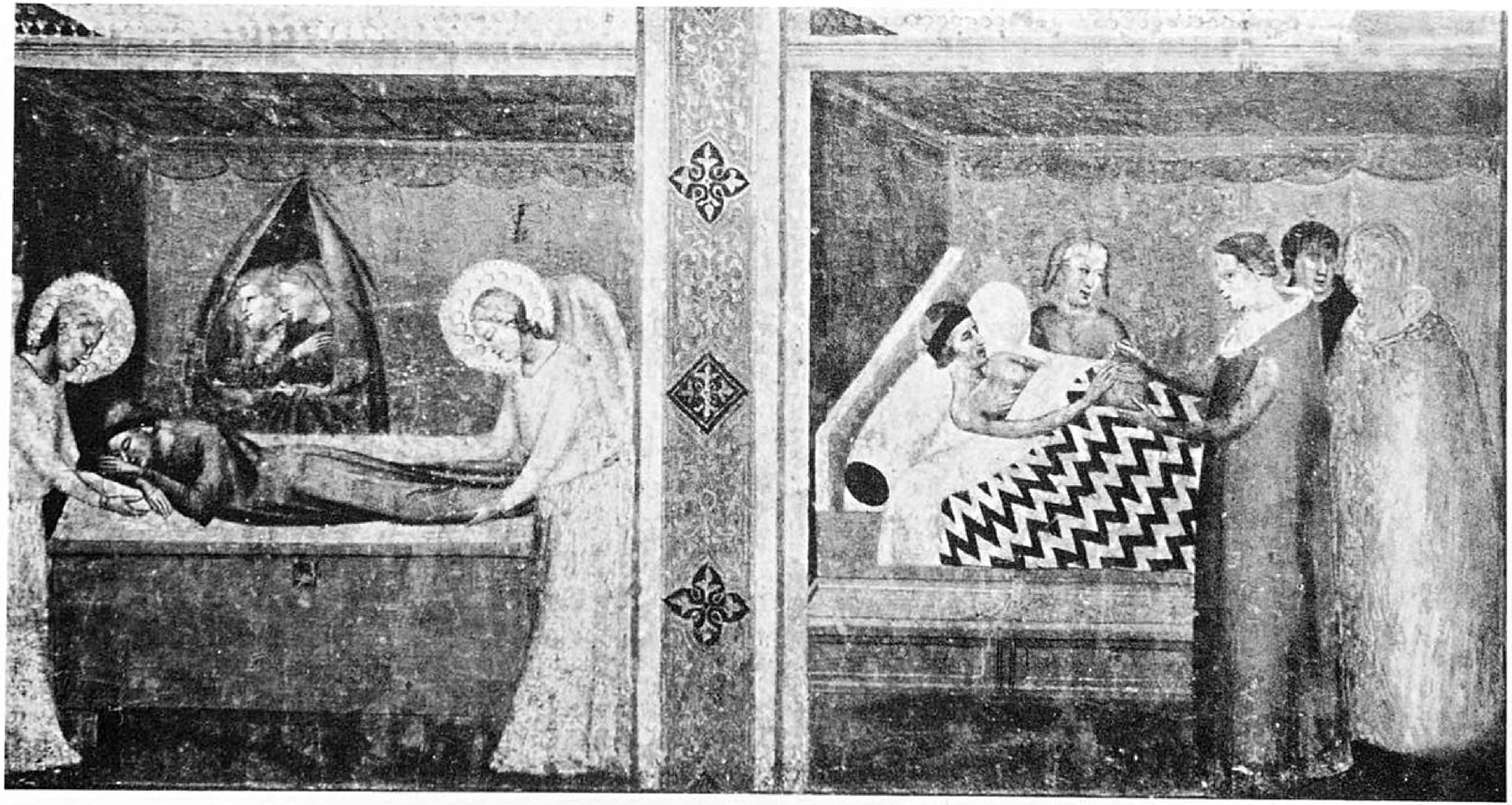


Fig. 216. Bernardo Daddi, Michele Dagomari lifted up by angels and on his death-bed giving the holy relic to the canon of the Cathedral. Gallery, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

another in the Raczynski collection at Posen shows us how a Dominican saint came to the rescue of sailors in a storm (¹), and a third, which belongs to the Musée des Arts Décoratives, Paris, represents a holy Dominican preaching in a public place while a horse runs away in the midst of the assembled audience.

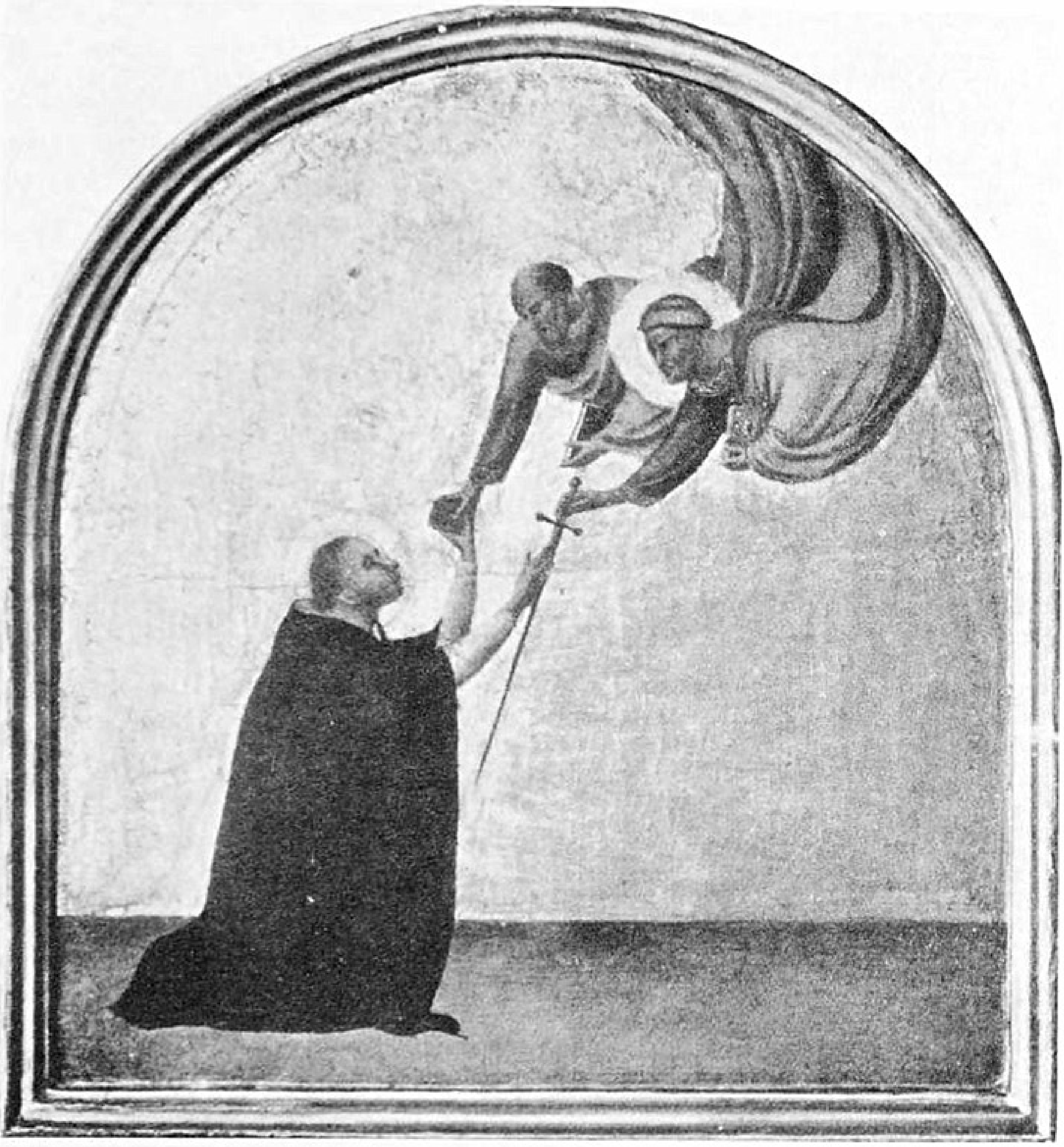


Fig. 217. Bernardo Daddi, Vision of St. Dominic. Jarves Collection, Newhaven, U. S. A.

I feel sure that the panel, no. 1094, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin, which is there attributed to the school of Am-

---

(¹) *G. Cagnola,* Note intorno a quadri italiani in una galleria tedesca, Rassegna d'Arte, 1913, p. 4.

brogio Lorenzetti (¹), really belongs to this series (fig. 218). For a long time I had classed this picture with the works of Daddi but only recently I discovered that its shape and dimensions (²) correspond to those of the above group with which it must originally have formed an ensemble. Besides, any doubt on this point will be cleared up if a comparison be made between the peculiar

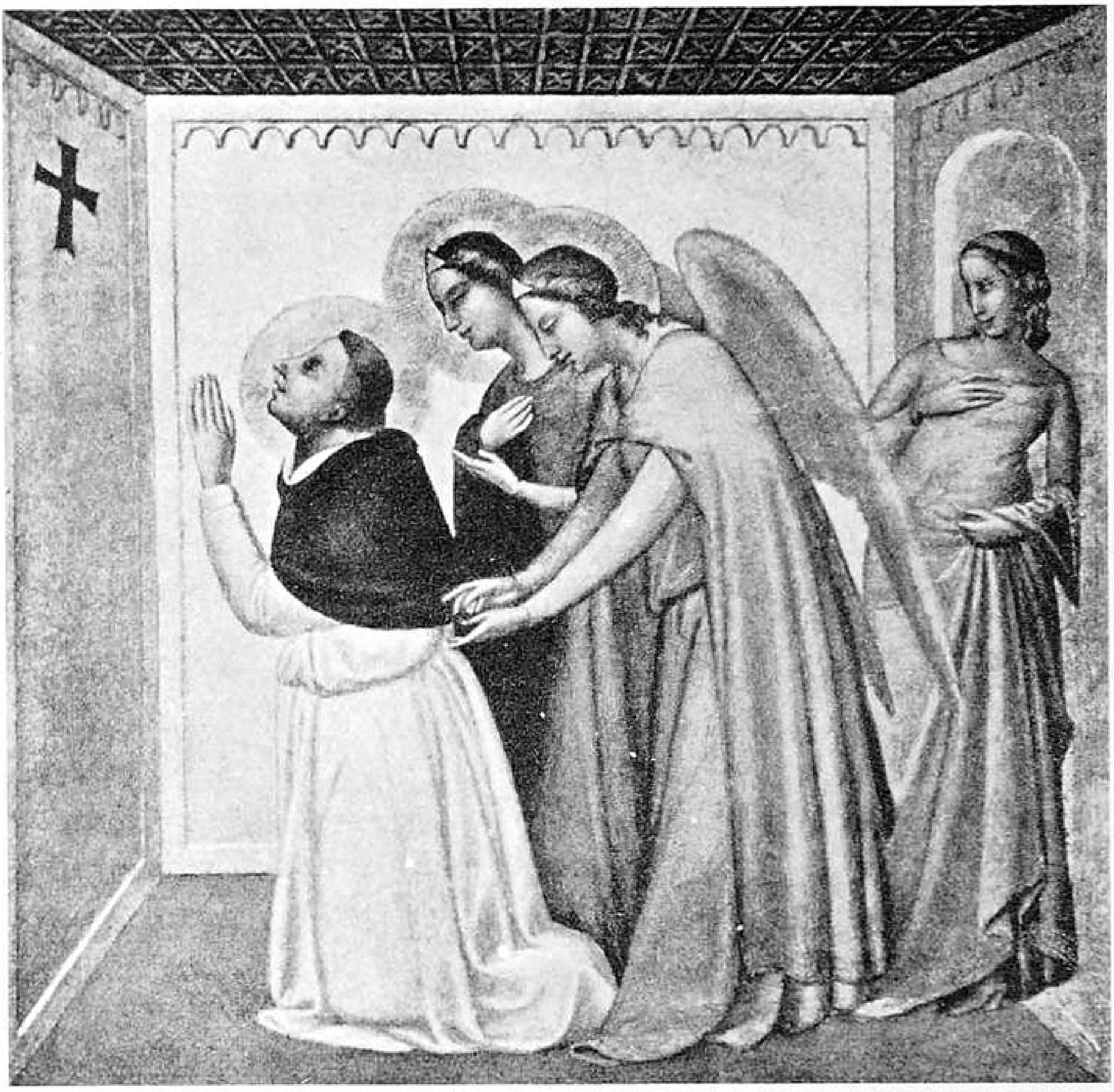


Fig. 218. Bernardo Daddi, St. Dominic in prayer. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Photo Hanfstaengl.

---

(¹) *W. Suida.* Notizie su alcuni quadri primitivi italiani nel Kaiser Friedrich Museum di Berlino, Rivista d'Arte, V, 1907, p. 41, ascribes this picture to Andrea Orcagna, so also do *Sirén* and *Khvoshinsky and Salmi.*

(²) A small piece has obviously been removed from the top of the picture in Berlin thus altering its shape as well as its height. The picture, however, clearly indicates the beginning of the rounded upper part, which is invisible in the reproduction.

features and expression of the saint at Newhaven and the one in Berlin, who is seen kneeling before a cross while two angels and a woman stand behind him.

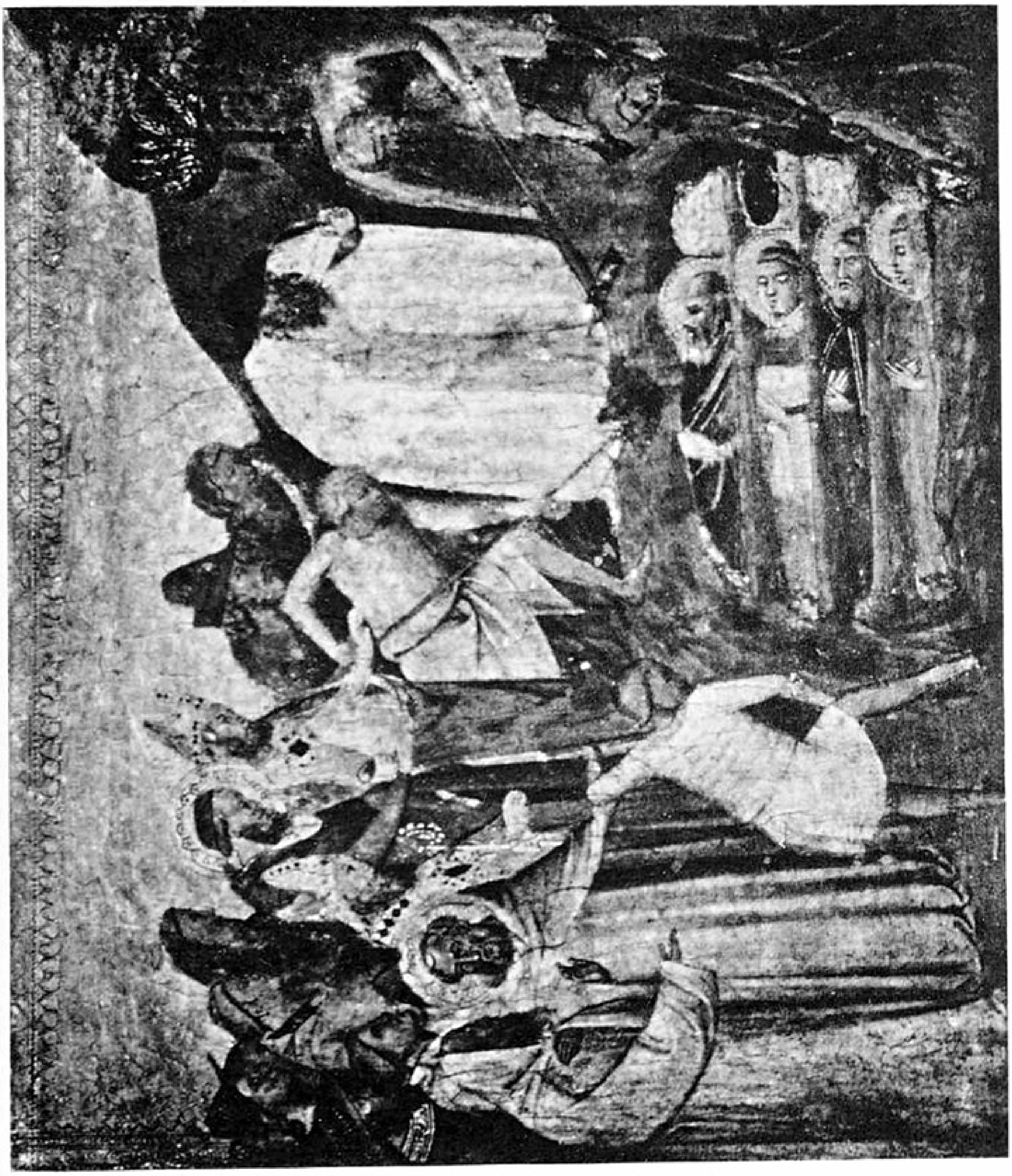


Fig. 219. Bernardo Daddi, the Burial of St. Stephen and other Saints. Vatican Gallery, Rome. Photo Anderson.

Although certainly of later date, these panels show a great resemblance to those of Prato; in examining the latter together with the picture in Berlin we shall find identical angelic figures, interiors and ceiling decoration.

Much finer and probably slightly anterior are eight little panels in the Vatican Gallery which, technically, closely approach the Annunciation in the Louvre, unhappily time has dealt roughly with them. They represent the martyrdom and translation of the relics of St. Stephen.

The events illustrated are: 1) the stoning of the saint, 2) the burial of the bodies of SS. Stephen, Gamaliel, Nicodemus and Abiba (fig. 219), 3) St. Gamaliel appearing to the priest Lucian in his sleep and pointing to four receptacles which symbolize the tombs of four saints (fig. 220), 4) Lucian telling his vision to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, 5) the funeral of St. Stephen at Jerusalem, 6) his relics transferred to Rome, 7) the entombment of St. Stephen in the same sepulchre as St. Lawrence and 8) probably the worship at their joint grave where so many miracles occurred (¹).

These remarkably beautiful panels remind us, in some of the attitudes and other details, of Daddi's frescoes in Sta. Croce but the execution is here considerably finer and the abundance of Gothicism gives them a different aspect. They are of great importance for our knowledge of the development of Daddi's art as they betray the strong influence which, at a certain moment, the Lorenzetti, especially Ambrogio, had on our artist. Many critics have been under the impression that this series was by the Sienese master himself, but later the opinion that it was the work of a painter between Ambrogio and Daddi led the way to the now general attribution to Bernardo Daddi.

In other productions which might be almost contemporary with these eight panels, we do not notice this influence to the same extent.

Two other triptychs show close connection with that of 1336 in the Gallery of Siena with which one of them has in common a peculiarity we find in no other similar work of Daddi's, viz. that the Madonna is depicted full-faced.

The first of these triptychs, which belongs to a private collec-

---

(¹) Except for the first, the paintings illustrate the Invention of St. Stephen as narrated in the Golden Legend and not the history of St. Stephen himself; the seventh panel clearly betrays from whence came the artist's inspiration, for the Golden Legend tells us that when St. Stephen was placed in the same sepulchre as St. Lawrence, the latter moved to one side to leave sufficient room for his brother martyr.

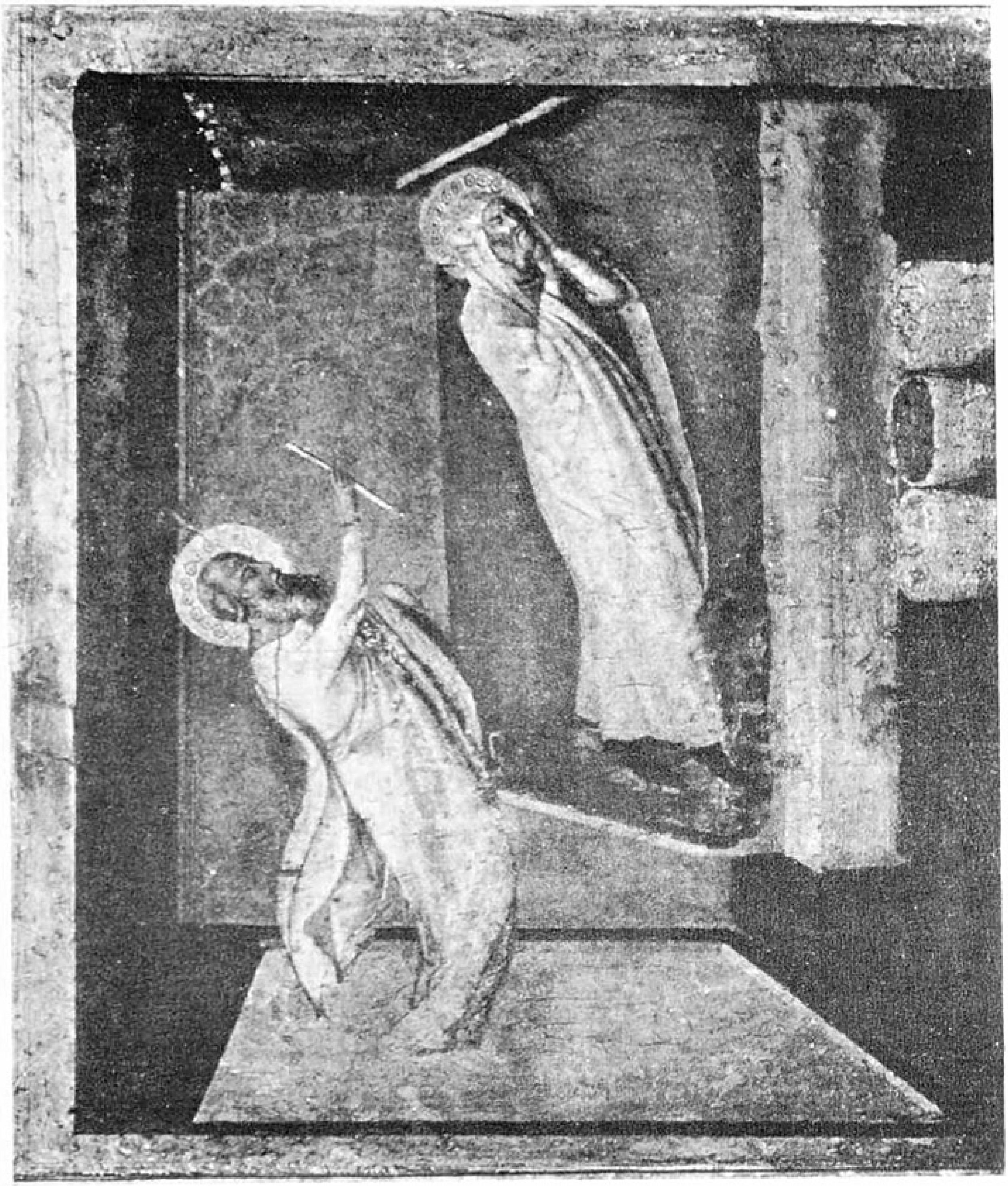


Fig. 220. Bernardo Daddi, St. Gamaliel appearing to the priest Lucias.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

tion, shows us in the centre the Madonna holding the Child Who turns towards St. Catherine to receive the offered gift; the other saints around the principal figure are the Baptist, St. Peter and St. Bartholomew while above, the crucified Saviour is depicted between the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John. In the wings we find St. Paul with St. Antony Abbot and as pendant St. Christopher carrying the Child on his shoulders, a subject also found in the Bigallo triptych and Gaddi's copy.

The apices of the wings are ornamented with half-length figures of the angel and the Madonna of the Annunciation. Again the striking handsomeness of several of the figures indicates the moment in the painter's evolution when the work was executed; as in the triptych in Siena there is an element of rigidity in the figure of the Baptist.

The second triptych, which forms part of the Lindenau Museum at Altenburg, shows, in its general aspect, a still closer connection with the dated work of 1336. The proportions of the Madonna are identical and the figures around, although less numerous, are grouped in the same manner. We find two angels and two saints on either side and in the foreground the Baptist and an Apostle. The wings contain the usual representations of the Crucifixion — in which, however, only the figures of the Virgin and St. John are depicted — and the Nativity, while above are the figures of the Annunciation.

I think that three other paintings still reflect the same sense of serene beauty which inspired Daddi in the production of this group of works. The most beautiful of them is a Crucifixion belonging to Mr. D. T. Platt, Englewood, U. S. A. Again the Magdalene clings to the foot of the Cross while small angels fly around the Redeemer and catch the blood dripping from his wounded hands. We see here for the first time in Daddi's composition of this scene, the fainting Virgin supported by a holy companion and St. John.

In a similar style Daddi executed the diptych in the collection of the Historical Society of New-York (¹) representing on one side the Virgin with the Child, Who stands and touches a small bird held by one of the four escorting female saints, the background being composed of an outspread curtain supported by two angels, and on the other the Last Judgment.

The third which is of less importance, is a Madonna enthroned and surrounded by eight saints in the Sulzbach collection in Paris (²), but the elongated forms in this picture lead the way to the productions of the next phase in the artist's career.

---

(¹) *W. Ranken.* Intorno ad alcuni dipinti italiani a Nuova York, Rassegna d'Arte, 1907, p. 42.

(²) *Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, pl. 154.

Of this stage we only possess two dated works, a triptych of 1338 in a private collection in Munich (¹) and a Crucifixion of 1344 in the Accademia of Florence.

The triptych is of unusual composition. Like in the one of 1334 the Crucifixion occupies the central panel but here we find the Madonna and saints in the right wing with the Nativity as pendant; above the Crucifixion is a medallion of the Lord while the spandrels of the wings are ornamented with figures of prophets and the apices with St. Nicholas handing the gold through the window of the house whose occupants, a father and three daughters, were in great need; on either side there is a representation of St. Peter being nailed to the cross.

A crowd of people, some on horseback, are depicted in the scene of the Crucifixion, amongst them the fainting Virgin and Mary Magdalene clinging to the foot of the Cross. Around the Madonna on the side panel four saints are alone depicted while in the Nativity we see the Holy Mother kneeling and holding her Child in the manger, surrounded by a little group of angels, St. Joseph seated at a lower level and two shepherds standing conversing together.

The characteristic of this triptych — here however less obvious than in the Crucifixion of 1344 — is the increasing slenderness of the figures which are not altogether free from a certain rigidity. It may be that the constant production of small paintings was not propitious to the development of Daddi's art; the Madonna however is charming and younger than the artist depicted her in his earlier works. Her elongated form is accentuated by the extremely high-backed throne.

Nearest in style to this triptych is a picture in three parts in the Museum of Berlin in which the Nativity and the Crucifixion are depicted in the side panels and the Coronation of the Virgin in the centre (fig. 221). Here the Virgin and the Lord are seated under a baldaquin on one throne while a double row of saints and angels surround them. In the Crucifixion we find a fairly great number of figures and again the fainting Virgin; in the Nativity, the Madonna is seated with the Child on her knee, as in most of Daddi's representations of this event.

---

(¹) *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, pl. 146.

In the Louvre there are two pictures which in style and composition resemble the Berlin panel. The one is again a triptych (No. 1667) in which the Virgin in the midst of four saints and numerous angels is represented in the centre; in one wing we see the Nativity and in the other a crowded composition of the Crucifixion (¹).

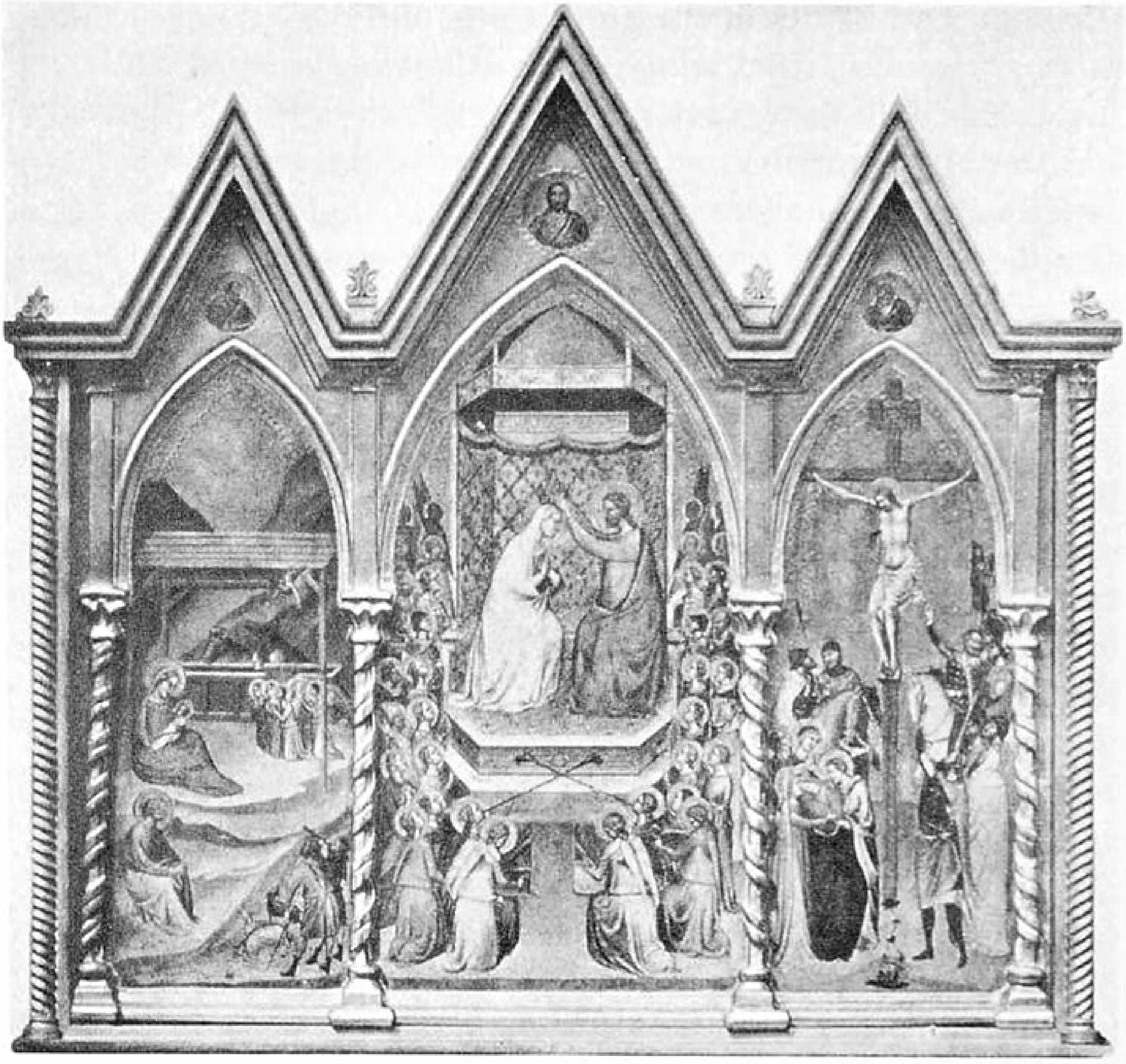


Fig. 221. Bernardo Daddi, triptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

The Crucifixion alone is depicted on the second panel (no. 1664, fig. 222). A large crowd of figures is grouped around the three crosses while mounted soldiers and others on foot are placed in

---

(¹) *P. Schubring*. Die primitiven Italiener im Louvre, Zeitschr. f. Christl. Kunst, 1901, p. 368.

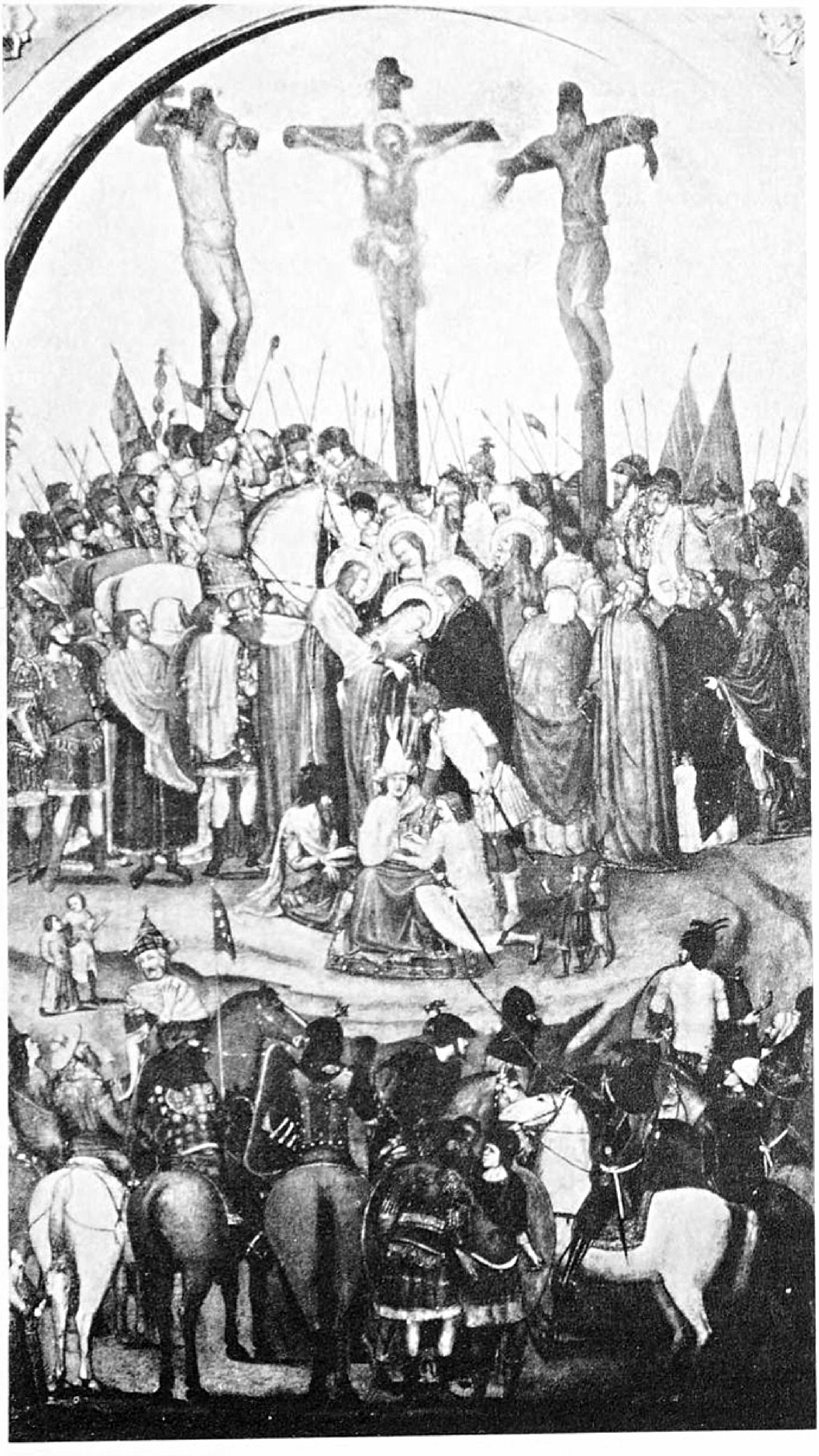


Fig. 222. Bernardo Daddi, the Crucifixion. Louvre, Paris.

Photo Braun.

the foreground. It is one of the most beautiful of Daddi's pictures that we possess.

The Crucifixion in the Accademia, which bears the date 1344, is of a more simple composition on account of the absence of the soldiers on horseback; two little angels catch the blood from the hands of Christ, the Virgin is again represented falling in a swoon and the Magdalene in the usual attitude at the foot of the Cross while an adorer is seen near by. With the exception of this last figure, an identical composition is found in a diptych of the Horne collection, Florence, only here the figures are less crowded together and of a finer execution. On the other half of this panel we find the enthroned Virgin with the Child standing on her knee affectionately pressed against her. While the Madonna has the same youthful appearance and slender proportions which Bernardo showed in his triptych of 1338, the four saints who are grouped around her — SS. Francis, John the Baptist, James and Catherine (?) — betray those elements of rigidity, traces of which were found in the same dated work.

Both features are again manifest in two other small panels which consequently can probably be attributed to this period of the artist's activities. One of them, a Madonna, which formed part of the Sterbini collection, greatly resembles the enthroned Virgin of the triptych of 1338 (¹); the nude Child stands on His Mother's knee and the lateral figures, eight in number, are SS. Peter, Antony of Padua, James, Paul and four angels; a medallion above encloses a half-length figure of the Redeemer. The second will be found in the Gallery of Naples (fig. 223) (²); again the young and beautiful Madonna, whose type is reminiscent of the best works of Daddi's previous stage, holds the half-naked Child standing on her knee; the surrounding saints are here a holy monk, the Baptist, St. Francis and a holy bishop. The rigidity of these lateral figures is very obvious and still more discordant when compared with the extremely pleasing image of the Madonna.

In taking into consideration the widely different manner which we often observe that painters adopt for small and for big pictures, especially noticeable when we compare principal

---

(¹) *A. Venturi,* La Quadreria Sterbini, L'Arte, 1905, p. 422.

(²) *A. Venturi,* Un quadro di Bernardo Daddi nella Pinacoteca di Napoli, L'Arte, 1906, p. 150.

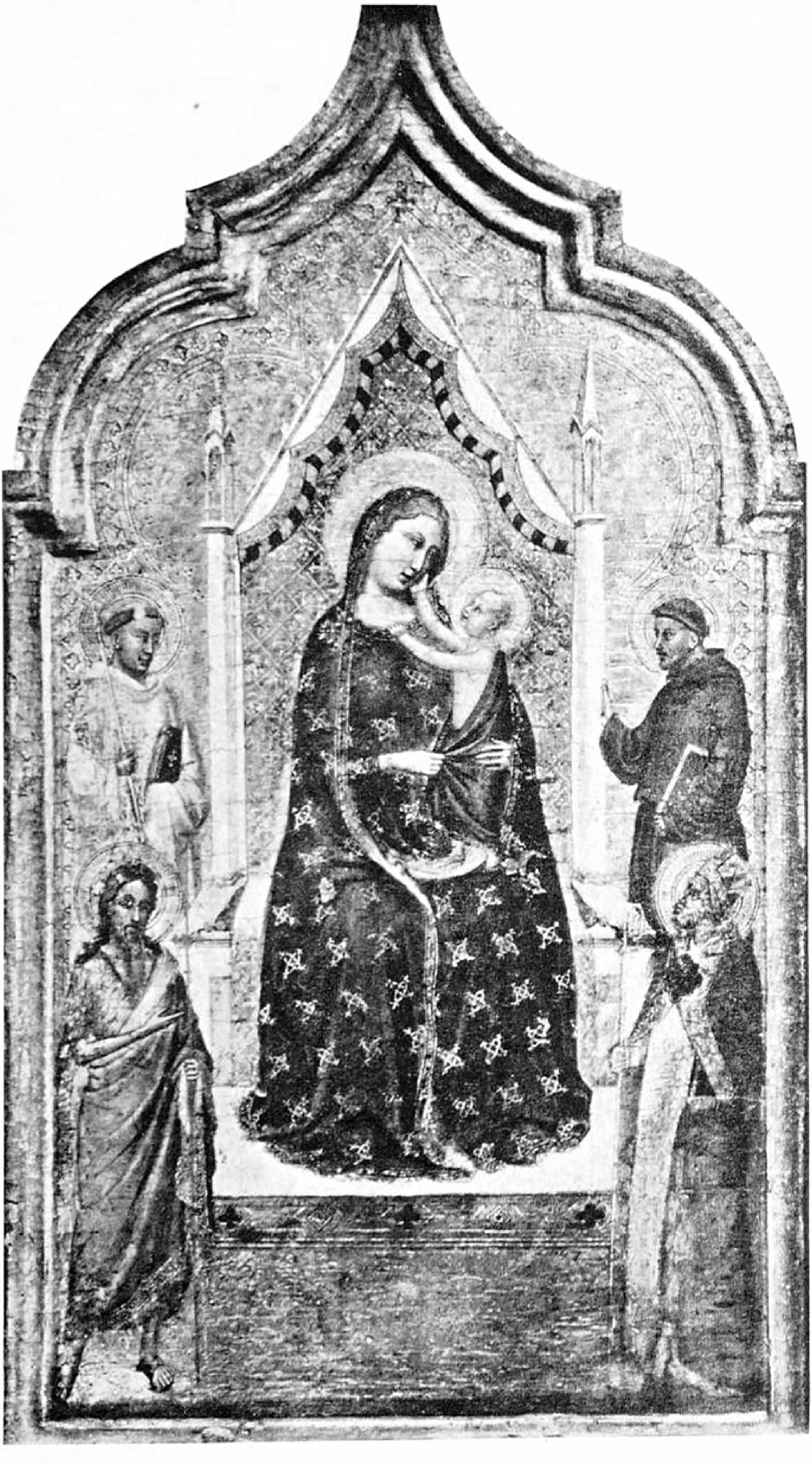


Fig. 223. Bernardo Daddi, centre of a triptych. Gallery, Naples.

Photo Anderson.

panels with their predellas, it will be easily understood that the small dated works do not enable us to come to an exact chronological classification of paintings of a more important size.

However, taking into account the dated panels in the Or San Michele and the Parry collection, the aspect of the predella scenes of the big polyptych in the Uffizi and the differences between them and the large figures which Daddi painted in 1328, I think we may attribute the following more important panels to the later years of Daddi's career. Most of these productions betray a more or less strong influence of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, which, although not absent in other paintings, is particularly characteristic of this group.

Clearly inspired by this particular tendency towards spiritualized beauty, which is visible in the dated works that Bernardo executed between 1333 and 1336, are a few half-length figures of the Madonna which we can consequently ascribe to this, or to a slightly later period.

The first which should be mentioned is the panel in the collection of Mr. Berenson at Settignano. The proportions seem certainly much broader than in the already mentioned smaller works but this may well be due to the difference in size. The handsome young Madonna looks lovingly down at the lively Babe she holds in her arms. This picture is characterized by an almost entire absence of relief.

This same peculiarity which, but to a less degree, may be detected in some of the later small panels, will also be observed in some other half-figures of the Virgin. One of these was, several years ago, in a private collection in Rome and the connection with the art of Ambrogio Lorenzetti was again very marked (1). Another is a three-quarter figure of the Madonna in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin (1040, fig. 224), there attributed to Agnolo Gaddi. The refined aesthetic sense which the master manifests at this stage of his career is very obvious in this image of the Virgin whose noble features and majestic proportions — here less devoid of plastic effects — makes of this panel one of Daddi's finest products, notwithstanding the strange and unbeautiful expression of the Child Jesus.

---

(1) As Mr. *Sirén*, who reproduces it, remarked, Giotto and some of his Followers, pl. 158.

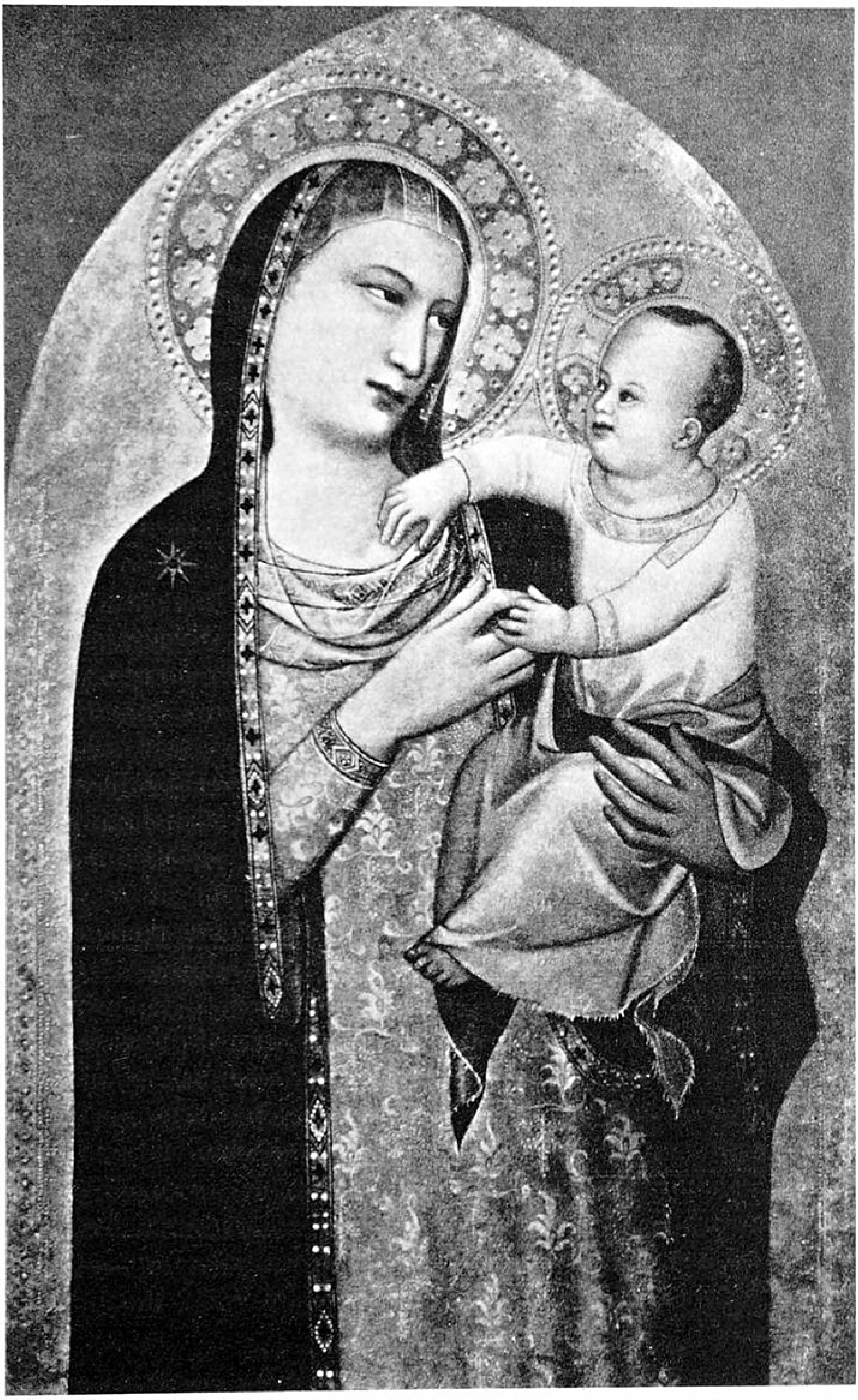


Fig. 224. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

With this group may also be classed an enthroned Madonna carrying in her arms the Infant Christ Who holds a little bird, in the Accademia of Florence, a picture in which the upper part is practically without relief while the lower part on the contrary is heavily draped (¹).

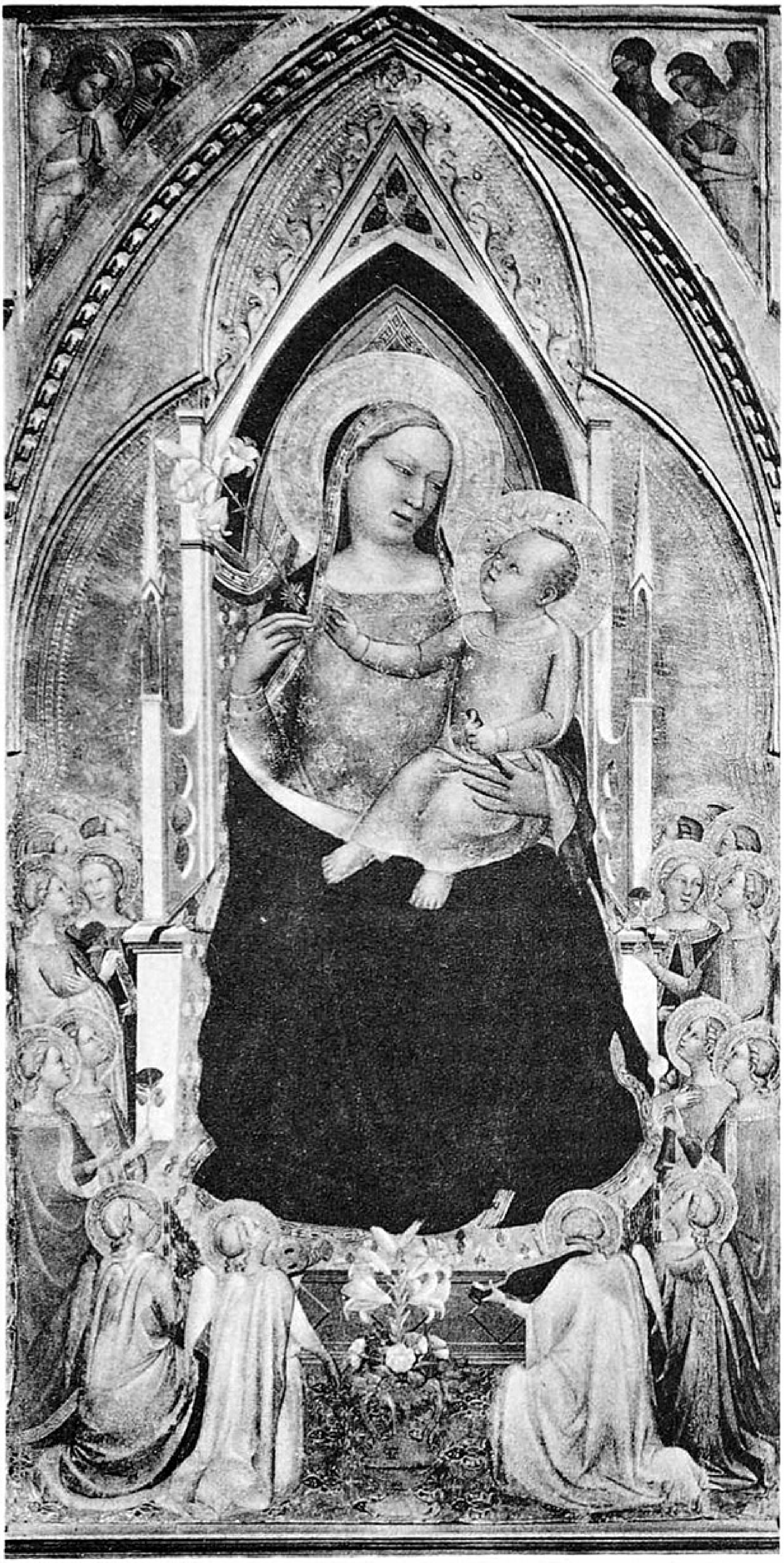
The somewhat curious face of the Madonna in the important panel in S. Giorgio at Ruballa points towards a later manner in the painter's development, a manner in which strongly outlined peculiar features in rotund faces are the principal characteristics. The Madonna of Ruballa is depicted seated on a throne holding the nude Child standing on her knee, she is escorted by two angels at either side and SS. George and Matthew in the foreground while kneeling near the former of these two saints is the small figure of the donor. Relief is very faintly indicated.

A greatly superior production of this phase in the artist's evolution is the big polyptych in the Uffizi (fig. 225 and plate VI) representing in the centre the Virgin enthroned with the Child, a group of small angels kneeling below and the four Evangelists in the spandrels, while three saints on either side are depicted on separate panels. To the left we find SS. John the Evangelist, Nereus and Pancras and to the right SS. John the Baptist, Achilles and Reparatus; above these saints, small panels contain half-figures of the thirteen Apostles to whom, for the sake of symmetry, an angel has been added on the extreme left. The predella was originally composed of eight small scenes but one of these is now missing, the remaining seven represent Joachim driven from the Temple, Joachim with the shepherds receiving the angelic message, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Nativity of the Virgin, the Presentation of the Child Mary to the Temple, the Annunciation and the Nativity of Christ.

Although of greater linear excellence, the Madonna is practically without relief while the other figures on the contrary are quite plastic and show here and there elements of Gothicism in the draping. The proportions are somewhat broad but the artist's effort to produce spiritualized beauty is very obvious and seems more based on the art of Simone Martini than on that of Ambro-

---

(¹) *F. Mason Perkins,* Note su alcuni quadri del Museo Cristiano nel Vaticano, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 107.



CENTRE OF ALTAR-POLYPTYCH
*By Bernardo Daddi, Uffizi, Florence.*

*Photo Anderson.*

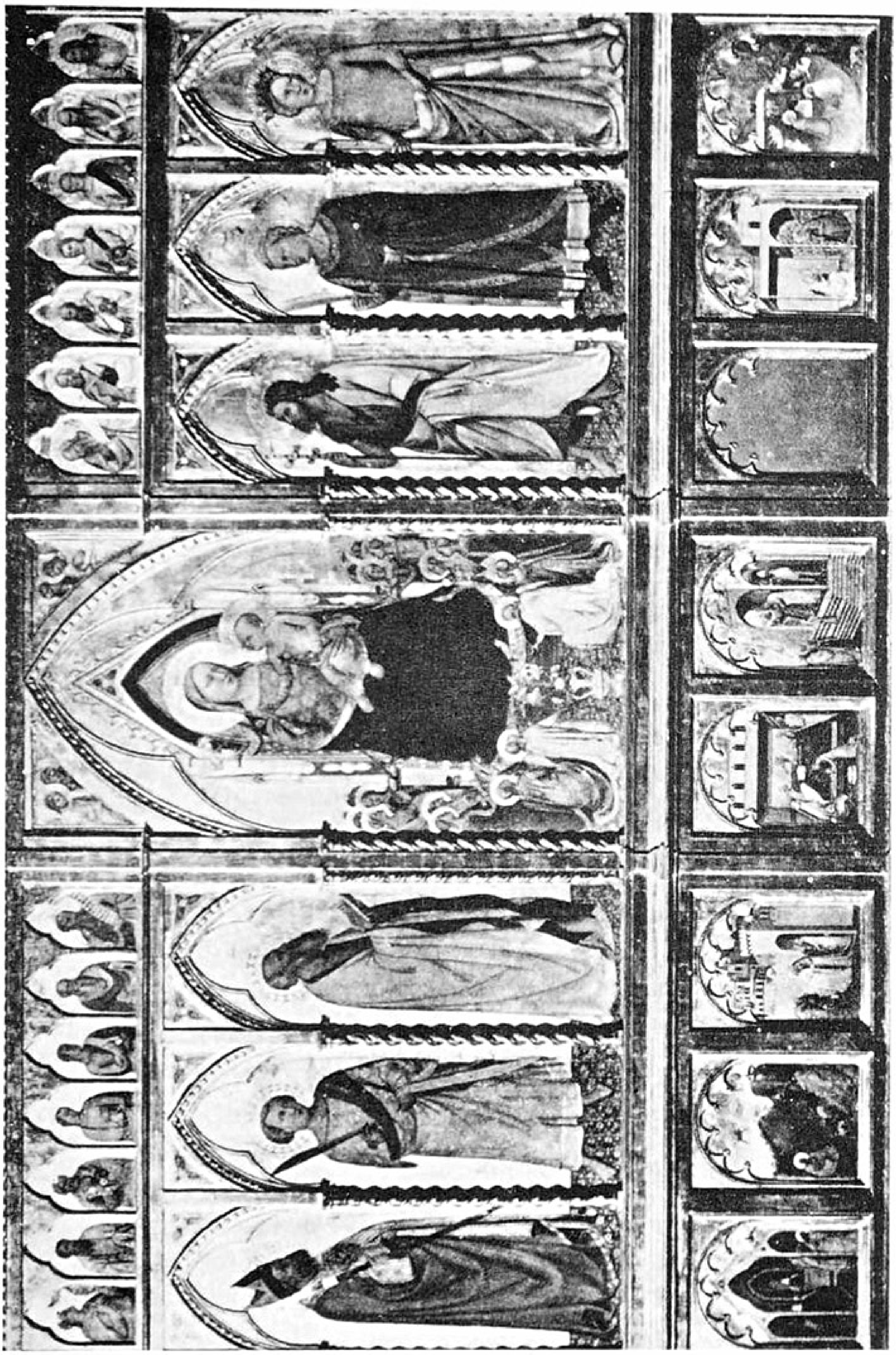


Fig. 225. Bernardo Daddi, polyptych. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

gio Lorenzetti who, however, has had a strong influence on the technique. The small scenes show a certain connection in style with the extremely fine Annunciation in the Louvre and, if we compare the latter with the corresponding scene here, we shall find several points in common in the composition, in spite of the fact that in the predella representation only one angel is depicted, but the proportions are slightly broader and the work is certainly of later date as will be proved by its many points of resemblance to the Madonna of 1346 in Or San Michele.

The Madonna and angels for which Daddi received payment in 1346 and in 1347 is still at its original place in the tabernacle by Orcagna in Or San Michele (fig. 226). Milanesi reports that in May 1346 the captain of the Compagnia of Or San Michele paid four golden guilders to the artist, who seems to have been working at the picture at that moment, and on the 16th June 1347 a sum of like amount was given him (¹).

The picture, although somewhat repainted, still clearly shows the manner of the master, but I would not be surprised if something had been added to the veiled part of the head of the Virgin. The playful Babe holds a little bird in one hand while He touches His Mother's face with the other; four angels, one behind the other, kneel at each side of the throne. The handsome figures of this panel obviously show the same taste for spiritualized beauty which Daddi more than ten years before had borrowed from Siena, especially from Ambrogio Lorenzetti whose influence is again very clear. The figure of the Virgin has much in common with the one in the collection of Mr. Berenson, and still more perhaps with the Madonna, which, some years ago, was to be found in Rome, only here the Gothic movement in the draping is more noticeable and the relief much stronger; but these elements, especially the latter, may be due to restoration.

I think that in its original state the altar-piece of Or San Michele must have shown a still greater resemblance, than is now the case, with a Madonna in the possession of Mr. Grenville

---

(¹) *Milanesi-Vasari*., I, p. 463. The first of these two passages reads: "A Bernardo Daddi dipintore che dipigne la tavola di Nostra Donna; in prestanza per la detta dipintura, fiorini quattro d'oro; the second: "A Bernardo di Daddo dipintore per parte di pagamento de la dipintura de la tavola nuova di Nostra Donna, fiorini quattro d'oro."

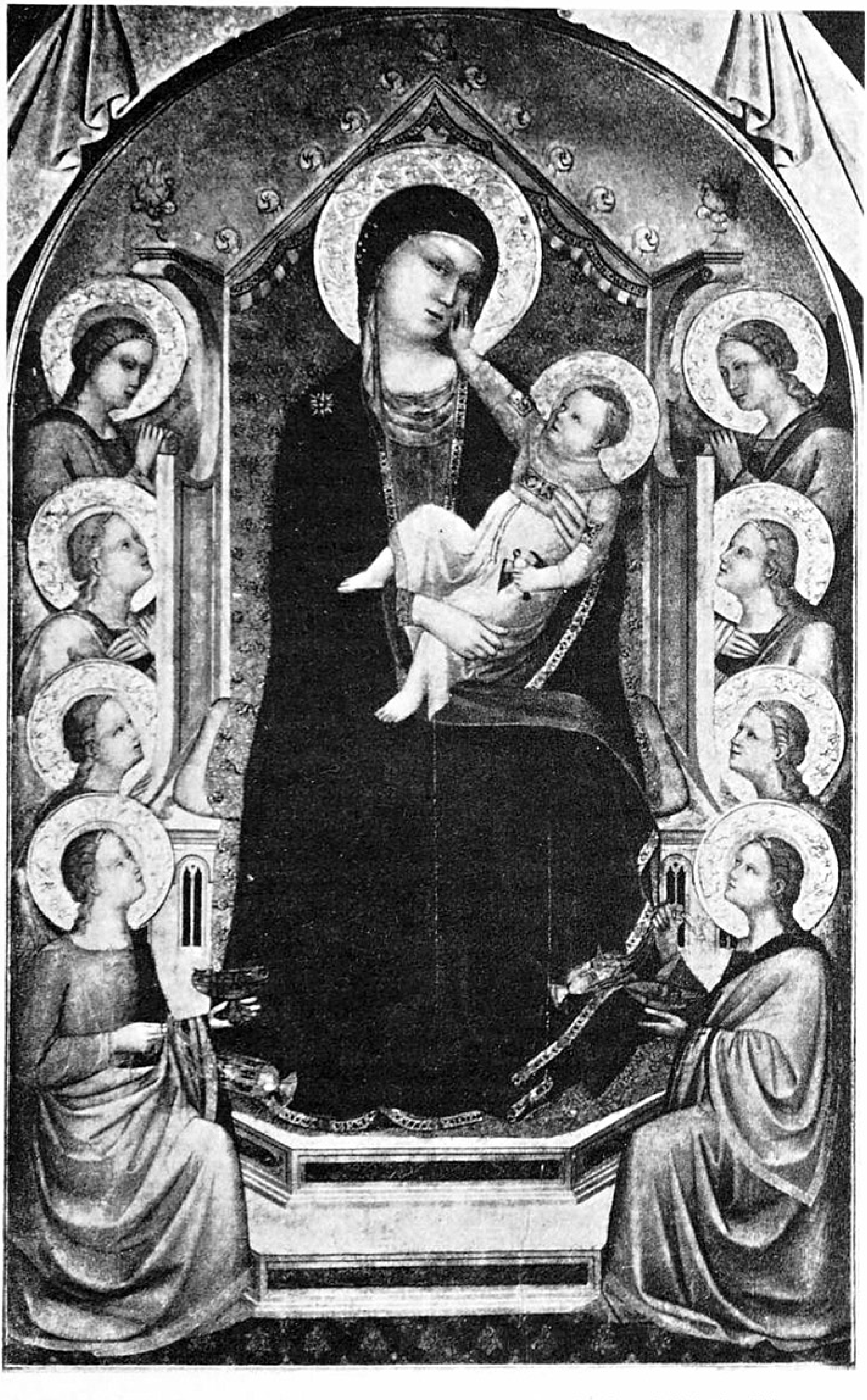


Fig. 226. Bernardo Daddi, Madonna and Angels. Or San Michele, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

L. Winthrop in New York (¹) which certainly is also a happy product of this late period.

The year of his death, 1348, Bernardo signed and dated the polyptych now in the collection of Sir Hubert Parry but originally in the church of S. Giorgio at Ruballa (²). The signature runs: "*Anno Dni MCCCXLVIII Bernardus pinxit me quem Florentia finxit*". The centre is here occupied by the Crucifixion while the four lateral panels each contain two figures of saints, on the left SS. Bartholomew and George, Andrew and Lawrence and on the right SS. Peter and Paul, Stephen and James; medallions above encircle the Saviour and the four Evangelists.

The Crucifixion differs only slightly from the one of 1344 in the Accademia, again we find the fainting Virgin and Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross and the little angels flying above. Here also we see the soldiers on horseback who although lacking in the panel of 1344, are represented in several of Daddi's other Crucifixions. A new feature here is the group of soldiers on the right gambling for the cloak of Christ. The figures of the saints are broad and monumental, the draping has a good plastic effect with some trace of Gothicism but they are less graceful than those of the polyptych in the Uffizi, and calm and placid sooner than spiritual.

Except for a very few works which are unknown to me (³), we have now come to the end of the enumeration of Daddi's important productions.

It is not easy to come to a precise conception of the development of this artist who, I imagine, had rather a changeable disposition; for even his dated works do not show a steady evolution in one direction. After the Giottesque forms of his first panel of 1328, we still find these broad proportions in his early triptychs and his other works up till about 1334, but the triptych of 1338 in the private collection in Munich leads us to believe that towards

---

(¹) Reprod. in *O. Sirén*, op. cit., pl. 157.

(²) v. Burlington Magazine, 1913. p. 129.

(³) They are mentioned in the list given by Mr. *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 270. In the Museum of Rouen two panels each containing two saints and an adorer are attributed to Bernardo Daddi v. *M. Nicolle*, Le Musée de Rouen, Paris, 1920, p. 19. They however do not even belong to his school but are the work of Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini.

this period Daddi reached a stage which is characterized by thin and angular figures, a supposition confirmed by the Crucifixion of 1344 in the Accademia, while the tendency towards this manner is manifest in some of the figures of his triptych of 1336 at Siena. On the contrary, in the productions of his last years the artist seems to return to the broader proportions of his youthful works but we must not forget that here we are dealing with large panels.

I think then, as I have already had occasion to remark, that, like many other painters, Daddi's manner shows variation in his big and small works, and that the thin rigid forms are found exclusively in the latter and this only in his later years, because in his first triptych there is no trace of them.

When we set out to estimate in what elements Daddi remained a Florentine, we are struck first of all by the composition of his Madonna panels. The innumerable Madonnas which Siena produced during the first part of the 14th century show us with great regularity the Maestà, or the Virgin enthroned with angels looking over the back of the throne, or again, if of smaller dimensions, the Virgins of Siena are invariably depicted half-length.

The hierarchic classification of the surrounding figures in the Madonnas of Bernardo is Florentine; a tendency towards this will be seen in Cimabue's Madonna in the Uffizi and becomes more pronounced in Giotto's panel in the same Gallery. It is very evident in the grouping of the angels around the throne of the Saviour in the altar-piece of the "Master of the Vele" in the sacristy of S. Pietro. The shape of the Gothic throne, frequently with steps leading up to it, is, in Daddi's works, always faithful to the Florentine school, as is also the never failing attempt to produce perspective.

The imitation of Giotto's structure of the human body is not always manifest in Daddi's paintings; it is certainly very evident in our artist's earliest dated work, — the three half-figures of 1328 — but it gradually diminishes although here and there we find traces of its persistence especially in several of the later large panels. However, from the very beginning Daddi's figures were less humanly realistic but much more spiritualized. It is obvious that a Sienese influence had taken a strong hold of him and although we have a picture of Daddi's at Siena, the date of this work (1336), does not coincide with the beginning of this influence which must be placed much earlier.

Together with this change from the Giottesque dramatic realism to a serene, serious and spiritualized beauty, we also notice distinct technical variations. First of all the relief effect takes on quite another form, very different from the plastic aspect of Giotto's figures, and on the whole it diminishes. With the exception of a few figures which Daddi produced at a certain moment of his career, we cannot accuse him of altogether neglecting it, but instead of the deep folds of the drapery of the great Florentine, our artist rather adhered to the more subdued rendering of forms which the Lorenzetti — especially Ambrogio — were then producing at Siena, perhaps explained partly by the observation of contemporary dress (Giotto always clothing his figures in robes and togas) and partly by an adherence to the Gothic style, at that time gaining more and more ground in Sienese painting.

We can observe in several of Daddi's pictures from 1333 onwards this slight late-Gothic movement in the draping while the painter again betrays his taste for Gothicism in the outline of some of his figures (1) which, instead of being, according to the Florentine style, the product of direct observation, show charming but conventional forms. There are some cases in which this tendency towards gracefulness cannot be said to result in the weakening of the figures as will be observed in the two frescoes of the Pucci Berardi chapel in Sta. Croce which, as we have seen, are probably a youthful work.

Although we have remarked that Giotto did not conceive the architectural surroundings of his scenes as realities, all the same his clear perception of the true aspect of things saved him from striking blunders. Mistakes in depth and perspective seem in no way to have been a preoccupation of Daddi's. He invariably depicts the action in profile and seems to have had a great facility for producing perspective by means of polygonals (2), a detail not entirely unknown to Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The floors in many of his pictures are sloping.

---

(1) Such for instance as the angels in the panel illustrating the legend of the Holy Girdle at Prato and the figure of the praying Dominican in Berlin.

(2) As will be seen in the baldaquin of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum and the building in which the funeral of St. Stephen takes place.

If Daddi had been in any way a narrative artist, he certainly would not have repeated so frequently and without variety the oft recurring scenes of the Nativity and the Crucifixion. In the former the Madonna is depicted sometimes seated, sometimes kneeling, while in the latter she is seen either fainting or upright and a few soldiers on horseback are present in the background in some pictures, absent in others, but apart from these few details, Daddi shows us over and over again the same compositions.

In all these elements, as well as in his frequently inconsistent compositions and his very pronounced design of the features, Daddi betrays his affinity to Siena. While Giotto's influence always led his adherents to execute precise images, the Sienese masters aimed at the production of handsome, decorative pictures with scattered figures. It is from this tendency that Daddi also obtained the taste for ornamental details which we find so often adorning the dress of his Madonnas, and the clear colouring which, although not thoroughly Sienese, is at least much brighter than that of any of his contemporaries in Florence. The types of some of his Madonnas make his dependence on Ambrogio Lorenzetti unquestionable but at a certain moment he might also have studied those of Pacino di Buonaguida although this almost contemporary fellow artist did not influence him to any great extent.

Daddi's followers are very numerous. I have already said that he seems to have been the first to have brought the small triptych into vogue (1), and this was rather a curious achievement because it meant that a representation, which by nature and tradition was better suited for large compositions, was reduced to miniature. Many of the small Florentine triptychs may to a

---

(1) Giotto knew this form of panel because we find it reproduced in his relief of Apelles on the campanile of Florence but this was sculptured after Daddi had made the triptych, now in the Bigallo, and probably several others. In vol. II I attributed a small triptych in the Museum of Dijon to the early years of Pietro Lorenzetti, which would make it anterior to the first dated triptych by Daddi.

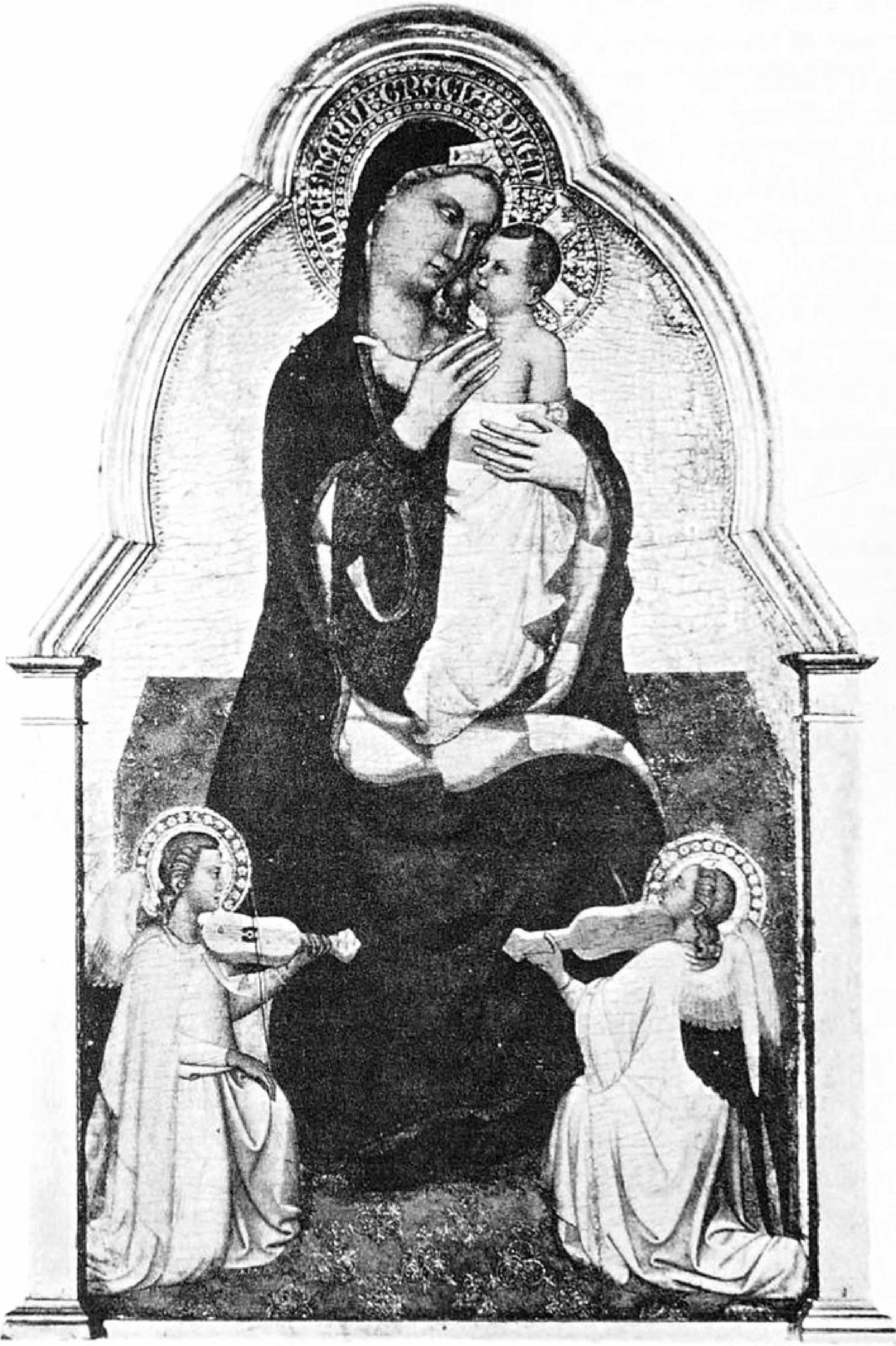


Fig. 227. A Follower of Daddi, Madonna and Angels. Lehman Collection, New York.

certain extant be classified as belonging to Daddi's school, but most of these must be passed over.

Daddi's best pupil is an artist whose works Mr. Berenson has recently qualified as early products of Allegretto Nuzi (¹), who, if he were a follower of Daddi, certainly imitated him in his least plastic manner. Although he worked in Florence, Nuzi's greatest activity took place in Fabriano and he must be dealt with as a member of the school of The Marches.

The author of these works, which I do not think should be attributed to Nuzi on account of a more marked relief and greater beauty, has followed that manner of Daddi's which produced the Annunciation in the Louvre and similar works, while I fail to find in these paintings the forms so characteristic of Nuzi's authentic panels.

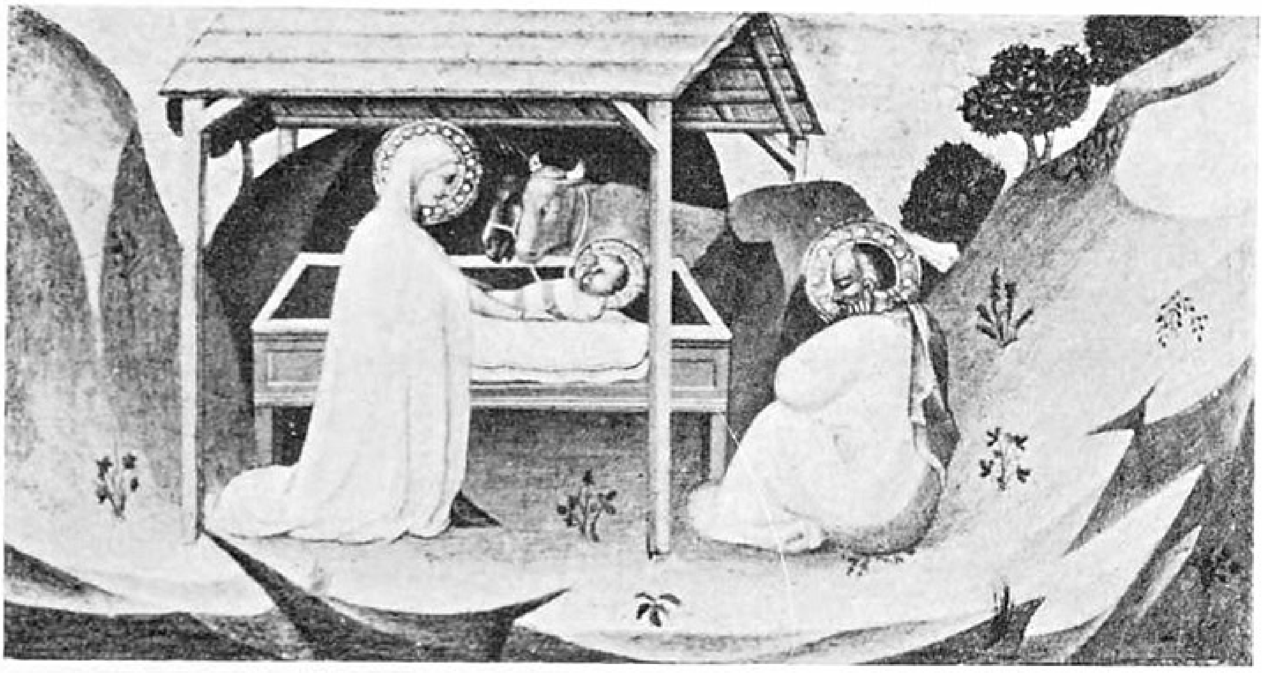


Fig. 228. A Follower of Daddi, the Nativity. Lehman Collection, New-York.

The pictures in question which may be grouped together, are (1) a triptych dated 1354 in the Hamilton collection, New-York, in which the Madonna surrounded by angels is placed between SS. Antony Abbot and Venantius, a composition which Nuzi repeated in 1369 at Macerata, (2) a Madonna holding the Child

---

(¹) *B. Berenson.* Prime opere di Allegretto Nuzi, Boll. d'Arte del Minist. del. Pubbl. Istr., 1922, p. 297.

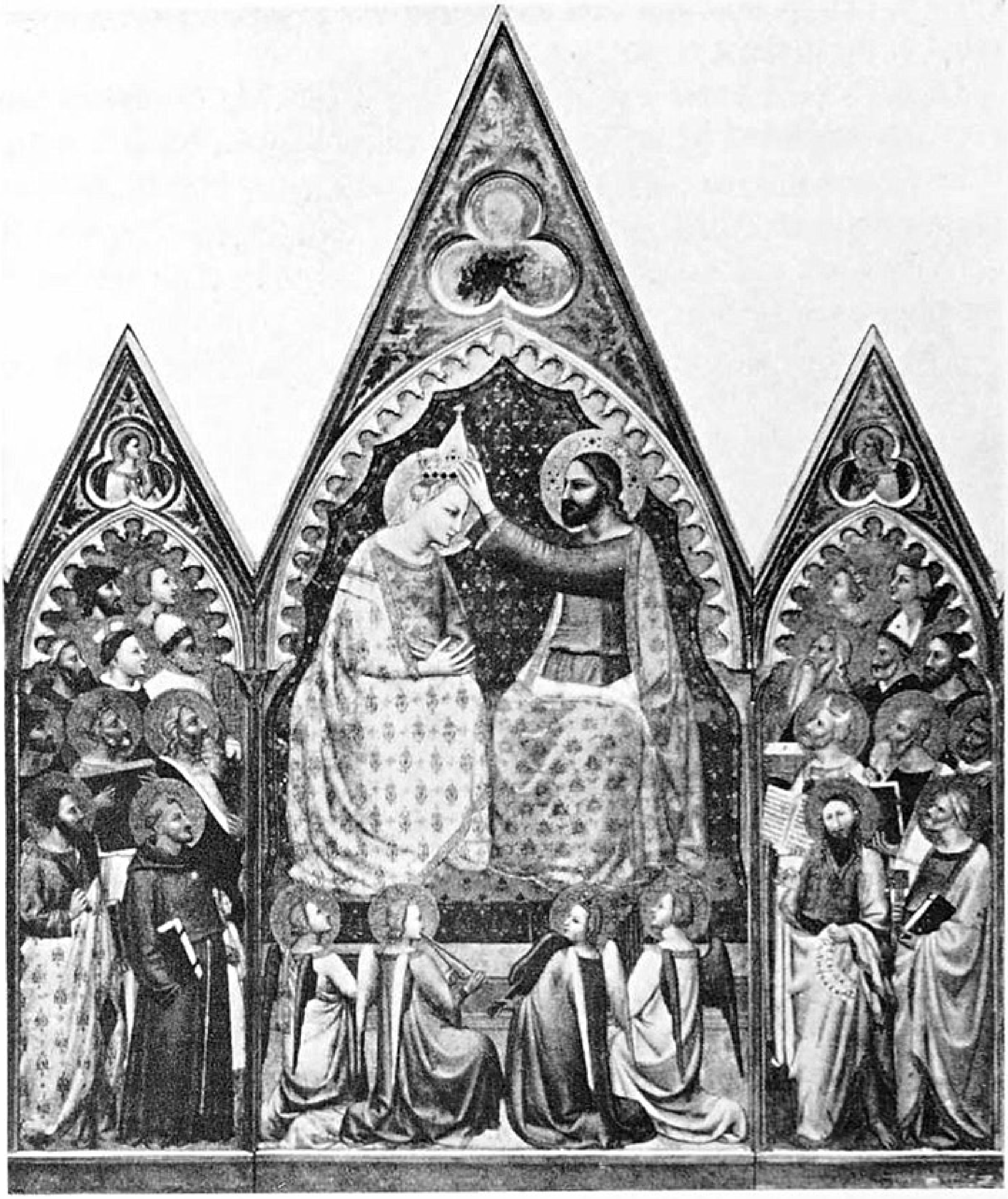


Fig. 229. A Follower of Daddi, the Coronation of the Virgin and Saints. Cook Collection, Richmond.

Photo Anderson.

standing on her knee and two angels playing viols (fig. 227) and (3) an extremely pretty Nativity where only the Virgin and St. Joseph are present, the former kneeling to hold the Child in the manger which is placed in a bare landscape under a little shed — an enchanting piece of reticence (fig. 228). These last two paintings belong to the Lehman collection, New-York, and not only reflect Daddi's art at its happiest period but show at the

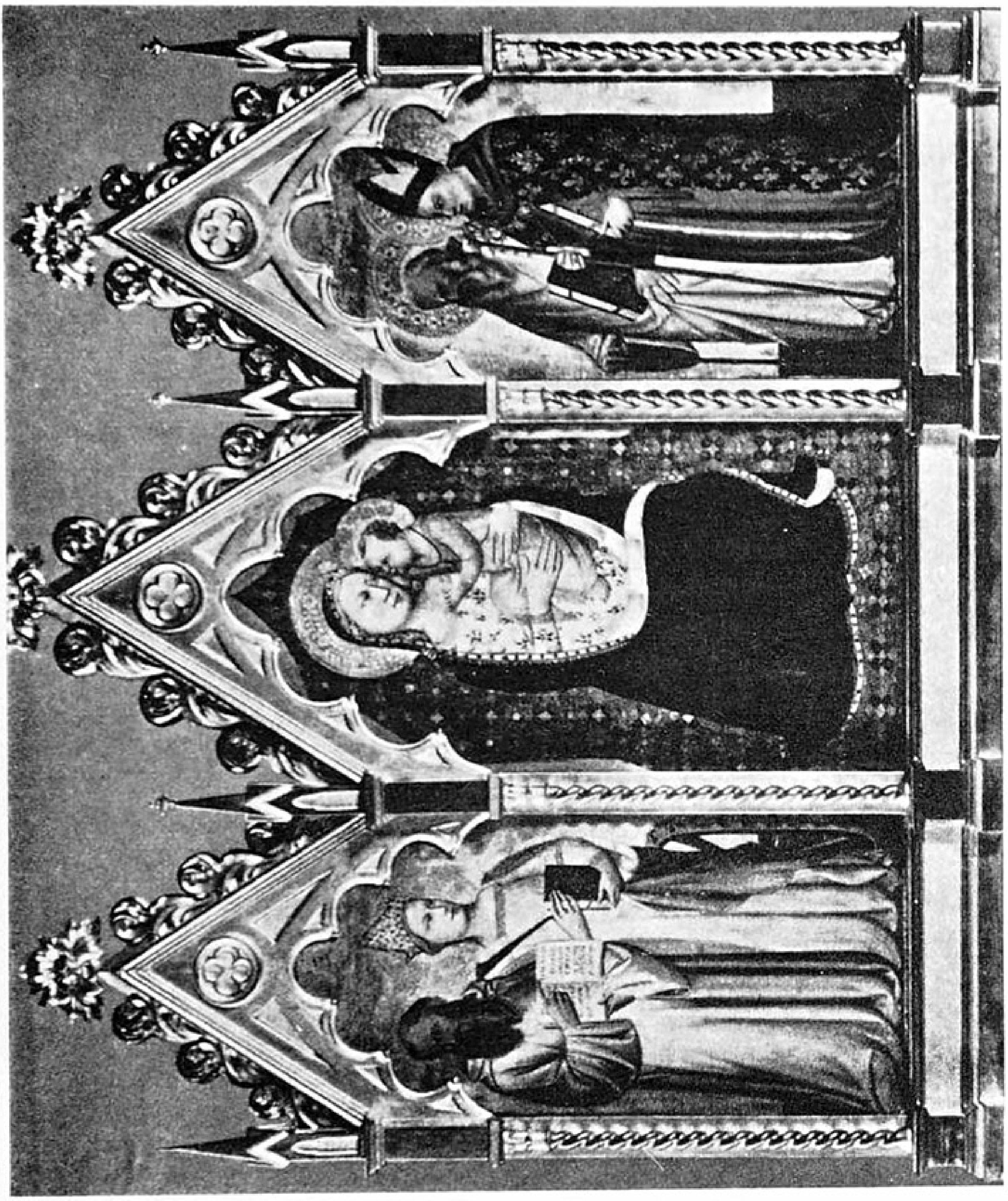


Fig. 230. A Follower of Daddi. Madonna and Saints. Corsini Gallery, Florence. Photo Brogi.

same time a stronger connection with the manner of Andrea Orcagna than we noticed in Bernardo's products.

The influence of this artist is almost more marked than that of Daddi's in a triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin with four angelic musicians at the feet of the Lord and the Madonna, and eight saints in each lateral panel in the Cook collection, Richmond (fig. 229) (¹) as will be seen in the morphological types as

---

(¹) This picture is also attributed to Allegretto Nuzi by Mr. Berenson.

well as in the increased plasticity; other details in the features and shape of the hands remind us of the above mentioned panels in America, so that it might possibly be that here we have a work of the same artist but at a later stage in his career.

Although I do not offer it as a hypothesis, I think that it is in this manner that we should imagine the art of Daddo Daddi, the son of Bernardo, mentioned, as we saw, in 1358.

Showing a close connection with this follower is a second who has also left us a little group of four works.

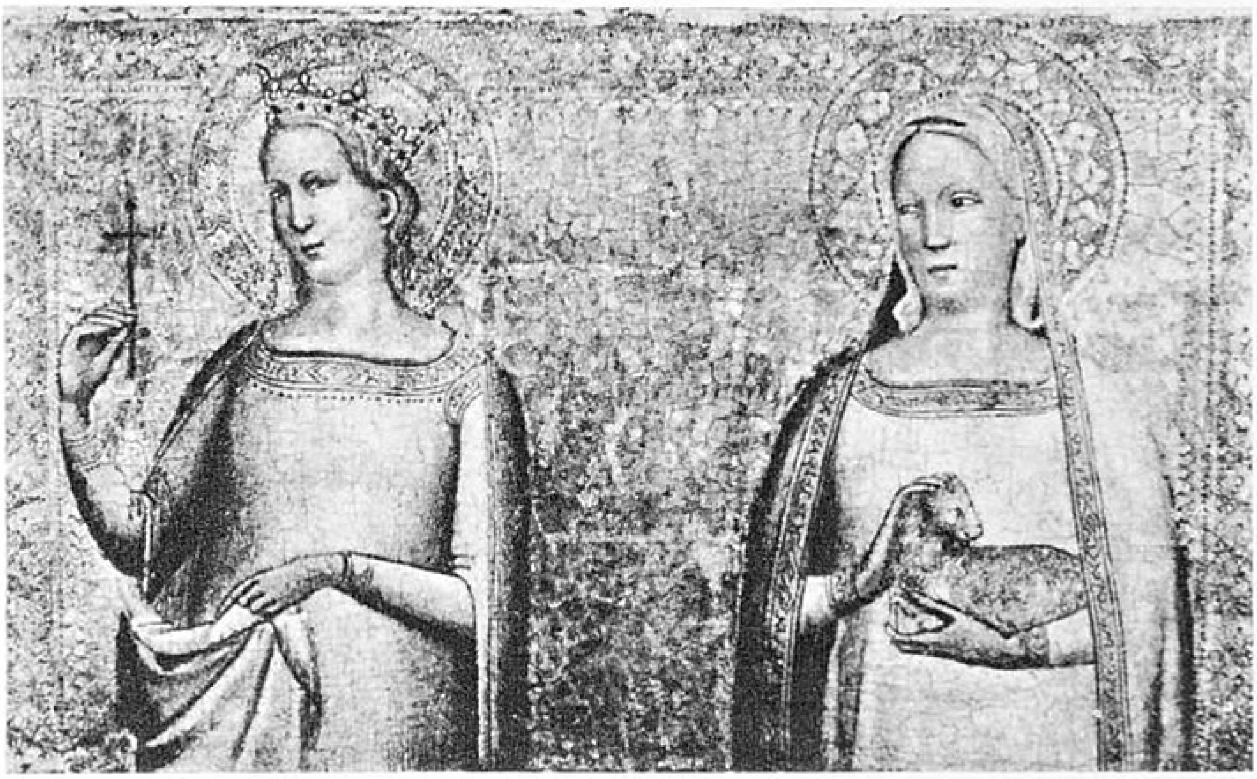


Fig. 231. A Follower of Daddi, SS. Catherine and Agnes. Gallery, Strasbourg.

The most important of these is a triptych in the Corsini Gallery representing in the centre the enthroned Virgin with SS. Catherine and Bernard (?) at one side and St. Romuald (?) and a holy bishop at the other (fig 230). The broad proportions and the peculiar shape of the faces, especially of the female saints, will be found again in the half-length figures of SS. Catherine and Agnes in the Gallery of Strasbourg (fig. 231) (¹) and again in a central panel of a triptych in the Accademia of Siena (fig. 232), a thoroughly Daddiesque composition in which the Virgin seated

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Dipinti del Trecento in alcuni musei tedeschi di provincia, Rassegna d'Arte, 1906, p. 82.

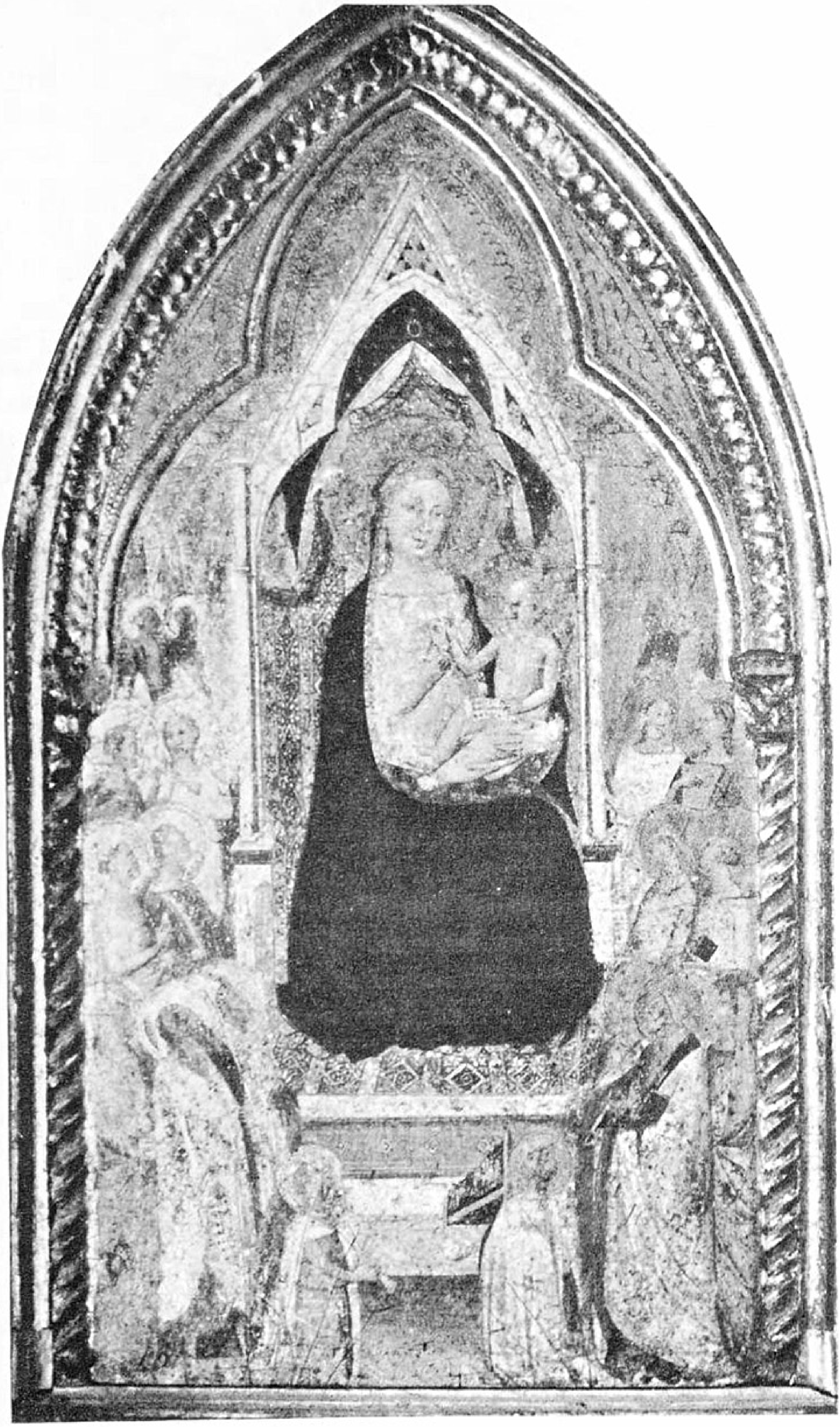


Fig. 232. A Follower of Daddi, centre of a triptych. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

on a Gothic throne is surrounded by saints while three little angels kneel in front (1).

By the same hand seems a large figure of a saint in the Opera del Duomo of Florence (no. 90).

This painter, although not possessing the fineness of line of the previous artist, can be almost as closely associated with Daddi, but in another and somewhat less plastic stage.

Of three Coronations of the Virgin, all productions of Bernardo's school, two are remarkably similar, the one in the Lindenau Museum in Altenburg (no. 131) (2) in which we see the principal figures seated on an elaborate Gothic throne while a double row of angels and saints descend towards them from the sides and four little angels kneel in front, and the other in the Gallery of Turin which, except for a more simple form of throne and a medallion of the Saviour above, seems originally to have shown an identical composition. The panel has however apparently been cut just under the central group.

The style of the third Coronation, which belonged to the Myendorff collection in Petrograd, tends again towards the manner of Orcagna (3). The Lord and the Virgin are here only escorted by a few figures of saints and two angelic musicians; the lower part of the panel is occupied by a representation of the Adoration of the Magi.

Of two other triptychs made in the immediate environment of Daddi, one belongs to Dr. Ruozzi, Spello (Umbria) (4), the other to Mr. F. M. Perkins, Lastra a Signa; both show us the usual subjects, the Madonna enthroned between four figures with the Nativity and Crucifixion in the wings, but while the author of Mr. Perkins triptych followed Daddi's best manner, that of refined and spiritualized beauty, the other panel has more in common with some of the artist's later productions in which the proportions are broader and the plastic effects less evident.

Yet another very fine triptych belongs to the Horne collection,

---

(1) *F. M. Perkins*, Note su alcuni quadri del Museo Cristiano, p. 108.

(2) *Schmarzow*, Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthist. Instituts in Florenz, Leipz., 1897. p. 168.

(3) *P. P. Weiner*, L'Esposizione di quadri antiche promossa a Petroburgo etc., L'Arte, 1909, p. 221.

(4) *U. Gnoli*, L'Arte Umbra alla mostra di Perugia, Bergamo, 1908, p. 102.

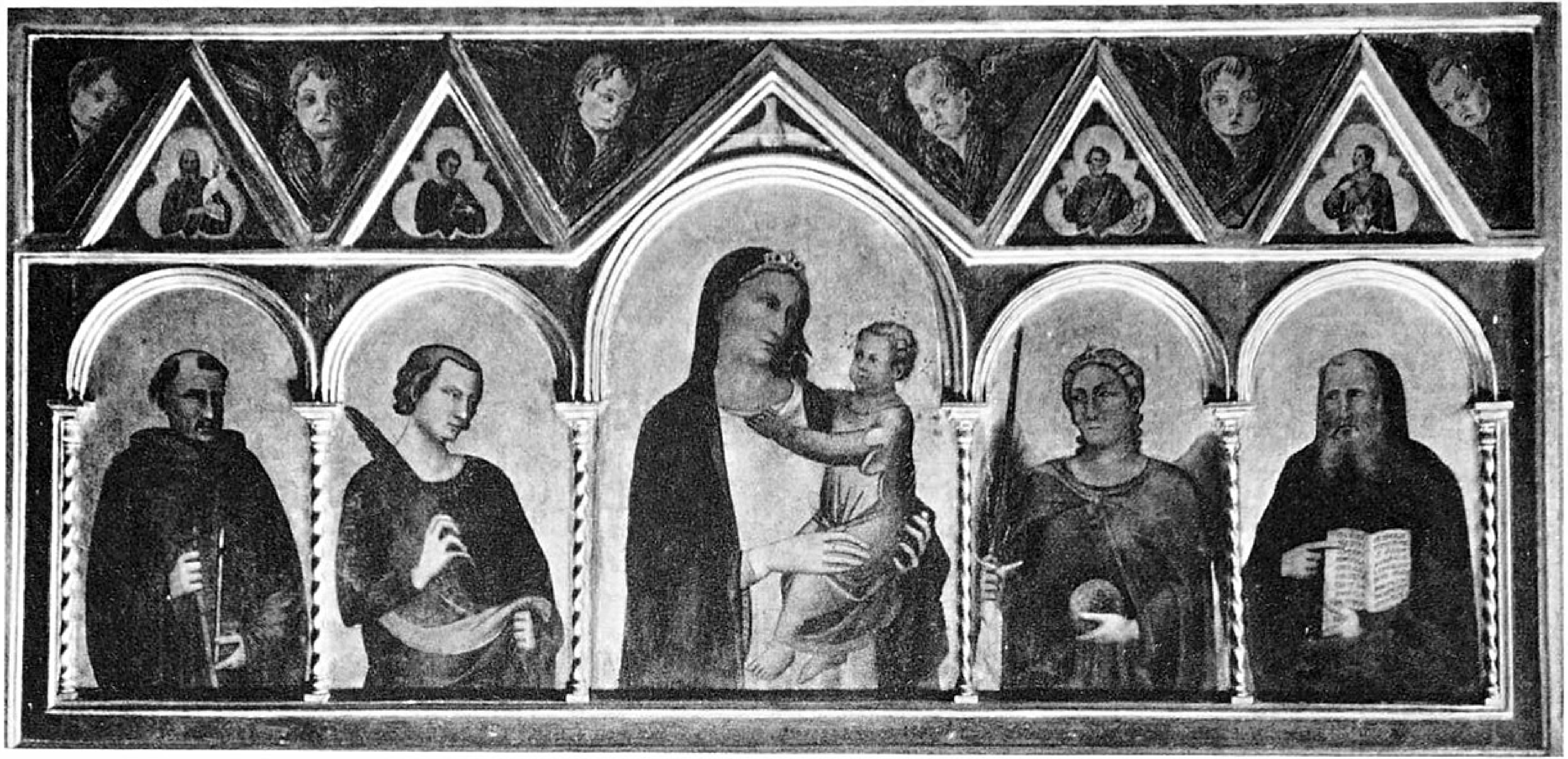


Fig. 233. A Follower of Daddi, Madonna and Saints, until lately in the Palazzo Rucellai, Florence.

Photo Reali.

Florence; it represents the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John in the centre, and in the wings four separate figures of saints. There is a strong Gothic element obvious in the draping and the panel as a whole is reminiscent of the triptych of 1334 in the Fogg Museum (¹).

The Museum of Altenburg still possesses a Crucifixion (no. 14) which must originally have formed the centre of a similar triptych.

A polyptych of five half-length figures — the Virgin and four saints — until lately in the Palazzo Rucellai (fig. 233) shows a close connection with Bernardo in the second half of his career but also a certain relation to panels of a similar type which I attributed to Pacino di Buonaguida.

A fine work made by a skilful follower working under Daddi's direct guidance is the large crucifix now in the Accademia but until quite recently in the Uffizi (no. 12) (fig. 234). At the sides of the central figure stand the Virgin and St. John, while the four extremities contain the Mocking of Christ, the Flagellation, the Carrying of the Cross and the Last Judgment. We might ascribe to the same hand the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John and the Magdalene kneeling at the foot of the Cross (fig. 235), in the Accademia and perhaps also, although it is executed in a more independent manner, a large polyptych of the Coronation of the Virgin with angelic musicians below, numerous lateral saints and the Lord and cherubs in medallions, which is kept in the store-rooms of the Uffizi (²). The manner of this artist particularly resembles that of Puccio di Simone whose works will be dealt with presently.

A small panel in the Accademia which we can ascribe to a follower of Daddi, depicts the Virgin enthroned between SS. Catherine and Julia, the Baptist and a holy bishop.

A half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child in the Vatican (no. 5) is so closely connected with Daddi's art that but for the

---

(¹) I see no reason for Mr. Sirén's attribution of this and the above mentioned triptych of Mr. Perkin's to the "Master of the Vele of Assisi", op. cit., p. 267.

(²) Mr. *Sirén* first attributed this work to Daddi himself, Alcune opere sconoscuite etc., but now believes it to be by a pupil, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 272.

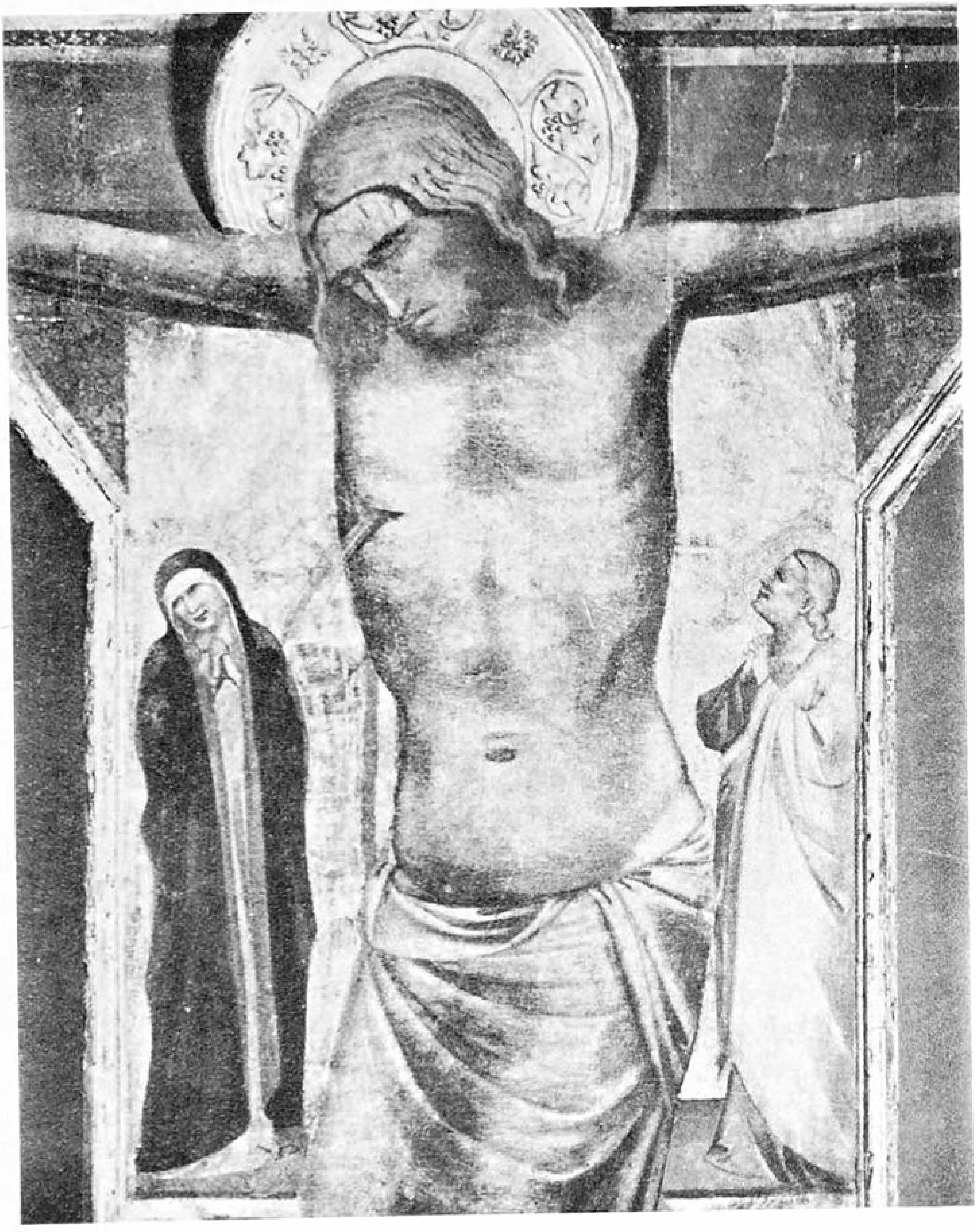


Fig. 234. A Follower of Daddi, detail of the Crucifixion. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

coarse execution we might ascribe it to the master himself. In the right transept of S. Spirito an important but somewhat repainted polyptych of the half-length figures of the Madonna and four saints must also be considered as having been executed under Daddi's direct influence (¹). A panel of St. Peter Martyr distribut-

---

(¹) Mr. *Sirén* attributes this polyptych to Giottino, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 274.

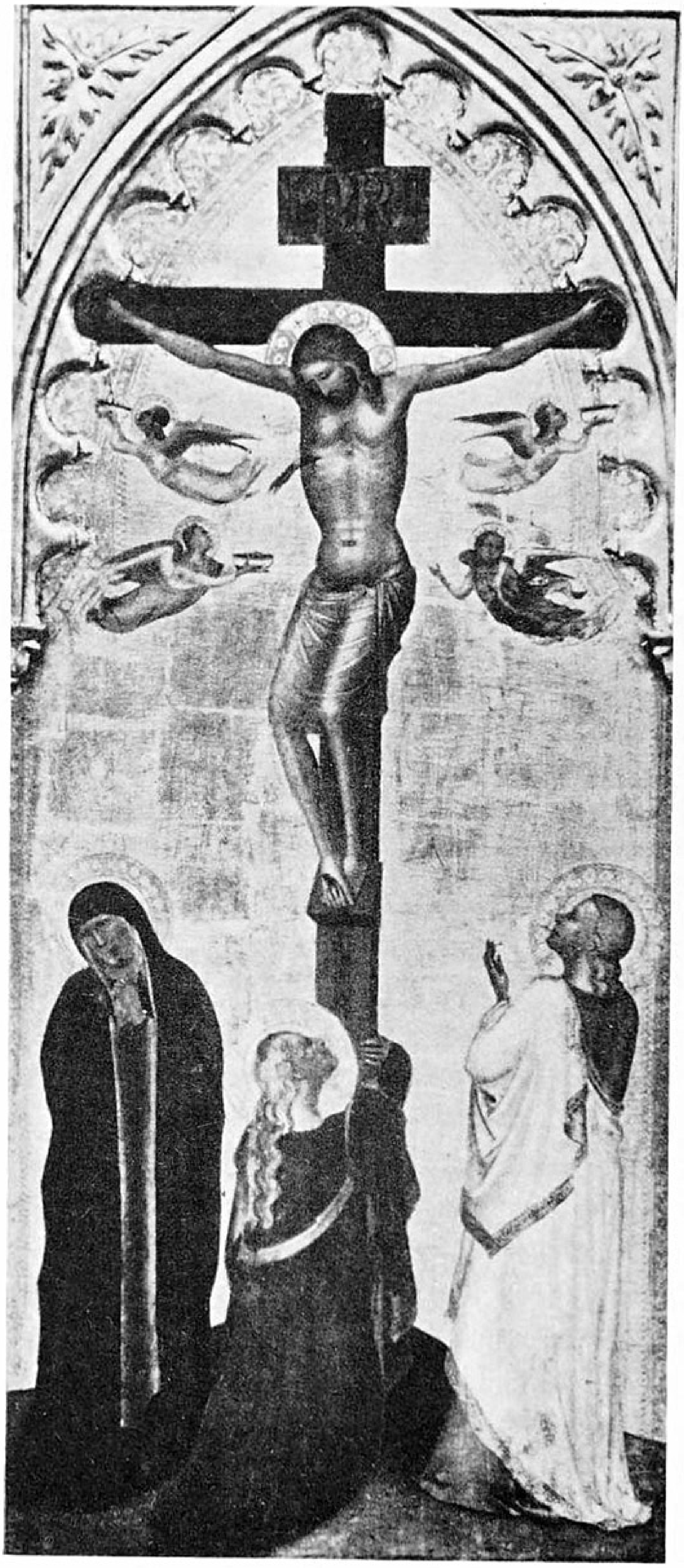


Fig. 235. A follower of Daddi, Crucifixion. Accademia, Florence. Photo Brogi.

ing banners to the captains of the Company of the Misericordia in the Bigallo Museum is executed in the same manner as also a small, rather damaged picture of the Virgin crowned and standing, without the Child but with a small adorer kneeling close by, in the Bandini Museum of Fiesole.

In the Bandini Museum, Fiesole, two wings of a triptych showing the Adoration of the Magi and the Crucifixion with the figures of the Annunciation above (no. 17) and a Crucifixion with the gambling soldiers and others on horseback are by close but unrefined followers of Daddi. The Gallery of Dresden possesses a panel of a predella on which is depicted the Presentation in the Temple (no. 27); the frame and general aspect are similar to those we found in the large polyptych in the Uffizi and although the design is somewhat weaker, Daddi's influence is clearly evident.

A painter inspired by Daddi, of whom we have some documentary information is Puccio di Simone (1); we find him mentioned in 1343 and in 1345 and 1346 in the ledgers of the corporation of "medici e speciali" as living in the quarter of S. Lorenzo; his name is also inscribed towards the end of the register which covers the years 1320—'52, and again in 1357 as a member of the guild of S. Lucas.

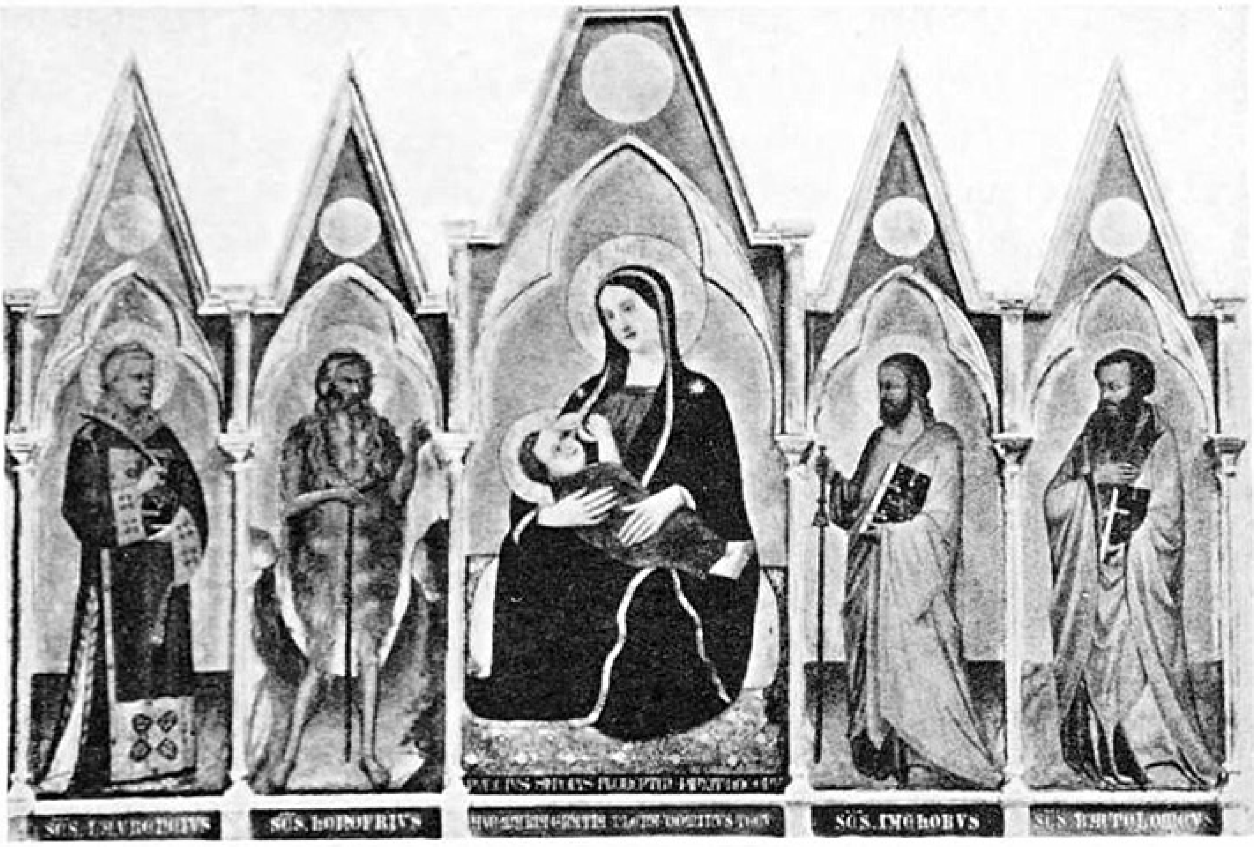


Fig. 236. Puccio di Simone, polyptych. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

We know of the existence of two of his works, one of which, an important polyptych, is preserved in the Accademia of Florence (fig. 236). The central panel is occupied by the Virgin seated and holding the playful Child lying on her lap, and the side panels show the standing figures of SS. Lawrence, Onuphrius, James and Bartholomew. The signature reads: "*Puccius Simonis Florentinus Pinxit Hoc Opus*".

---

(1) The documents are given by *Frey*, Loggia de Lanzi, p.p. 323, 333 and 337. v. *W. Suida*, Florentische Maler, um die Mitte des XIV Jahrh., Strasbourg, 1905, p. 42.

The other panel, which represented the Madonna enthroned suckling the Child, with a medallion above encircling a half-length figure of the Saviour, formed part of the old Artaud de Montor collection and is only known to us through the not very faithful prints which illustrated the catalogue of this gallery. The inscription runs: "*A Tempus Dñs Angnolus Puccius pinxit Hoc Opus Anno Dñi MCCCL adi X d'Aprile*".

The lateral figures of the former work, in which the Madonna has been retouched, clearly betray, in type as well as in technique and execution, a direct inspiration from Daddi. It is certainly an earlier production than the panel of 1350 in the execution of which it seems probable — even taking into account how little we can rely on a similar reproduction — that the artist was influenced by Andrea Orcagna.

Another artist and follower of Daddi, whose name is recorded, is Matteo di Pacino, who became a member of the guild of painters of Florence in 1374 (¹). The only work we have of this artist is a triptych representing in the centre the Coronation of the Virgin surrounded by angels and at the sides St. Martin in bishop's attire and the Baptist, while medallions above contain the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, St. Peter and St. Paul. This painting which belongs to the Stroganoff collection in Rome, bears the inscription ". . . . . *Anni Domim MCCCLX Maçteus Pacini me pisit. Adi XX Mag*". Its author was a weak and somewhat vulgar adherent of the Daddiesque tradition revealing in certain details, the influence of Orcagna.

Considerably more refined and belonging to a more advanced stage of evolution, showing in the plasticity of the figures an Orcagnesque influence, is the painter Giovanni Bonsi of whom we only possess one authentic work, a polyptych in the Vatican Gallery depicting the Virgin enthroned between SS. Onuphrius, Nicholas, Bartholomew and John the Evangelist. This is signed.

---

(¹) *A. Muñoz,* Pièces de choix de la coll. Stroganoff, II, Rome, 1911, pl. 4. *Khovshinsky and Salmi,* Pittori Toscani, II, p. 38.

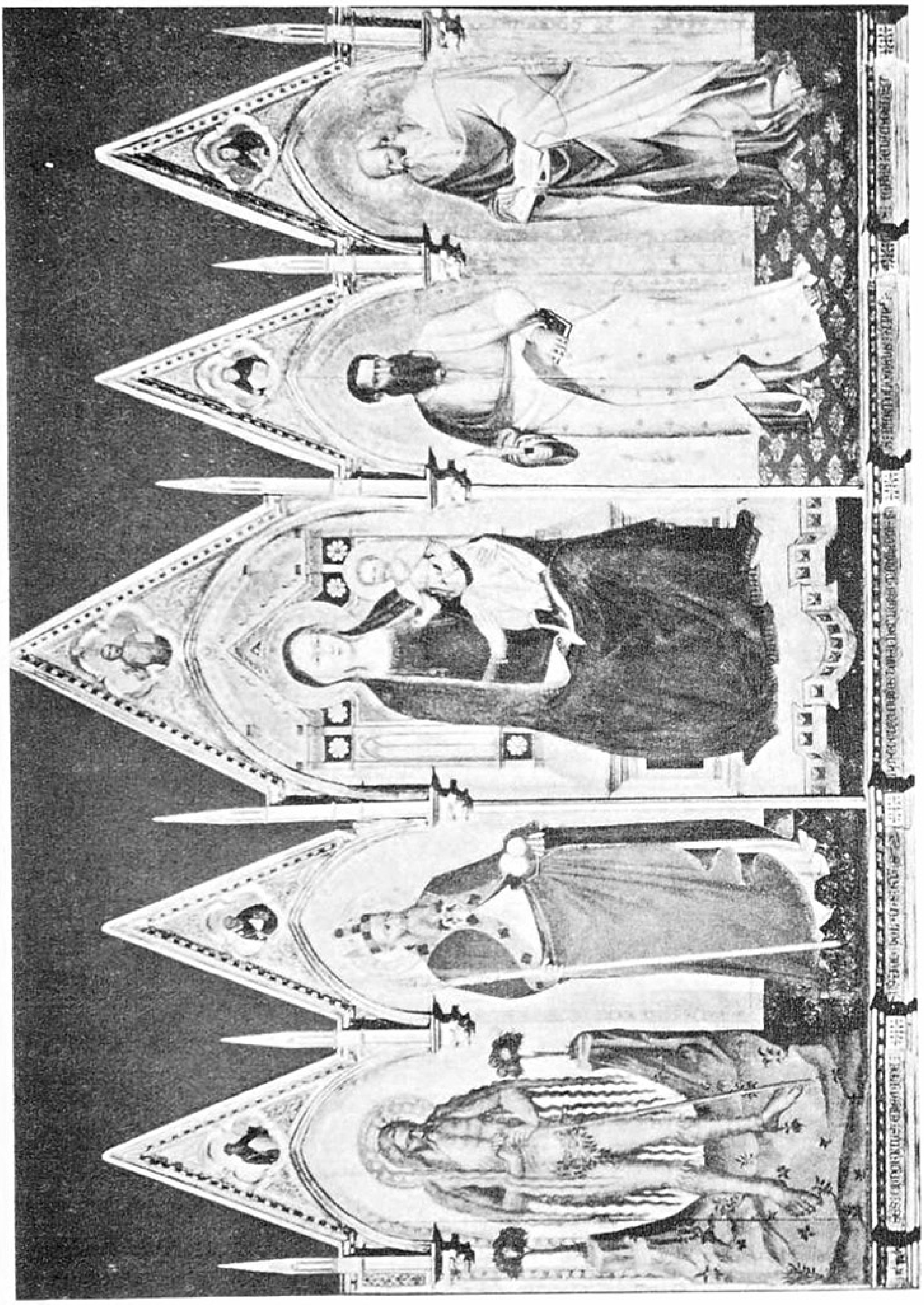


Fig. 237. Giovanni Bonsi, polyptych. Vatican Gallery, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

"*MCCCLXX Joães Bonsi de Florentia me pinsit*" (fig. 237) (¹).

---

(¹) *Khovshinsky* and *Salmi*, op. cit, p. 42. *Salmi*, G. Bonsi in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, IV, p. 322.

I do not think it impossible that this artist at an earlier moment in his career produced the figures of SS. Bartholomew and Antony of Padua in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole (nos. 15 and 17). The name of the artist is found mentioned in 1366 among the many addresses of the "operai" of the Cathedral of Florence (1).

### MASO AND GIOTTINO (2).

As we have no authentic works of any of the three separate artists who, until now, have passed in art history under the name of Giottino, the facts we find about them in documents and early writings are only of limited interest. It seems, however, probable that some connection existed between these three painters and the works attributed to them and we may call the two I propose to deal with here Giottino and Maso; while, following Mr. Sirén's example, we have given the name of Maestro Stefano to the author of the frescoes in the St. Nicholas chapel in the basilica of Assisi.

---

(1) *Vasari-Milanesi,* I, p. 583, note 2. Other works of Daddi's school are: *Amsterdam,* Lanz coll., central panel of a triptych, the Virgin in the midst of saints; *Boston,* Fine Arts Museum, new acq., Crucifixion with several figures below and 4 angels; *Chantilly,* Musée Condé, the Death of the Virgin (Venturi, op. cit., V, pp. 413—15, attributes it to Giotto and helpers); *Dijon,* Gallery, triptych, Madonna of Humility nursing the Child in the centre, Nativity, Crucifixion and the figures of the Annunciation in the wings; *Florence,* Horne Museum, centre of a triptych, Crucifixion (C. Gamba, Daedalo, 1920, p. 172); *The Hague,* Meerman van Westreenen Museum, lower parts of two wings of a triptych, the Nativity and the Crucifixion; *London,* for sale in summer 1923, the Marriage of St. Catherine; *New York,* Blumenthal coll., the martyrdom of St Agatha; Lehman coll., Crucifixion, centre of a triptych with five figures, including the fainting Virgin under the Cross; *Paris,* Venosti Visconti coll., triptych, Madonna, Nativity, Crucifixion and figures of the Annunciation (C. Gamba, Daedalo, 1921, p. 516); for sale Oct. 1922 triptych, Madonna, Crucifixion and Nativity; *Parma,* Gallery, no. 443, restored centre of a triptych, the Crucifixion above, the Madonna and saints below; *Perugia,* author's coll, triptych, Virgin, Nativity, Crucifixion and above the figures of the Annunciation; *Pienza,* Museum, triptych, Madonna and saints in the centre, Nativity, Crucifixion and above half-length figures of the Annunciation in the wings; *Pisa,* once the property of Cav. Masi-Capannoli, Madonna of Humility sitting on a cushion. *Rome,* Vatican Gallery, store-room no. 166, very small triptych, Madonna and two saints, nos. 34 and 36, four very small saints on two panels. All much restored, possibly by Daddi himself. Many other triptychs are to be found in private collections.

(2) *Schubring,* Giottino, Jahrb. der K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1900, p. 161. *The Same.* Primitive Italiener im Louvre, Zeitsch. f. Christl. Kunst, 1901. *W. Suida,* Studiën zur Trecento Malerei, II; Maso u. Giotto di Maestro Stefano, Repertorium, 1905, p. 481. *O. Sirén,* Giottino und seine Stellung in der gleichzeitigen Florentinischen Malerei, Leipzig, 1908. *W. Suida,* Zur Florent. Trecento Malerei (recension on Sirén), Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss., 1908, p. 1009; *O. Sirén,* Addenda und Errata zu meinem Giottino-Buch, Monatsh. f. Kunstwiss., 1908, p. 1118. *J v. Schlosser,* Das Giottino problem und die moderne Stilkritik. Kunstgesch.; Jahrb. der K.K. Zentral Kommis., 1910, p. 197. *Thieme-Becker,* Künstler Lexikon, XIV, 1921, p. 92.

Mr. Sirén has grouped together the various information, which has been left to us about Giottino, and which, besides Vasari's account will be found in the works of Villani, of Ghiberti, in "il Libro di Antonio Billi" (1500—7) and in the 16th century Codice Magliabechiano. From these writings it becomes evident that we have here two distinct figures:

(1) Giotto di Maestro Stefano or Giottino, the son of that Stefano whom we considered the possible author of the St. Nicholas frescoes in the Lower Church, Assisi.

(2) Maso who may be placed chronologically between Maestro Stefano and his son and with whom therefore we must deal first.

In the Matricola of the Florentine painters, we find two different Masos both of whose names are accompanied by the date 1350; they are Maso di Ciacco who inhabited the quarter of Porta S. Reparata, and Maso di Bancho or Banchi (1). The latter is also found mentioned in 1341 when his belongings in the shop of Sandro di Giovanni were sequestered on demand of Rodolfo dei Bardi. Among his goods there were two parts of an altar-piece representing the Madonna, the Baptist and St. Francis, and also painting utensils (2). He first matriculated in 1343 and his name appears again in 1346, but we do not know to which of these Masos the various authors attribute different works.

Both Villani and Ghiberti sing this artist's praises; the latter tells us that he was a pupil of Giotto's and that there were only few of his works which were not perfect. In describing Maso's style Ghiberti curiously remarks that he greatly "abbreviated" (abbreviò) the art of painting, which Prof. A. Venturi has understood to refer to his simplicity of composition but which Mr. Sirén — and I think with perhaps more reason — interprets as meaning the absence of minutiae which characterizes his work. Ghiberti also informs us that Maso painted a history (Descent?) of the Holy Ghost, above the entrance of S. Spirito and a tabernacle of the Madonna on the place outside this church, the history of St. Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine in a chapel of Sta. Croce and that he executed a marble figure on Giotto's tower.

---

(1) *Manzoni*, Statue e Matricole etc , p. 129, *Gualandi*, Memorie, VI, p. 185.

(2) *G. Poggi*, Nuovi documenti su Maso di Banco. Rivista d'Arte, 1910, p. 153.

Antonio Billi mentions only one work by this artist, a fresco, representing the Duke of Athens and his court, in the tower of the palace of the Podestà; the Anonimo Gaddiano repeats Ghiberti's list adding to it the work ascribed to him by Billi and along with Vasari, furnishes us with the vague information that he painted "many things" in the chapel of S. Spirito, apart from the above mentioned story of the Holy Ghost.

A document of 1392 tells us of a Deposition — probably the faithful few mourning over the dead body of the Saviour — above the door of the cemetery of S. Piero Maggiore by "Maso dipintore, grande maestro" (1).

It does not seem impossible that even as early as Ghiberti this confusion concerning the personality of Giottino already existed; it is very probable that in speaking of Maso's activities as sculptor he confounds the painter with the Tommaso di Stefano who matriculated in that faculty in 1385.

Of Giottino — whom Vasari erroneously identified with Maso, making out of these one Tommaso di Stefano detto Giottino who never existed — we possess only a very few documents: his matriculation in the guild of S. Luca which must have taken place in 1368 as this date comes after his name in the register (2); and in the year following he is found as one of the best paid amongst the numerous painters whom Pope Urban V employed in the Vatican (3). We know besides, that Giottino had a son whom he named Stefano after his father and who died in 1404 (4).

---

(1) *Milanesi's* annotations on *Vasari*, I, p. 628, note 2.

(2) *Manzoni*, op. cit., p. 127, *Gualandi*, op. cit., p. 182.

(3) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 187. *Müntz*, Le Giottino à Rome, Archives des Arts, 1890.

(4) *Milanesi's* annotations on *Vasari*, I, p. 622.

The Anonimo Gaddiano repeats Billi's statements that Giottino was a pupil of Giotto and gives the list of his works, in which, however, he includes the same tabernacle in the Piazza S. Spirito which he previously attributed to Maso and the arches in the first cloister of the monastery of S. Spirito which have already been mentioned as works of Maestro Stefano. Always in accordance with Billi he enumerates a St. Christopher, an Annunciation and a St. George in the Ognisanti church, the figures of SS. Cosmas and Damianus in the Greek monastery of St. Basil in the via S. Gallo, a Pietà in the monastery of S. Gallo and other works at Campora outside Florence. It is interesting to note that Billi was also aware of Giottino's activity in Rome, for he tells us that the artist worked in Sta. Maria Aracoeli and in S. Giovanni where he depicted the history of a pope in several scenes.

It hardly deserves mention that Vasari in his second edition gives the year of birth of his imaginary Giottino as 1324, which, if true, would have made it impossible for him to have been a pupil of Giotto, and tells us that he died of consumption at the age of thirty-two which is again disproved by the fact that he is mentioned in 1369. He speaks besides of the melancholy disposition of the artist. Apart from the above mentioned works by Maso or Giotto di Maestro Stefano which Vasari attributes to his Giottino, he also speaks of "other paintings by the same hand" which he saw in the churches of S. Pancrazio and Sta. Maria Novella. His recognition of this master's hand in the Pietà of S. Romigo, now in the Uffizi, is very important and his finely expressed praise is well deserved. On the other hand he also ascribes to this artist the Coronation of the Virgin in the Lower Church of Assisi and the lateral scenes from the life of St. Stanislaus whom Vasari has mistaken for St. Nicholas. In the same town he also finds a Madonna with St. Francis and another saint over one of the gates and an Assumption of St. Clare in her own church, which he attributes to Giottino.

This figure which Vasari created has been recently more or less accepted by Messrs. Schubring, Suida and Sirén, that is to say that they, too, believe that the painter of Assisi is the same as the artist who executed the frescoes of St. Sylvester in the Bardi chapel.

In his first treatise Mr. Sirén considerably lengthened the list of works which he believed could be attributed to Giottino (1) but a later revision has resulted in the reduction of their number to five (apart from those at Assisi), including the frescoes of the Bardi chapel and the Pietà of S. Remigio already ascribed to Giottino by the early writers (2).

We should, however, first of all try to unravel Vasari's confusion of errors because there is no doubt that he confounded two different personalities — Maso and Giottino — at the same time adding to the combined list of their achievements the works of the charming but somewhat provincial painter of Assisi. Even separating as I have done, the productions of this latter artist from the material we are dealing with now, we have still before us paintings which, according to certain old traditions, were executed by two different hands, and we should now be able to verify our facts if the aspect of these works confirms our opinion.

A great factor on which to build is the date. On the whole it seems probable that the Maso — be he di Ciacco or di Banco — mentioned between 1340 and 1350, was a generation previous to Giottino. Not only did the latter matriculate in 1368, that is to say twenty-five years later than Maso di Banco, but the fact that he was the son of a contemporary of Giotto and that his own son died at the beginning of the 15th century make us imagine that he was an artist who flourished in the third quarter of the 14th century, while Maso must have been active in the second quarter.

This last period is also the one in which, in all probability, the frescoes of the Bardi chapel, the only work still existing of those Ghiberti attributed to Maso, were executed. This mural decoration and the Pietà of S. Remigio, or Romeo, which is certainly by the same painter, are works not only worthy of the hand of an immediate pupil of Giotto, as Maso was, but also of the praise which such a connoisseur as Ghiberti bestowed on the artist of that name, while he does not even mention Giottino.

---

(1) *O. Sirén*, Giottino, p. 91. Here the author agrees with the attribution to Giottino (Maso) of a triptych in the Sterbini collection, made by Prof. Venturi but for this I fail to see any reason *A. Venturi*, Un trittico di Maso di Banco nella quadreria Sterbini, L'Arte, 1908, p. 137.

(2) *O. Sirén*, Giotto and some of his followers, p. 274.

The confusion which has arisen may have been caused by the close connection which existed between Maso and Giottino and of which we may perhaps find an explanation in the following statement by Ghiberti: "He (Maso) had many pupils who were all very able masters". This seems to me to throw a certain light on the Giottino problem, because even amongst the Florentine paintings which, according to Mr. Sirén and some other critics, constitute the output of Giottino, we can discover two different hands, the one anterior and superior to the other; the former in all likelihood is Maso, while the second might be Giotto di Stefano, though this is much less certain.

To the author of the St. Sylvester frescoes in the Bardi chapel, I think we can only ascribe two other works, the Pietà of S. Remigio and the fragments of frescoes illustrating the legends of SS. Stephen and Bartholomew in the upper part of the Cavone chapel in the Badia. Of the fresco of the Duke of Athens driven from Florence, so little remains that I do not venture to offer an opinion but the probable date — 1344 — of this work would coincide with Maso's activities.

The figures in the St. Sylvester series of frescoes are of such marked grace that I find it impossible to confound this great artist with the Assisan Giottesque painter or with the one whom we have decided to call Giottino even although of several frescoes, only some sadly damaged fragments remain. The date of this decoration has been assumed to be shortly after 1367, the year Andrea Bardi died, whose tomb therefore would be the monument found here. This cannot, however, be the case as the mural ornamentation is obviously of a somewhat earlier date (¹). Several of the events represented here are the same as those which, more than a hundred years before, were executed in the church of S. Silvestro at Tivoli or in the chapel dedicated to this saint in SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome. We find the legend narrated in the following scenes: (1) the Emperor Constantine announcing to the mothers that he will not take the blood of their children which his physician had ordered to cure his leprosy, (2) SS. Peter and Paul appearing in a vision to the sick emperor and telling him

---

(¹) *Schlosser* in his annotations on Ghiberti, p. 130, believes these frescoes to be by another hand.

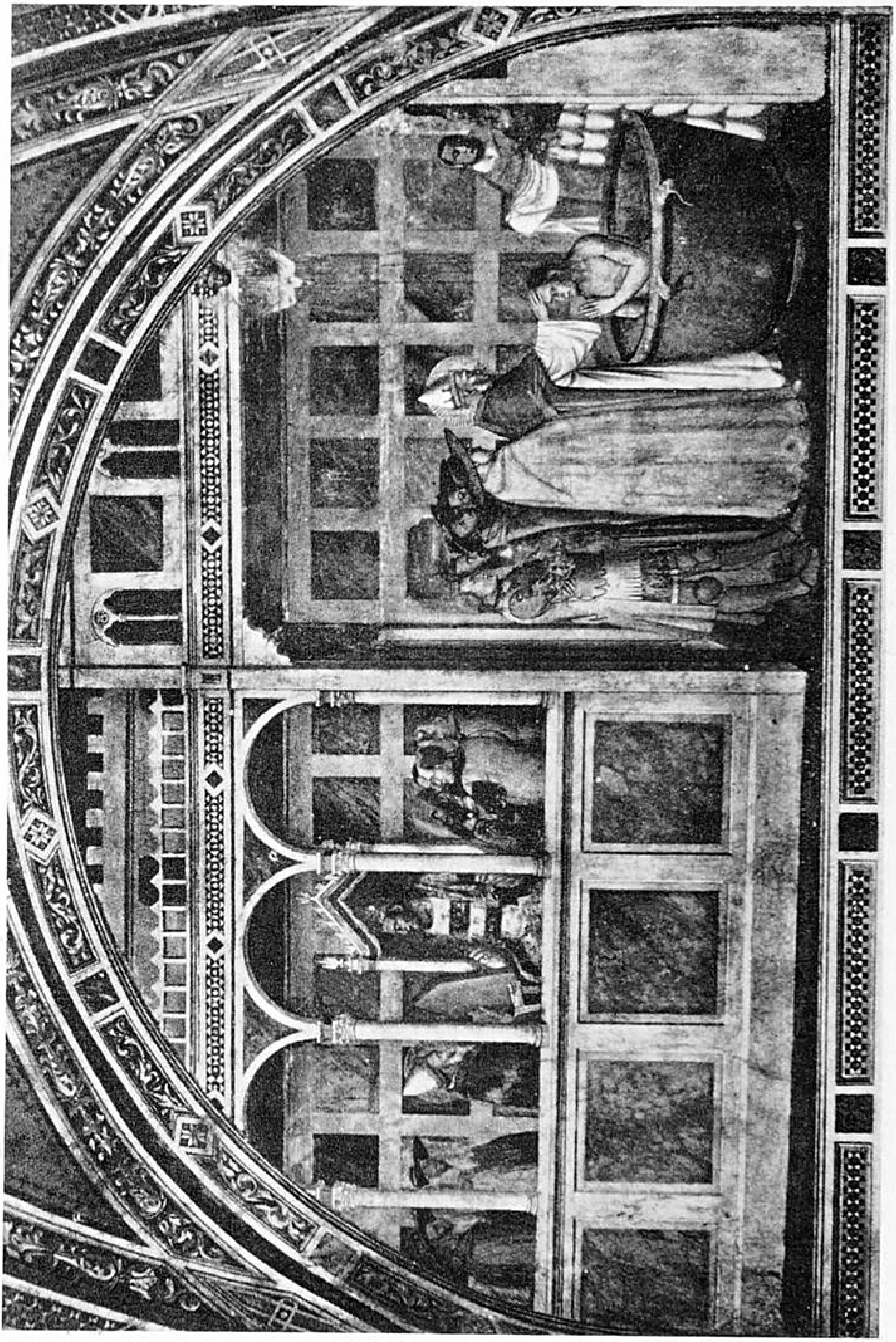


Fig. 238. Maso, St. Sylvester shows Constantine the portraits of SS. Peter and Paul, and the Baptism of the Emperor. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence

Photo Brogi.

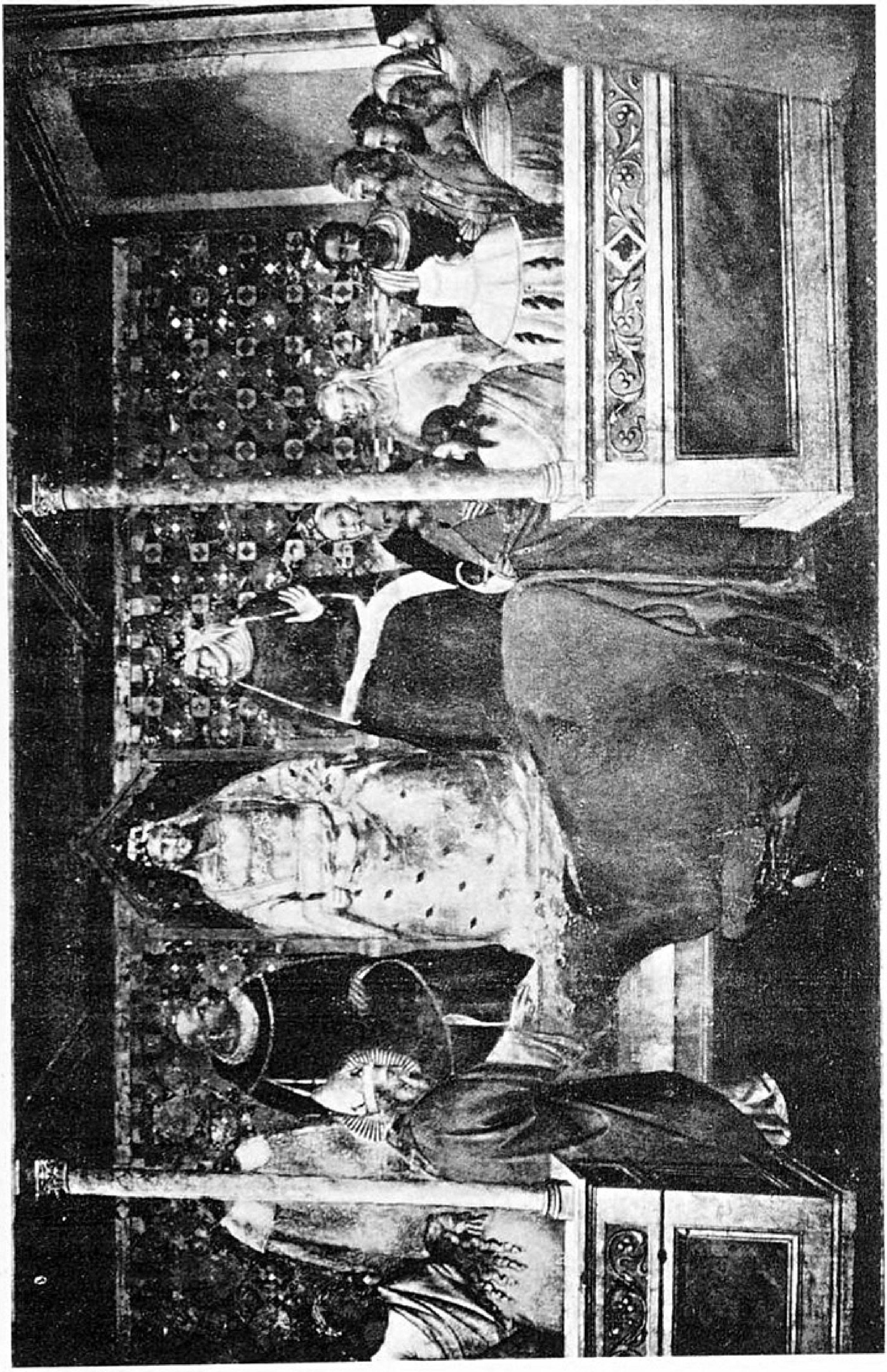


Fig. 239. Maso, St. Sylvester revives a bull. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Reali.

that if he is baptised by the Bishop Sylvester, his disease will be cured; a servant looking through the door is the most visible part of this fresco; but the following are better preserved, (3) Sylvester showing portraits of the two saints to prove that the emperor may rely on his vision (painted in a lunette combined with the baptism of Constantine) who is depicted in a font, while high dignitaries assist the holy bishop (fig. 238). Below we see (4) St. Sylvester in the presence of the emperor, reviving a bull which had been killed by magical incantations (fig. 239) while the last scene, (5) represents the saint sealing the mouth of a dragon and recalling to life two heathen magicians who had been killed by the poisonous breath of the monster (fig. 240). The last two frescoes, especially, give us a clear idea of Maso's art; the former shows us the emperor facing the spectator, seated on a slightly raised platform under a handsomely ornamented loggia, his mother on one side and two officials on the other, the benches around the loggia being filled with male and female figures, some facing, some in profile, others seen from the back; an open space is left before the emperor through which St. Sylvester can be seen making a sign to the bull which is represented kneeling on its forelegs.

The principal merits ot this work are the excellent draping, the fine design of the faces which are full of expression and the well-built figures which have something of the majesty of Giotto combined with the grace of the Sienese. The second fresco is less monumental in conception but the figures are still more handsome. On the left we see the saint descending into the dragon's den, holding the creature's mouth with one hand and sealing it with the other; he is followed by two priests, one of whom holds his nose while the other is half hidden behind a pillar which would have been much better placed slightly to the right where it would have served as a division between this first half of the scene and the second half, depicting St. Sylvester's return from the den, followed by his two companions, and resuscitating the two magicians with the sign of benediction. This proceeding is portrayed by the simple means of representing the two heathens twice, lying dead and kneeling before the saint. On the extreme right the emperor, with a small suite, stands watching the miracle; the figures of his courtiers lack Giotto's realism and

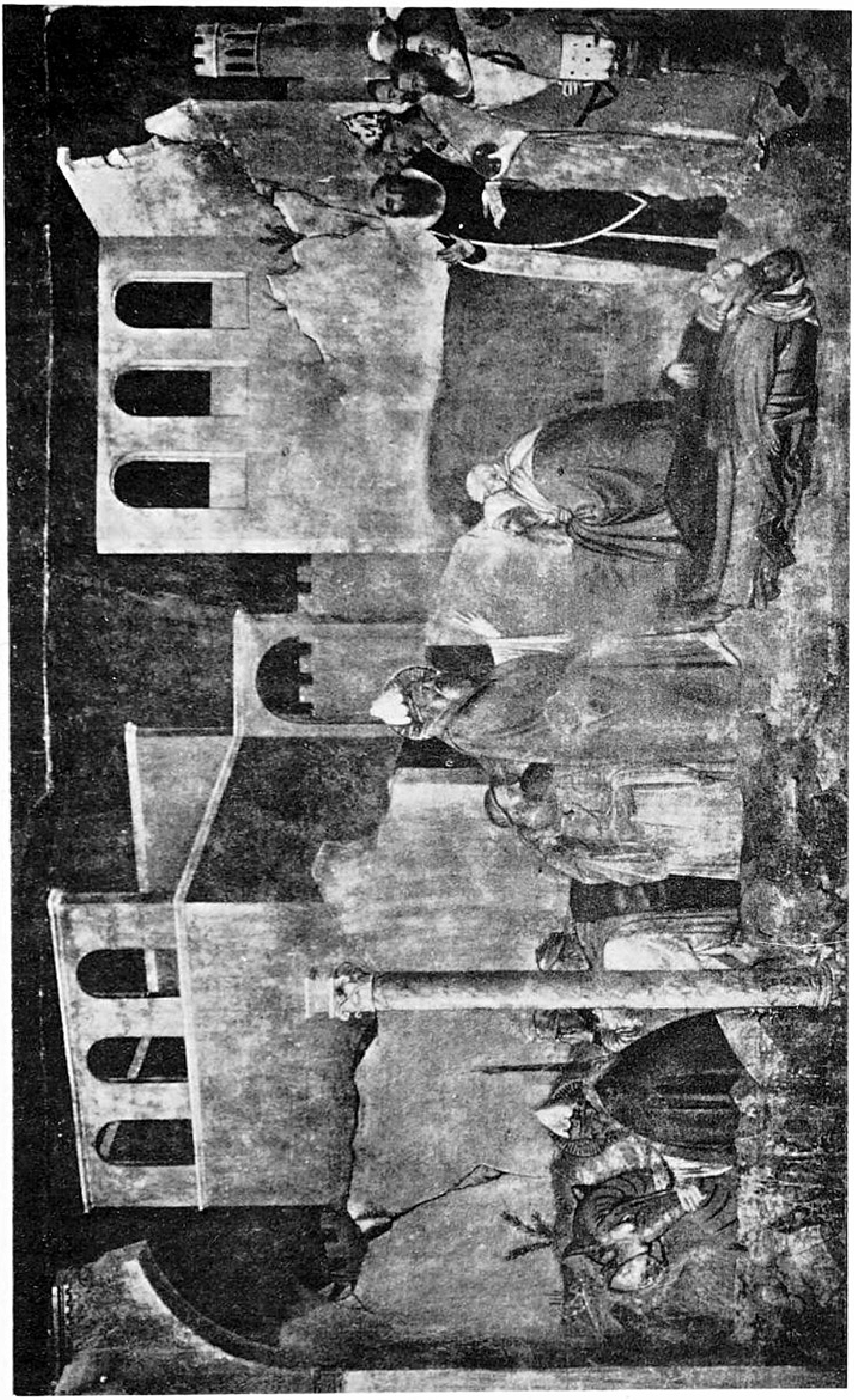


Fig. 240. Pseudo Maso, St. Sylvester seals the mouth of a dragon. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Brogi.

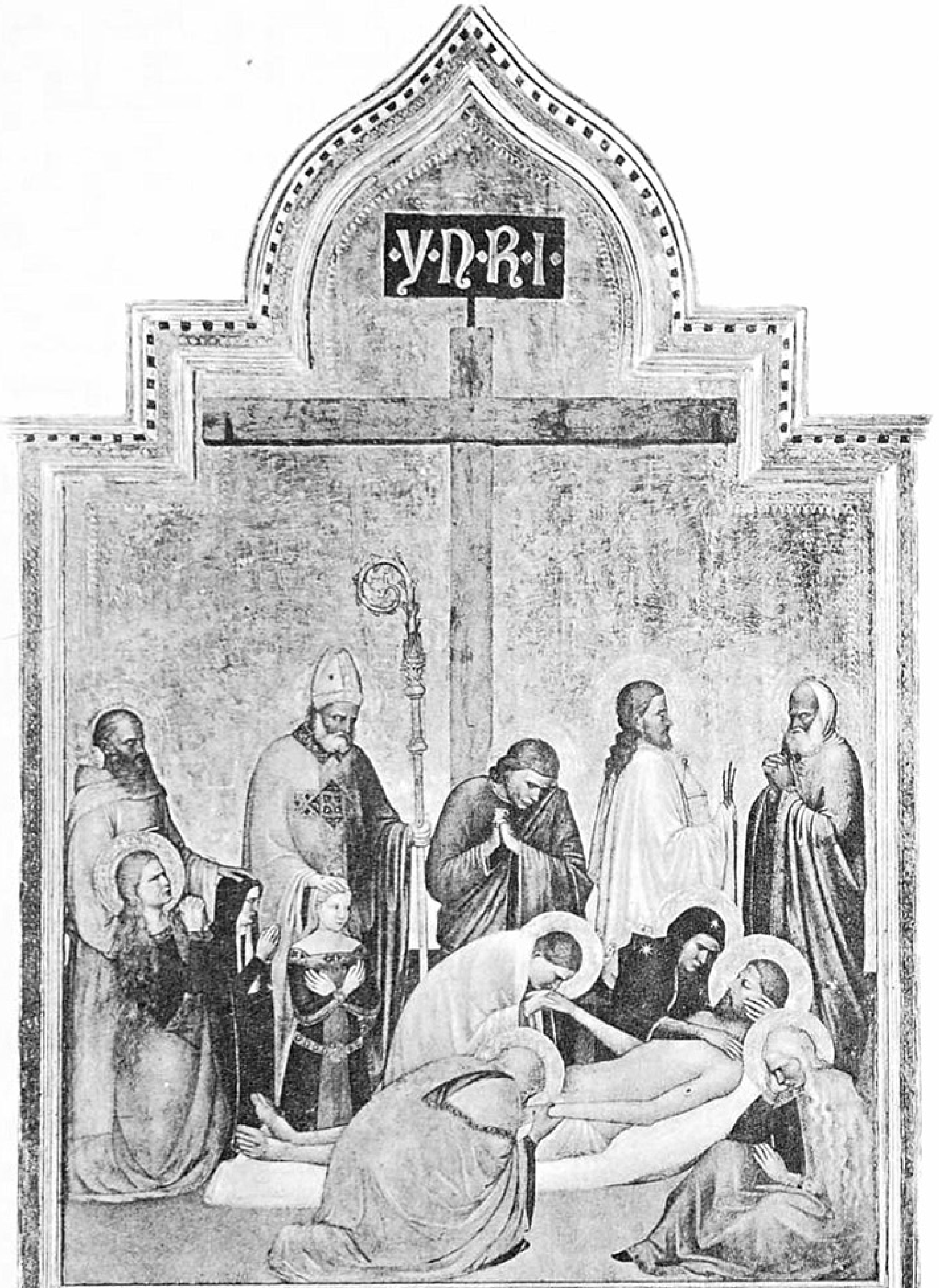
animation but betray the stateliness of the Sienese, the artist obviously having been inspired by the celestial calm of Simone.

The background is composed of ruined houses, in the execution of which perspective has been fairly well observed; the pillar in the foreground and part of an arch are also remains of fallen buildings.

In the same chapel Maso painted a Last Judgment of a more simple composition than is generally found. The subject represented is really the judgment of one soul.

Our Lord, with the upper part of His body half uncovered, is seated in a mandorla, making the usual gesture of reception and rejection; He is supported on either side by three angels, one above the other, the upper four carrying instruments of the Passion, the lower two blowing blasts on trumpets to awaken the dead who here are represented by a solitary figure, dressed in a profane costume of the 14th century; he has just risen from his grave and is kneeling in prayer. It is this person who, I believe, is erroneously supposed to be Andrea Bardi whose tomb existed in this chapel.

The master-piece of this same great artist is the Pietà under the Cross which was made for the church of S Remigio but which now is found in the Uffizi, Florence, one of the gems of Italian art (plate VII). Rarely has such depth of sorrow been expressed in so dignified and noble a manner as we find in this panel. As Mr. Sirén truly remarks, the subject is sooner Sienese, Ambrogio Lorenzetti having treated it in a polyptych in the Accademia of Siena. In the centre of the background we see the empty Cross with the inscription I.N.R.I. above it; below and more in the foreground the body of Christ is stretched on a white mattress, His head supported by the Virgin and two holy women, one on either side, each raising a hand to her lips while another female figure with long wavy hair sits near, leaning her head on her hand in deep grief. St. John stands before the Cross looking down upon the dead Christ and clasping his hands in sorrow; on the left a holy bishop, (S. Romeo?) lays one hand on the head of a young girl who, dressed in a costume contemporary with the artist, kneels before him, crossing her arms over her breast; close to her kneels a nun on whose head a monk (Benedict) places his hand, behind the nun a female saint kneels in prayer. On the left are two calm and dig-



*THE MOURNING OVER THE LORD'S BODY*
*By Pseudo Maso, Uffizi, Florence.*

*Photo Anderson.*

nified disciples, one in a light cloak bearing away in his covered hands the nails and the pot of ointment, the other, an old man with a white beard in darker clothes facing him, his expression stern and his hands clasped before him. It would be difficult to give in mere words an adequate idea of the artistic and psychological value of this magnificent picture; the artist, for instance, shows his refined sentiment in the difference he makes between the holy persons taking part in the event and the figures of the donors, this difference can hardly be expressed in words but if a comparison be made between the kneeling nun and the saint behind her, it will be understood at once. The infinite grief on the faces of Christ's followers which is in harmony with their expressions and gestures, is not diminished by the beauty of feature which the painter aimed at and attained, and which he has not spoiled by exaggerated expression and tortured attitude. We have in this panel a perfect work of a very accomplished artist who was as good a draughtsman as colourist; we cannot, however, appreciate this latter quality to its full value, the tints having slightly faded.

The attribution made by Mr. Sirén to the same artist of the remains of frescoes in the Covone chapel of the Badia, Florence (¹), seems to me perfectly right although it does not look as if they had ever reached the same standard as the wall paintings in Sta. Croce or the panel of the Pietà in the Uffizi.

Of these frescoes it is impossible to understand some of the scenes in which only a few isolated figures remain, even the stoning of St. Stephen has to be more or less guessed at; the more important fragments represent soldiers of King Astyages taking St. Bartholomew prisoner (?) and the flaying of this saint; while of the medallions which once ornamented the window arches, only two, containing prophets, have been preserved.

The structure of the bodies, the peaceful attitudes, the deep expression and the serene beauty of the faces all help to convince us that the author of this decoration is the artist we are now dealing with.

The fresco, which Antonio Billi and, following him the Anonimo Gaddiano, ascribe to Maso and which according to them

---

(¹) *O. Sirén,* Addenda und Errata zu meinem Giottino-Buch, Monatshefte f. Kunstw., 1908, p. 1118.

represented the Duke of Athens and his suite, is so faded that any attribution might be contested (1). This fresco, once in the tower of the palace of the Podesta, we now find in a recess in the stairway of the Societa Filarmonica of Florence (38 via Ghibellina). The event depicted is really the expulsion of Walter of Brienne from Florence which took place in 1343; the fresco was probably executed shortly after this date. The composition shows a large figure of St. Anna escorted by two angels, touching the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio from which the duke flies away and also presenting the banner of the city to some knights. Further to the right the duke, just risen from a small throne, is seen crushing under foot the sword and scales, the emblems of justice, while some threatening figures stand near.

The author of these works was still more influenced by the Sienese than Daddi. The general aspect of his figures, however, rather betrays a connection with Simone Martini than with the Lorenzetti as do also the features of his personages, who, besides the spiritualized beauty which Daddi acquired from Siena, possess that calm serene aristocratic air characteristic of Simone's art but not of the Lorenzetti. The types and features which we find in Maso's works seem to be the outcome of an intermingling of Giotto's and Simone's styles. The proportions, the subtle design and the keen look of the eyes are common to the former of these artists, but his plasticity is absent here as with all the other adherents of the Sienese school. It is to the latter that Maso owes the general spirit and aesthetic aspiration of his art. His composition, on the other hand, reminds us more of Giotto. We find the same grouping and the same manner of depicting an interior in Maso's representation of St. Sylvester resuscitating the bull as in the scene of St. Francis appearing at Arles which Giotto executed in another chapel of the same church. The complex building in which Constantine is first converted, then baptised, as well as the view which shows us simultaneously the interior of two rooms and the exterior of the upper part reminds us of the disposition of Giotto's Nativity and the naming of St. John the Baptist. In the fresco of St. Sylvester subduing the dragon we find the isolated pieces of architecture so often met with in Giotto's works but here more important and not limited by the event represented.

---

(1) Reminiscenze pittoriche etc., p. 23.

Though anything but lifeless, Maso's figures are not dramatic, there is especially no great variety of expression or movement, and in this again our painter shows his connection with Simone Martini. Nor does the artist seem to have attempted narrative representation, nor even to have conceived this form of art. Quite in opposition to Giottesque principles he shows us different episodes of the same event in one scene, even different moments of one action as in the fresco of the resurrection of the heathen magicians. The composition, in this case, is the contrary of concise and the scattered architectural elements, of which it is full, betray the Sienese taste for the production of a handsome picture rather than Giotto's sense of synthetic narration (¹).

The connection which exists between this artist and another is close enough to explain why their works have been attributed to one and the same hand; but not only the fact that the productions of the second artist are inferior in quality, makes it improbable that these works are by one artist but also the differences of date.

While the two series of wall paintings and the panel which I attributed to Maso, seem to be the works of an artist who flourished about 1340—50, those with which I am about to deal are decidedly of later date. There is, however, really no sound reason to believe that their author was Giotto di Stefano; it is true that, apart from the connection with Maso, there exists, in the works of this painter, much accord with the artist who executed the St. Nicholas series in the Lower Church of Assisi, but here we come, as it were, to a vicious circle because the chief argument in the identification of the author of these frescoes with Maestro Stefano was the resemblance of his works to those supposed to have been executed by his son. Even in the writings of the old art historians, including Vasari, we do not find any of the following paintings attributed to Giottino.

---

(¹) I do not agree with Mr. *Sirén* in the attribution to his Maso-Giottino, author of the Uffizi Pietà, of a panel representing the Nativity of the Virgin in the Vatican Gallery (no. 67), Alcune note aggiuntive a quadri primitivi nella Galleria Vaticana, L'Arte, 1921, p. 99, nor do I believe him to be the author of a Crucifixion in the Stroganoff collection. *A. Muñoz*, op cit., pl. VIII.

Closely resembling Maso's manner is that of the painter who, in order not to infringe on too many customs, may be called Giottino, and who executed the frescoes representing the Nativity and the Crucifixion of Christ in the Strozzi chapel in the first cloister of Sta. Maria Novella.

The former event takes place under an open shelter, such as Giotto depicted, situated in a rocky landscape; the Child lies in the manger with His Mother seated in adoration near the head — a detail which, as Mr. Sirén pointed out, becomes frequent only in the 15th century — Joseph at the other end of the manger sits in deep meditation while behind him the ox and ass lie quietly on the ground. On the left an angel from the top of the hut announces the glad tidings to two shepherds who approach with their flock of sheep, one is seen firmly gripping the dog who barks furiously at the angel; five other angels, two over the shelter and three to the right, seem to watch over the new-born Babe. In the other fresco (fig. 241) we see the dead Christ attached to a fairly high Cross, under the horizontal bar of which is placed a cluster of angels on either side, above each group a solitary angel holds a receptacle to catch the blood from the wounds in the

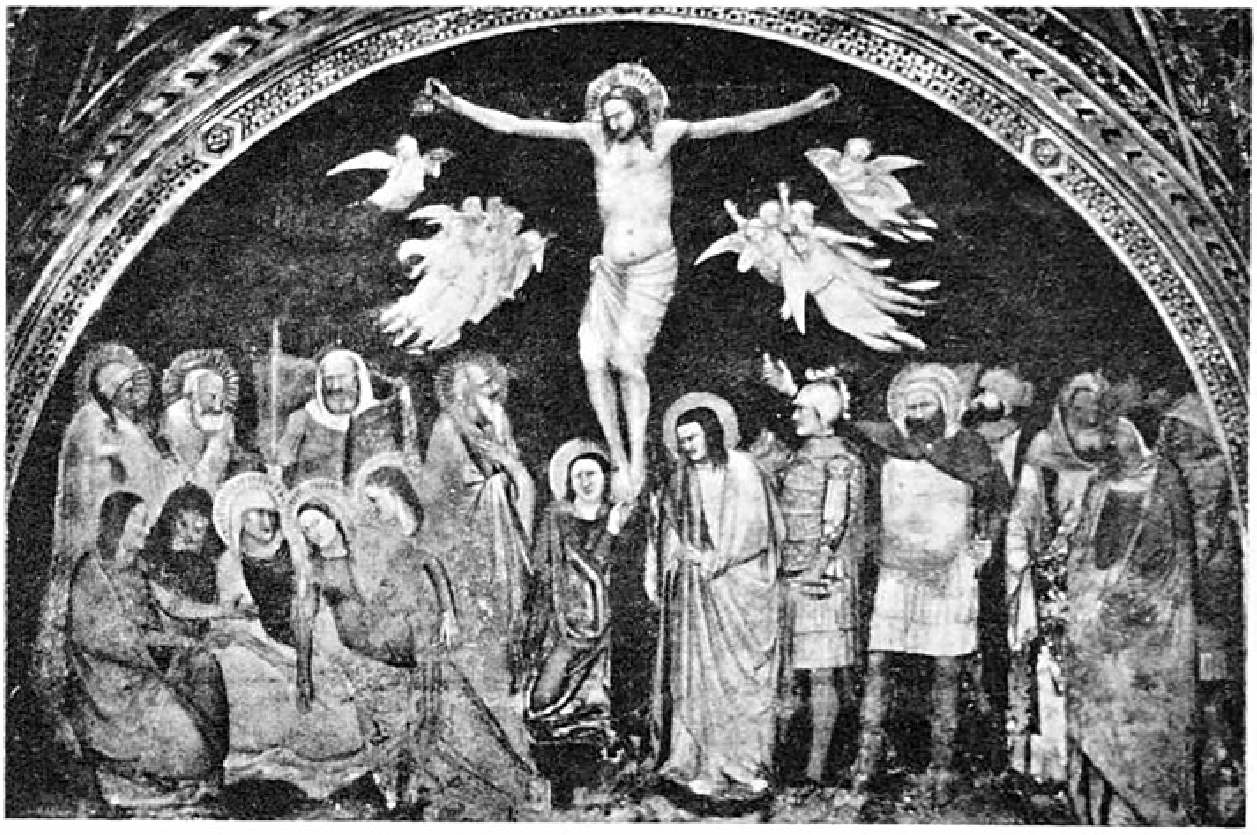


Fig. 241. Giottino, the Crucifixion. Strozzi Chapel, cloister of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Photo Brogi.

hands of the Lord. The number of people depicted below the Cross is considerable; Mary Magdalene and St. John are seen nearest the crucifix, the Magdalene half-clinging to it and half-kneeling; beyond her the unconscious Madonna is supported by four of her companions while behind are three old Apostles and a soldier with lance and shield. Behind the chosen Apostle stands a Roman soldier followed by the converted centurion and on the extreme right of the scene a group of priests and soldiers.

The types and attitudes here are certainly repetitions of those we found in Maso's works; the refinement and beauty, however, are absent, while on the other hand the more marked relief, the proportions and the stronger dramatic element rather approach the purely Florentine Giottesque tradition.

But again the regular oval of the Magdalene's face, or a profile like that of the Madonna in the Nativity are more reminiscent of the pseudo-Maestro Stefano of Assisi.

A fresco in the Davanzati chapel in Sta. Trinita, consecrated in 1363, is so repainted that it has lost much of its original appearance, but seems to me also a work by this artist whom we call Giottino. It represents the dispute of St. Catherine, who is seen approaching from the right, holding a book in one hand and gesticulating with the other, she is followed by two soldiers; opposite her, higher than the others, the king is surrounded by seven councillors, one old man holding an open book sits at the same end as the king, the other six on benches down the sides, three facing and three turning their backs.

Again the artist shows himself less influenced by the Sienese school and more faithful to Giotto than Maso was, although in the last mentioned representation the disposition certainly resembles Maso's arrangement in one of the Sylvester cycle of frescoes.

Mr. Sirén no longer maintains the attribution to Giottino or the much damaged fresco of the Crucifixion in the Chapter House of S. Spirito (¹), and of several of the panel paintings which he previously ascribed to him. He still believes him, however, to be the author of two polyptychs, both representing half-length figures of the Virgin and four saints, the one in the right transept

---

(¹) *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 234.

of the church of S. Spirito, the other previously in the Corsini collection, Florence, now in that of the late Mr. J. G. Johnson, Philadelphia (fig. 242). I believe only the second of these works to be by the hand of the artist now under discussion, and I have already mentioned the first as a production of a follower of Bernardo Daddi.

The polyptych in America, the lateral figures of which are SS. James, Mary Magdalene, Stephen and Nicholas, seems to me a later work than the frescoes in the cloister of Sta. Maria Novella; the forms are on the whole somewhat more ample although an obvious connection remains, as will be found if a comparison be made between the Magdalene of the polyptych and the same figure kneeling at the foot of the Cross in the wall painting. The resemblance in style with Maso is here less striking, the artist showing more affinity with the author of the St. Nicholas cycle at Assisi.

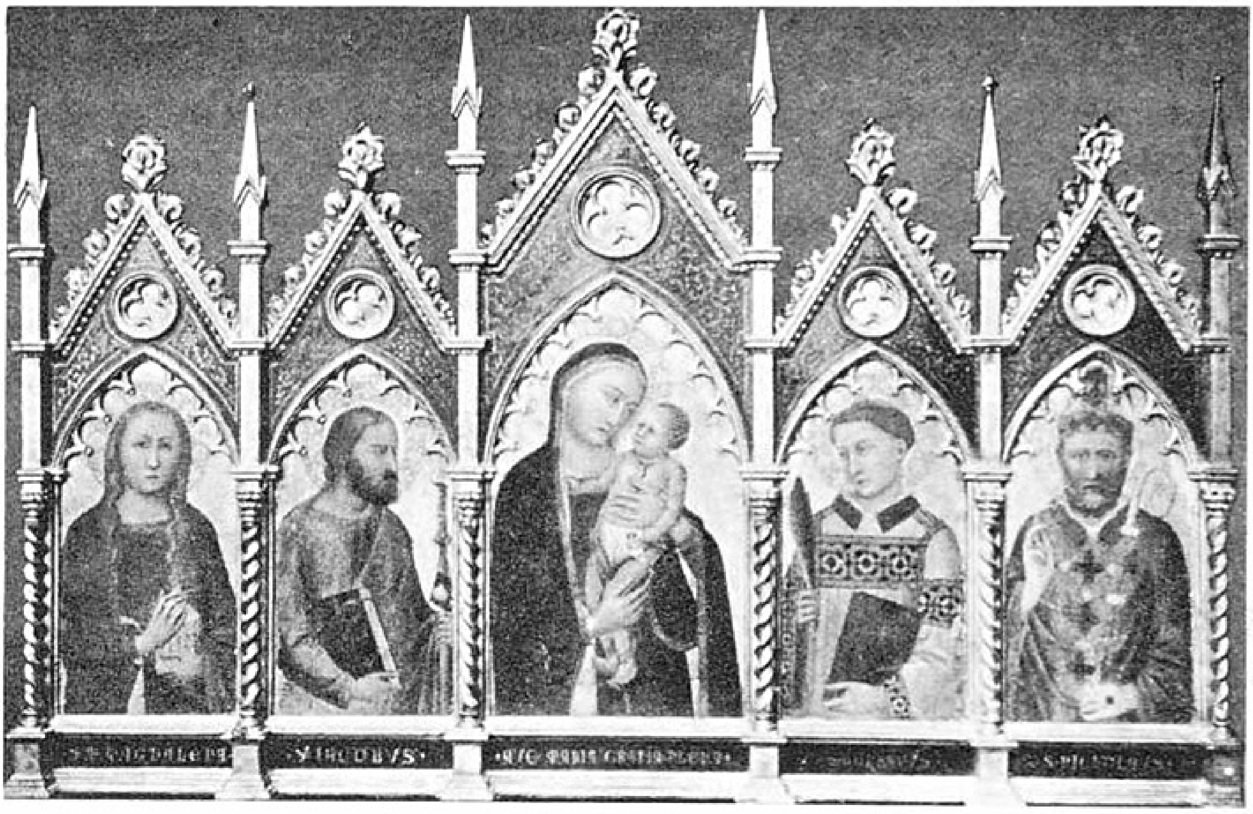


Fig. 242. Pseudo Giottino, polyptych. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia.

Photo Reali.

### ANDREA BUONAIUTI DA FIRENZE.

Andrea Buonaiuti, who certainly is not the same as the Andrea Ristori, mentioned between 1333 and 1392, with whom he is sometimes identified, is known to us through several documents and two important authentic works. He matriculated in the corporation of "Medici e speciali" in the year 1343 and possibly is the Andrea who, in 1339, ornamented a Gonfalone with events from the life of the Madonna for the Company of St. Peter Martyr of Sta. Maria Novella, for which be received 1 lib. 16 soldi. In 1358 his name appears on the roll of painters in the parish of Sta. Maria Maggiore and in 1365 we find him signing the contract for the frescoes in the Spagnoli chapel; in 1366 he formed part of the commission which directed the construction of the Cathedral and we thus have proof of the favour in which he was held. He might be the Andrea da Firenze who worked in Orvieto at the end of 1368. In 1370 he witnesses a testament; four years later he is mentioned with Orcagna in the St. Lucas company, while in 1377 he receives 529 lire, 10 soldi from Ludovico Orselli for the frescoes of the legend of St. Ranieri which he painted in the Campo Santo of Pisa (1).

The above mentioned document of 30th December 1365 is a recent discovery that Father Innocenzo Taurisano made in the register of the convent of Sta. Maria Novella (2). We learn from it that the Abbot Frate Zanobi di Guasconi signed a contract by which Andrea, along with his wife Monna Francesca, obtains for sixty-five gold guilders the use of a house for the duration of his life but this sum was not to be paid in money but deducted from the payment of the frescoes in the chapel which work was to be remunerated as was thought reasonable. From the phrase "el detto Andrea debe aver dipinto tucto il capitolo dal detto Kalendi di Gennaio a due anni", Father Innocenzo surmises that the painter bound himself to ornament the whole chapel with his own hand, but I see no reason for this as the words only refer to the fact that the time given for the undertaking was two years.

---

(1) For these data see *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 550. *Supino* in Thieme-Becker Künstler Lexikon, I, p. 452. *F. Bonaini*, Memorie ined. intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di F. Traini ed altre opere di disegno etc. a Pisa, 1846, p. 104.

(2) v. Il capitolo di Sta. Maria Novella, Il Rosario, 1st April 1916, p. 217.

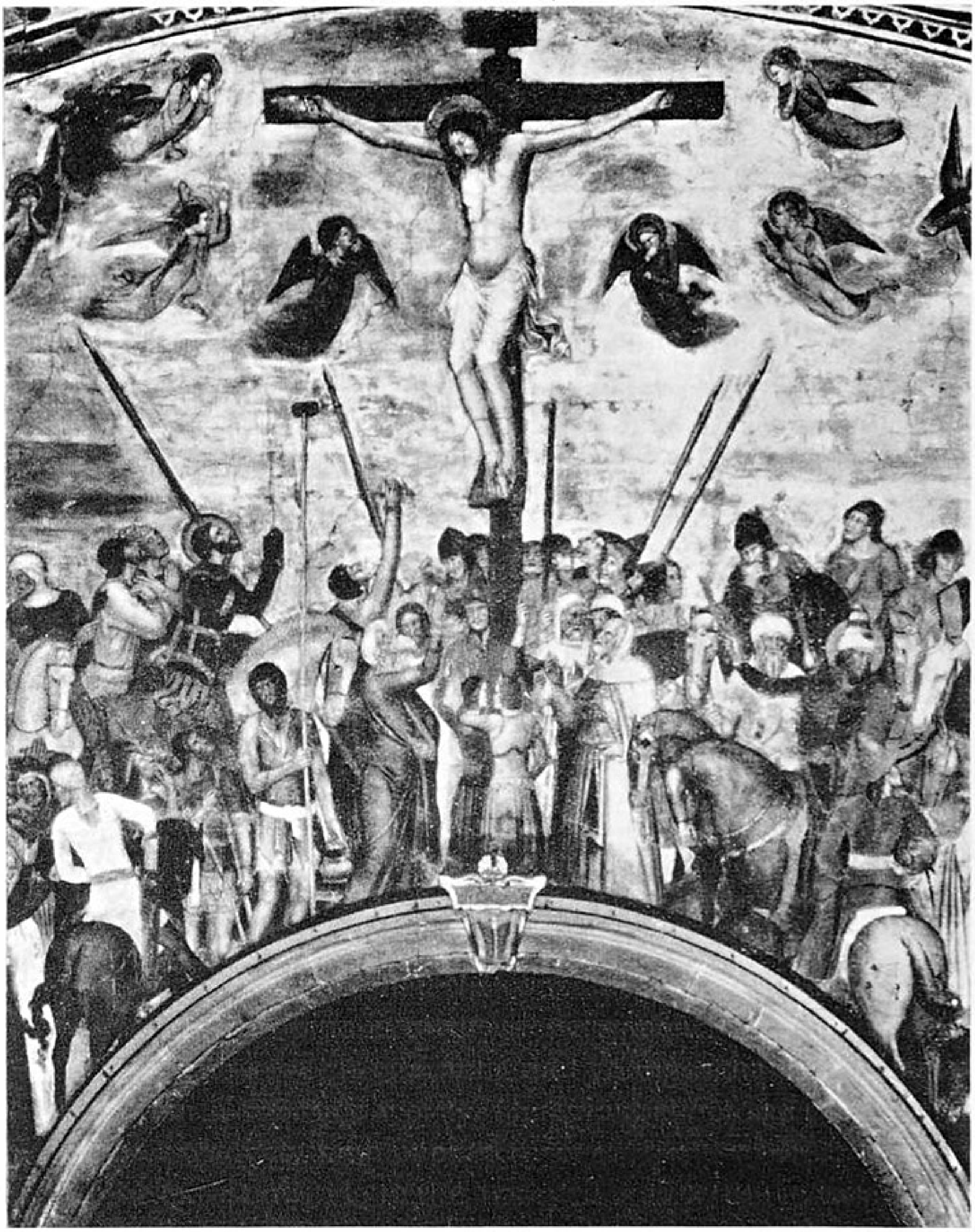


Fig. 243. Andrea da Firenze, Crucifixion. Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Photo Anderson.

There is no doubt that in this enormous decoration, which has been frequently attributed to Taddeo Gaddi and, following Vasari's example, to Simone Martini, Andrea was assisted by some fellow artists but the entire work is executed in one style and it is only here and there that we are able to detect a different hand.

This vast ornamentation illustrates in the vault and on two of the four walls Passavanti's "Mirror of real Penitence" (¹) while the two other walls — the entrance and the left — contain scenes from the life of St. Peter Martyr and St. Thomas Aquinas in Glory, surrounded by personifications of the virtues, sciences and liberal arts (²).

The three principal walls show an excellent sense of decorative composition on the part of the artist; on the wall opposite the entrance we see above, the Crucifixion, lower on the left, the Calvary and on the right the Descent into Hell.

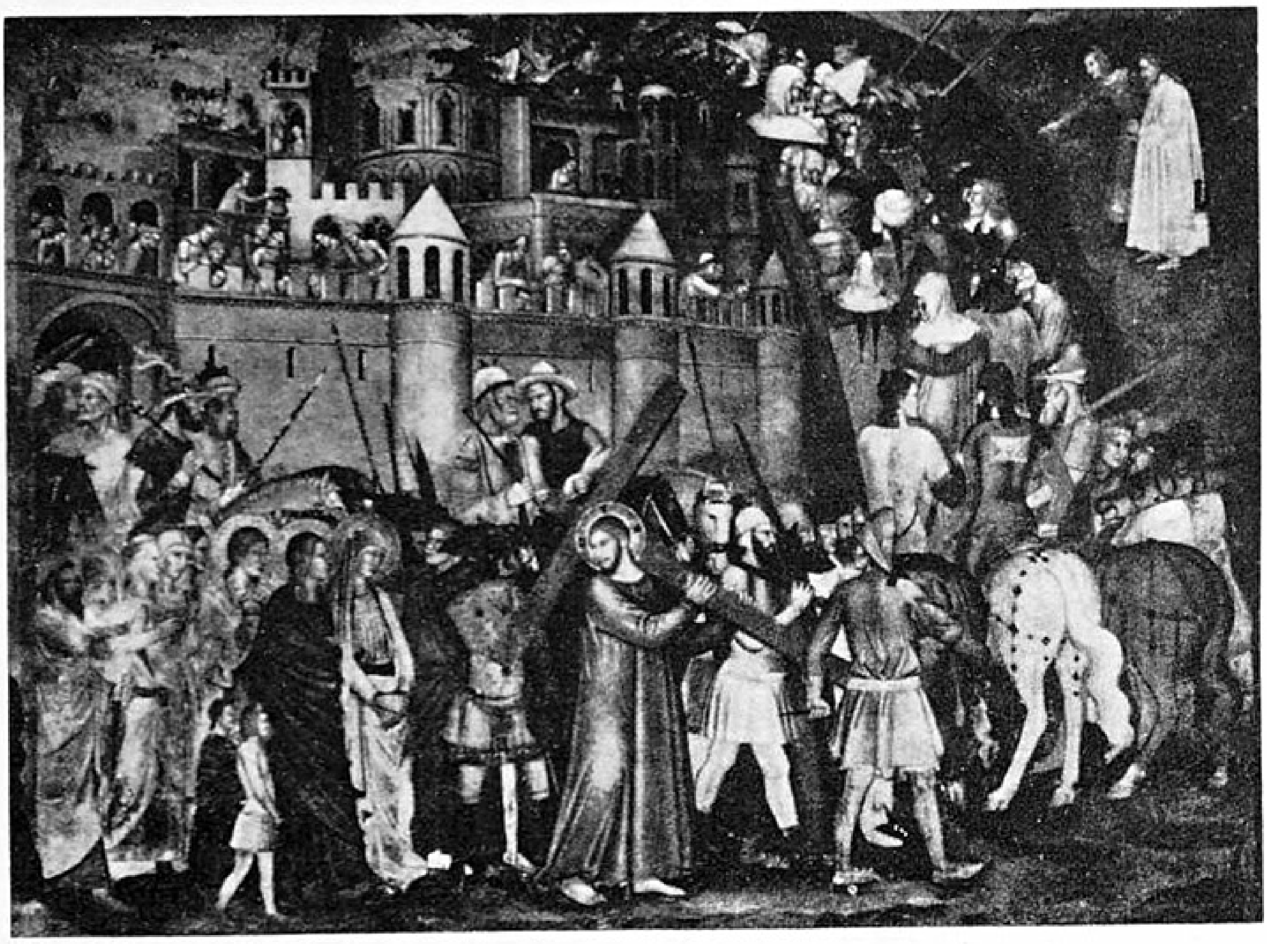


Fig. 244. The Calvary. Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.
Photo Anderson.

The Crucifixion is of grandiose conception and is composed of not less than a hundred and twenty figures (fig. 243). Our Lord and the two criminals attached to high crosses stand out amongst

---

(¹) *Venturi,* V, p. 778.

(²) *A. Gotti,* Del Triomfo di S. Tommaso d'Aquino dipinto nel cappellone degli Spagnoli etc., Firenze, 1887; *Ruskin.* Fifth Morning in Florence; *J. Wood Brown,* The Dominican Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 137.

the others. Angels expressing their grief fly around the Saviour and the criminal to the left, the one on the right is surrounded by little devils, one even seated on the crossbar while two others carry away his soul. The beautiful figure of the Lord is depicted dead on the Cross and wrapped in the usual loin cloth while the naked bodies of the thieves are contorted in agony.

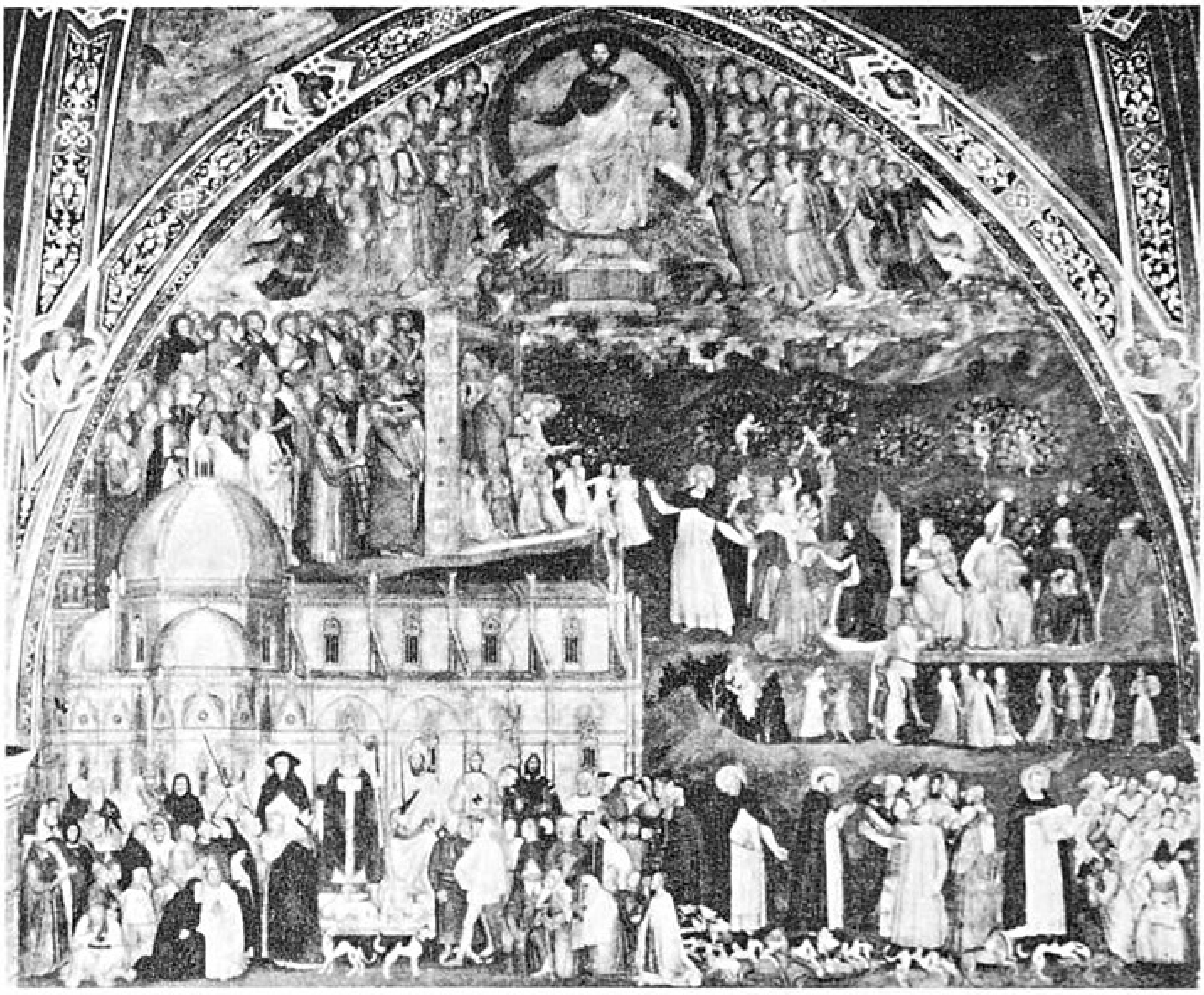


Fig. 245. The Militant Church and the Triumph of Penitence. Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

The Calvary is represented as a procession emerging from the gate of a town which forms the background for the event (fig. 244). From the crenellated walls of the city many people look down on the passing figures, others are seen in the houses, one of them, a woman, arranging flowers in a vase. The number of persons following and preceding the Lord on the way to His final sacrifice is very great and several of them are seen on horseback. The moment depicted here is the one when the Saviour, Who carries the Cross, looks round at His Mother, who is accompanied by a little group of faithful followers. Part of the procession which has passed beyond the town, is seen turning and ascending a mountain but several mistakes in the perspective render this portion of the scene rather clumsy; all the figures on the road to the Calvary are the same size, those in front of the town as well as those at the furthermost point quite behind it. On the other hand the people in the city, although much nearer the spectator, are represented smaller. The figures are always well designed but the expressions here are somewhat lifeless and monotonous: the Saviour looking round at the Madonna does so without any emotion and carries the small cross without effort.

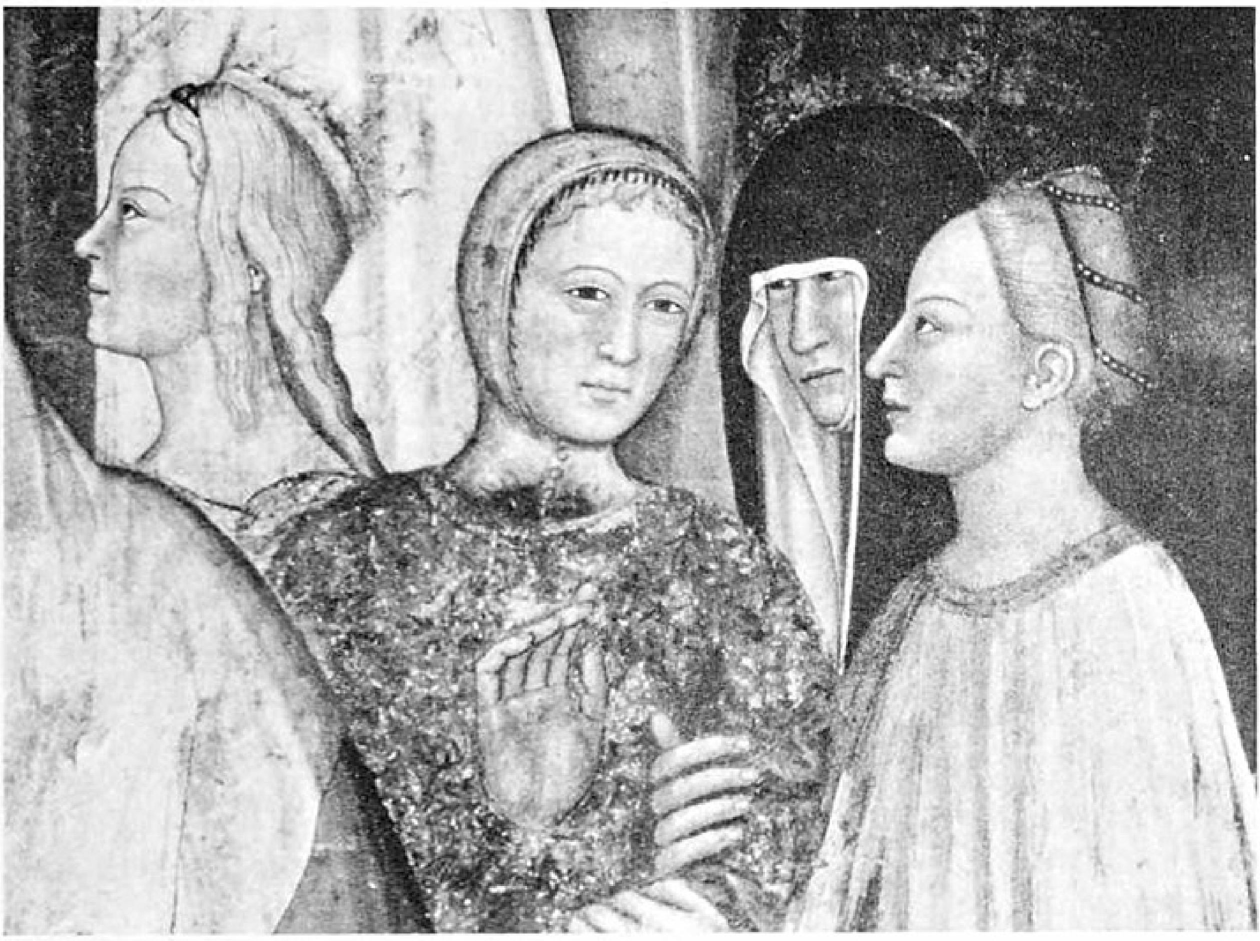


Fig. 246. Detail of fig. 245.

Photo Anderson.

The Descent into Hell is depicted in a composition in which the figures are again more numerous than we usually find.

The Lord in an illuminated cloud, approaches from the left, satan lying under His feet. The gate of Hell is sundered, only part of it remaining upright, within the cavern we see Adam and twenty-eight companions — the nimbi of others are still visible — turning towards Christ Who, according to an ancient iconographical traditon, graps Adam by the wrist. Through an opening in the rock one of the devils goes to join a group of others who look angrily at the Lord. In depicting the group of angelic-looking figures, half-standing, half-kneeling, the painter has again obviously made an effort to produce a handsome composition in which, however, the straight upper row is not without rigidity.

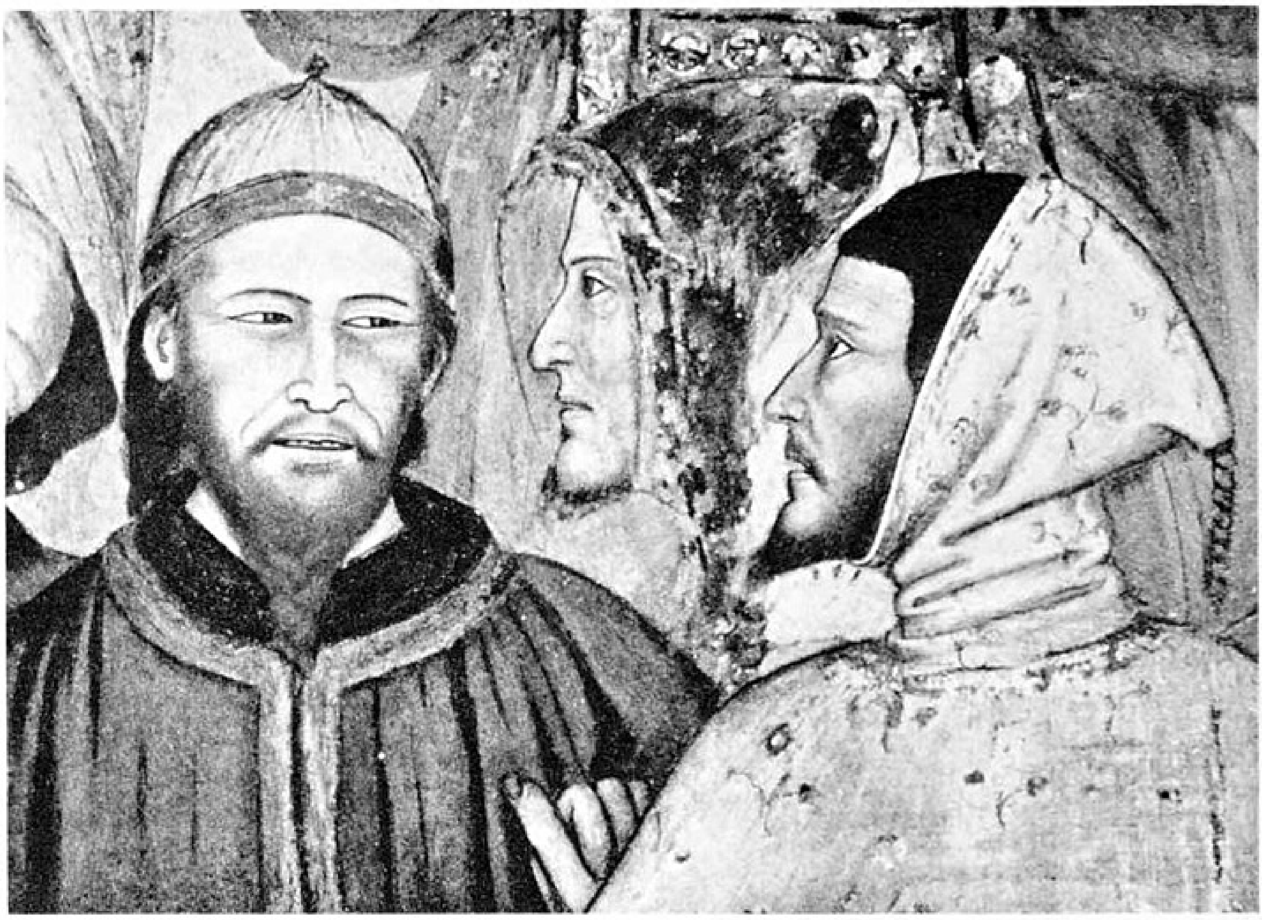


Fig. 247. Detail of fig. 245.

Photo Andersor

The best part of this decoration is the painting on the right wall (figs. 245, 246, 247 and 248) which is of great ornamental value and in which the graceful general lines form rather a contrast to the somewhat rigid disposition of the Glory of St. Thomas opposite. Following the text of Passavanti the painter describes a Last Judgment but combined with it he has depicted the Road to Salvation by the militant church and the Triumph of Penitence.

In the upper part of this painting we see the Lord in Glory seated on a rainbow within a circular aureole, holding the book and the key, below His feet the Mystical Lamb is placed on an altar at either side of which are two of the symbols of the Evangelists; groups of beautiful angels approach from the left and right, the Virgin also stands on the left, crowned and holding a lily, the advocate for humanity about to be judged.

What follows illustrates the very humane ideas of Passavanti concerning the road from temporary joys to eternal bliss. In a charming hilly landscape with buildings and trees, in which children climb, we see young girls dancing and one beating a big tambourine. A little higher, seated in a row, we find depicted a lady playing the violin, a nobleman holding a falcon, a lady with a small dog in hér lap and a magistrate in meditation before whom young girls dance to the music of a bagpipe. These figures personify the irreligious life which does not lead to eternity; next to these, however, is shown the way the Lord has put at the disposal of humanity, to reach the gate of heaven; it is Penitence, here represented by a Dominican monk, listening to the confession of an older man, kneeling before him; behind them St. Dominic indicates Paradise to a group of people

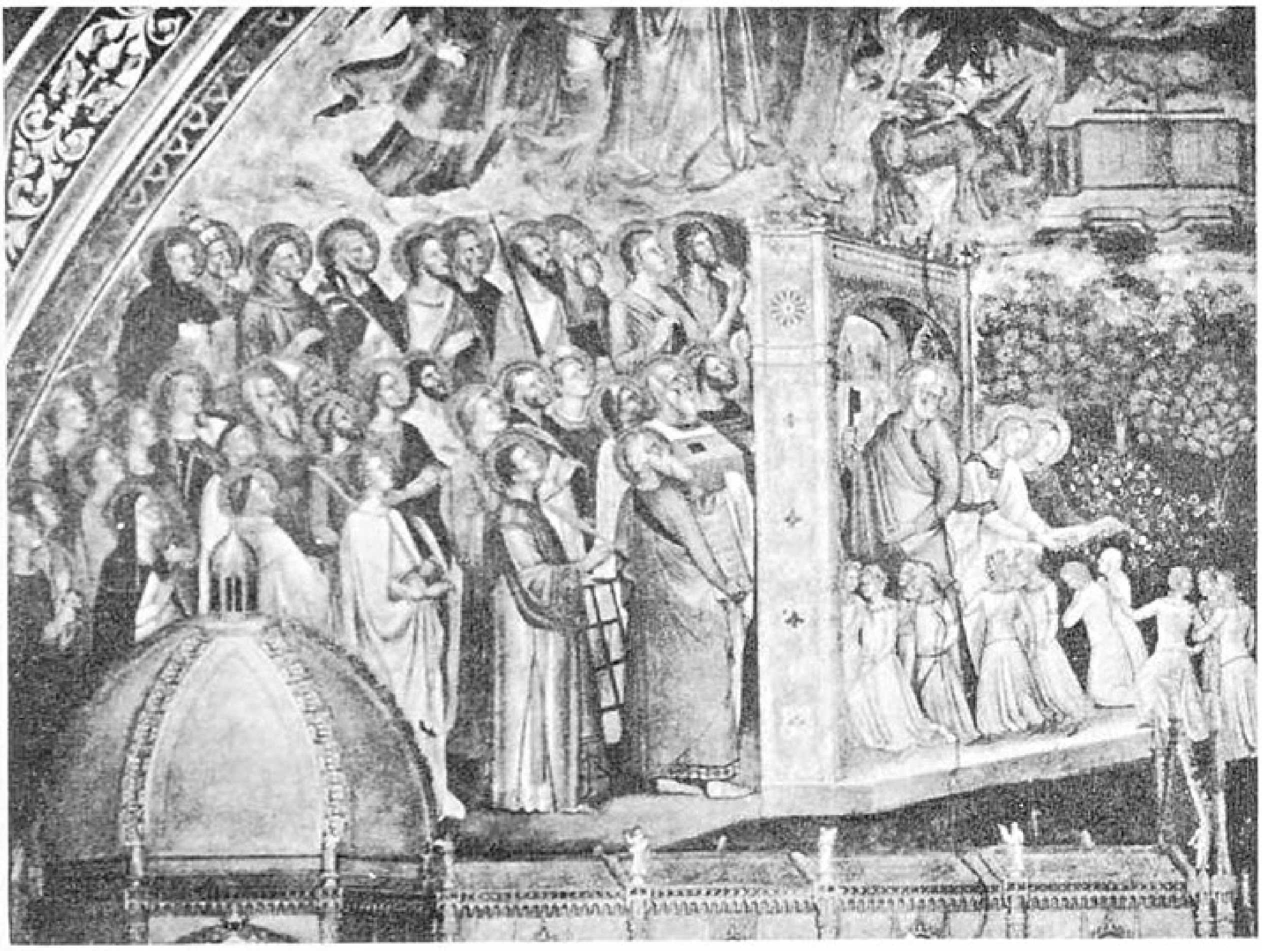
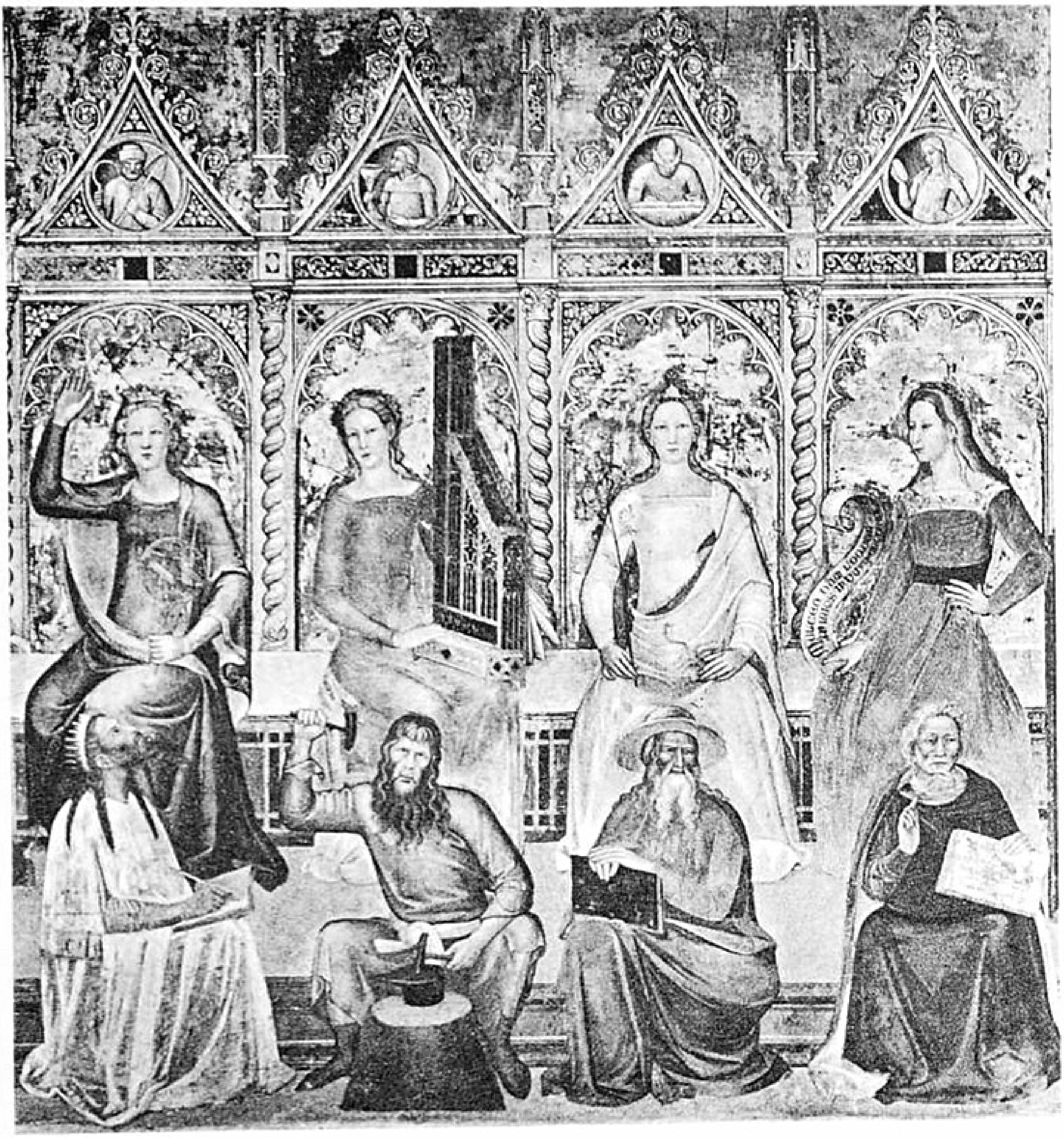


Fig. 248. Detail of fig. 245. Photo Anderson.

who evidently have already confessed. St. Peter and two angels at the gate of Paradise receive the purified souls, now in the form of little children. Inside heaven we see a host of saints with their emblems looking up towards the Lord in Glory above. In the lower part of the composition the background to the left is formed by a representation of the Cathedral of Florence in front of which is seated the Pope. On his left are depicted standing and kneeling figures of all the degrees of clerical hierarchy from cardinal down to monk and nun, and on his right we see all the lay social classes from emperor to beggar.

These two groups are particularly handsome, especially the latter in which the supposed portraits of well-known Florentine artists and other historical figures are as important from an artistic point of view as they are for our knowledge of the habits and dress of the period. Lying at the feet of the Pope are some sheep (Christians) guarded by two black and white dogs (Dominicans, by the play on words "domini cane"). Further to the right these dogs are seen attacking wolves (heretics) who try to steal the sheep. This scene takes place before St. Dominic who is depicted in argument with gesticulating heretics, some of whom he evidently converts, for we see one tearing up a book. Some venerate him while others appear to meditate. We find in this enormous composition the excellently designed, beautiful figures that we already noticed in the Crucifixion. An interesting contrast may be observed between the calm gesture of the saint and the lively movements of several of his hearers, among whom we find some who seem to mock at his arguments, some desirous of speaking, some discomposed, some meditating while a serious conviction has taken hold of many of the audience to whom St. Dominic expounds the value of the written law.

Extremely well designed but showing less variety, is the glory of St. Thomas, which occupies the whole of the opposite wall (fig. 249 and plate VIII). The attitudes of the different figures are too diverse to allow of monotony, although the composition consists of three straight rows; above St. Thomas is enthroned between ten seated figures, below, in choir stalls, are fourteen female personifications of the seven theological sciences and the seven liberal arts, while at the feet of each, the male figure of a celebrated student of each particular science or art is seen.



LIBERAL ARTS
*By Andrea da Firenze, Spagnoli Chapel, Florence.*

*Photo Anderson.*

While the allegory opposite was entirely inspired by Passavanti, here we find an illustration of verses of Dante (¹).

The principal figure is seated on a monumental throne, holding an open book before him, above fly seven figures, almost all angelic, carrying the emblems of the theological virtues while the three heretic philosophers, Sabellius, Averrhoes and Arius crouch at his feet; the saintly escort has been chosen from the most important personalities of the Old and New Testaments in order to honour the philosopher who by his metaphysics proved the existence of God. They are from left to right Job, David, St. Paul, the Evangelists, SS. Mark, John, Matthew and Luke, then Moses, Isaiah and King Solomon. In depicting the fourteen personifications of the sciences and arts in fine choir stalls, the artist was well aware of the danger of monotony and has therefore placed each one in a different attitude more or less inspired by the special branch they personify. From left to right the figures of the two

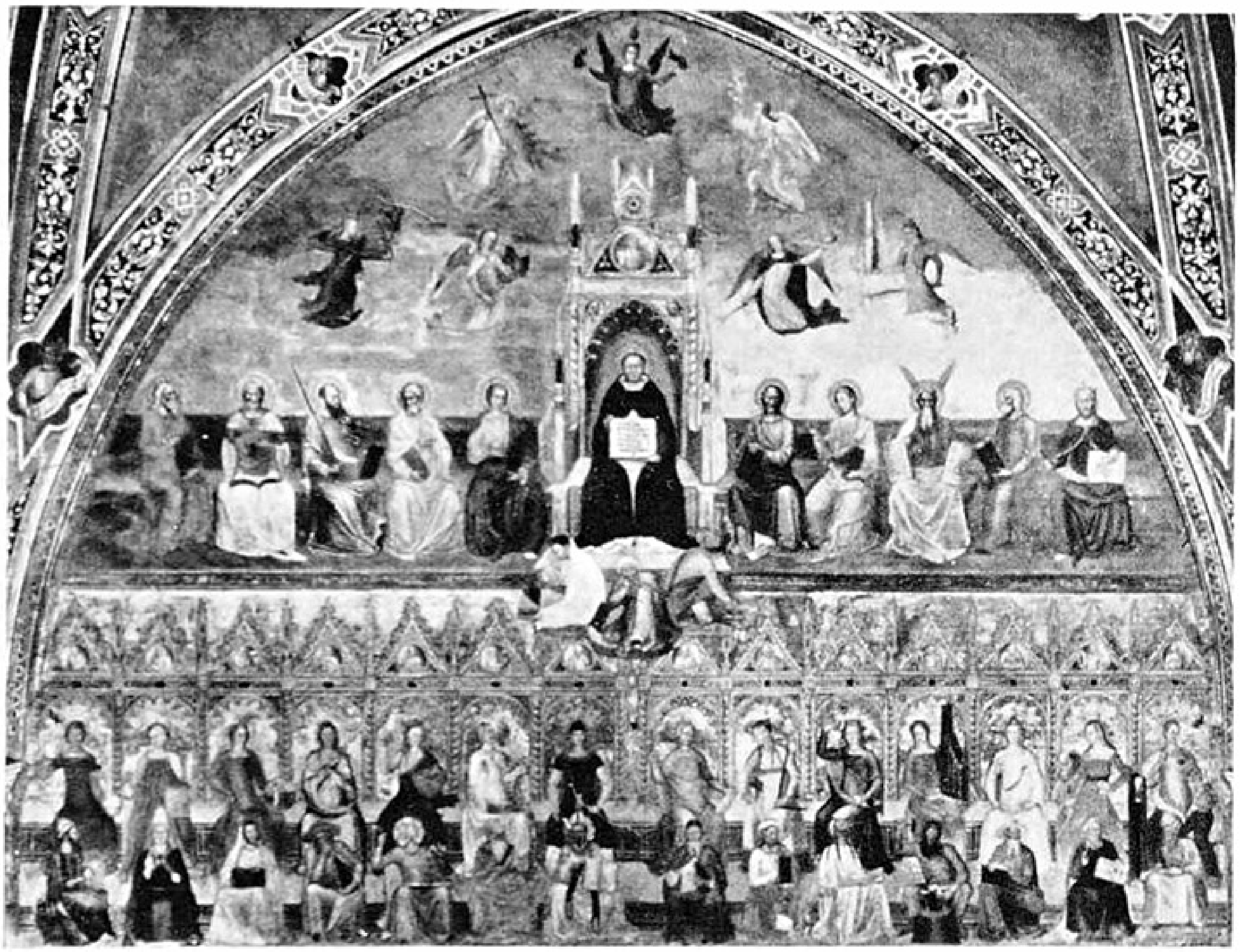


Fig. 249 Andrea da Firenze, St. Thomas Aquinas in Glory. Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Photo Anderson.

---

(¹) Paradise, 13—14.

lower rows are (¹), (1) Civil law, a crowned figure holding a sword and a globe at whose feet Justinian in emperor's attire is seen in profile holding a book and a staff, (2) Canon law, a veiled serious-looking woman holding the model of a church below whom is seated Pope Clement IV facing the spectator, blessing and holding the keys; (3) the New Law — that of the Gospels — in an elegant attitude looks down at a circle in which a figure of the Eternal God, blessing creation, is visible; below we see Peter Lombard well draped looking upward, holding a book with both hands on his knee, (4) Theology or Faith (?) looking straight in front of her and gesticulating with her two hands, Dionysius the Areopogite is seated below in meditation leaning his head on his hand, (5) Speculative Theology is a crowned figure with one hand uplifted towards heaven, below Boethius, seen in profile, holds on his knee an open book in which he is about to write but for the moment looks attentively at his pen, (6) Theology by Revelation or Mystic Theology is represented as a particularly angelic figure holding a hawk in one hand and making a gesture with the other while underneath the old and venerable St. John the Damascene is thoughtfully cutting his pen, (7) Polemic Theology holding a bow and arrow in her hands is clothed in armour and helmeted; the figure of St. Augustine below is particularly beautiful; he thoughtfully looks away, holding with both hands an open book.

The liberal arts are represented by, (1) Arithmetic, a very handsome figure gesticulating with one hand and holding with the other a reckoning board on her knee; at her feet sits the old, bearded figure of Pythagoras wearing a head-dress, (2) the still more beautiful personification of Geometry, who holds a square in one hand and modestly looks down, is accompanied by the rather oriental looking Euclid, (3) the young crowned Astronomy who holds in one hand a sphere as indication of the heavens, encourages with her other hand the crowned figure of Zoroaster who looks up at her as he writes in a book which he supports on his knee, (4) Music with a small organ held near her below whom, the mythological smith Tubal Cain, is depicted busy

---

(¹) There is considerable diversity of opinion on the sciences personified by the first seven figures, I follow the determination of *J. Wood Brown*, op. cit., p. 165, which for several reasons seems to me the most generally correct interpretation.

hammering, (5) Dialectic, a more rigid figure, holds a branch and a scorpion; Aristoteles is placed at her feet, (6) Rhetoric seated sideways is again a less graceful figure, Cicero below holds an open book and gesticulates, (7) Grammatica is represented instructing a child, she holds a small globe in her hand and inspires Priscianus who sits busily writing out her teachings. In the upper part of each of the stalls is a round medallion containing one or two busts of figures whose presence can often be explained by some connection with the allegorical personage below.

Although much restored, most of these figures are excellently designed and beautifully draped, the female ones especially betraying the artist's profound understanding of beauty. The latter, which form the finest part of this fresco, as well as the celebrated men at their feet, are full of life and animation, much more so than the almost equally beautiful figures of St. Thomas and his escort.

The frescoes on the entrance wall, which is broken up by the windows, are smaller. They represent scenes from the life of St. Peter the Martyr. We see him receiving the habit but only the upper part of this scene is preserved; he is obviously very young and is depicted kneeling in front of a monk who is about to pass the robe over his head, eight other brothers of the order assist at this event, some of them gesticulating; a far from handsome monk, nearest the centre to the right, seems to be a portrait, as the features are not at all idealized. The holy martyr preaching against the heretic bishop is seen standing in a pulpit, below which his hearers express their interest by gestures, the bishop stretches out his hand protestingly. Some people, looking down from neighbouring houses, lean in a most realistic manner over the balconies.

The next scene is that of a sick person praying to the saint to be cured (fig. 250), the old man sits up in bed raising his clasped hands to heaven; a woman sitting in front of his couch has fallen asleep holding her rosary, some other women and a child are depicted in this scene. The attitude and features of the invalid are full of pathos.

We then see the miraculous cure of a lady who, surrounded by women, is depicted raising herself from the ground while the numerous on-lookers express their wonder and praise; the resuscitation of a drowned child around whom is gathered a

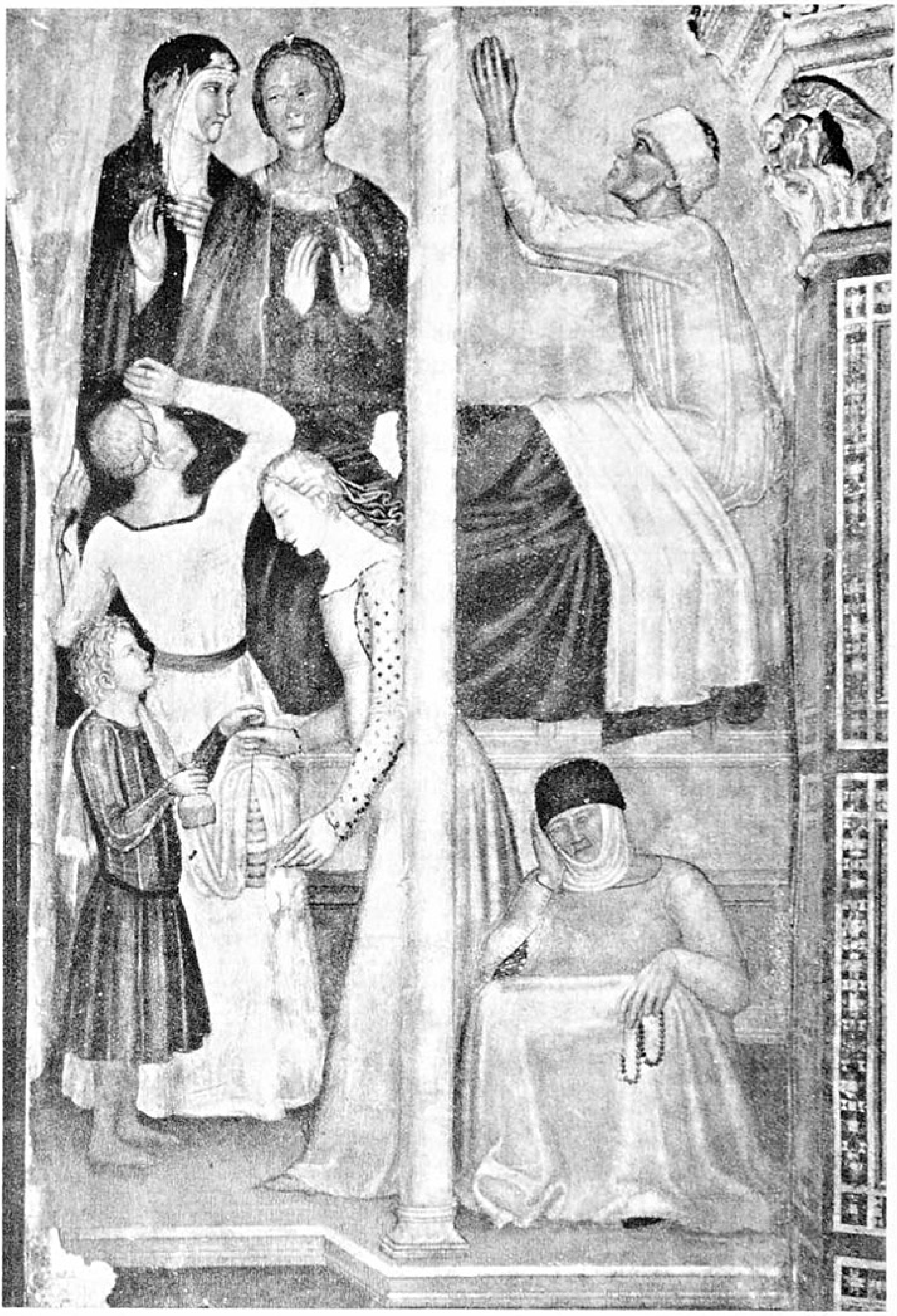


Fig. 250. Andrea da Firenze, a sick man praying to St. Peter the Martyr to cure him. Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

group of lively gesticulating figures is, as far as the composition is concerned, one of the painter's best works, and lastly the martyrdom of the saint which is depicted in a small composition of few but extremely well designed figures; besides the kneeling saint and his executioner who holds his sword in an impossible manner, we find assisting at this event only one monk and, half-hidden behind a rock, three bearded soldiers.

The help which Andrea received in this enormous enterprise is nowhere very evident but perhaps other hands may be detected in the ornamentation of the ceiling where we find four frescoes representing the "Navicella", the Resurrection, the Descent of the Holy Ghost (fig. 251) and the Ascension, separated by diagonal lines. The first of these is not unlike Giotto's mosaic in Rome. The eleven Apostles who are seen in the ship, which reminds us somewhat of the one in the illustrations of the travels of St. Ranieri in Pisa, partly express their astonishment and partly are busy managing the boat; to the right we find the Saviour taking St. Peter by the hand and on the left a fisher with his rod while the wind, personified in mythological manner, blows in the sails.

The Resurrection takes place in a landscape in which we see the outskirts of two towns; two angels are seated on the open sepulchre and the soldiers are asleep on the ground; the three holy women approach from the left, and to the right we find the Saviour appearing to Mary Magdalene while above the Lord is represented in a cloud holding the banner of victory.

The Descent of the Holy Ghost is depicted occurring in a loggia on the roof of a house where the Madonna and the disciples are seated in a circle; below in front of the house are several other figures, these no doubt the only ones by Andrea himself. In the Ascension we see against a landscape background the Madonna and Apostles kneeling on the ground while, above, the Saviour with uplifted hands is depicted in a halo of light surrounded by small flying angels; at either end of the group below one angel is represented. As Crowe and Cavalcaselle remarked this scene is the weakest of all these frescoes and one in which we are unable to detect any elements of Andrea's art.

All the above paintings are framed in large ornamental borders, studded with medallions containing busts of saints; these

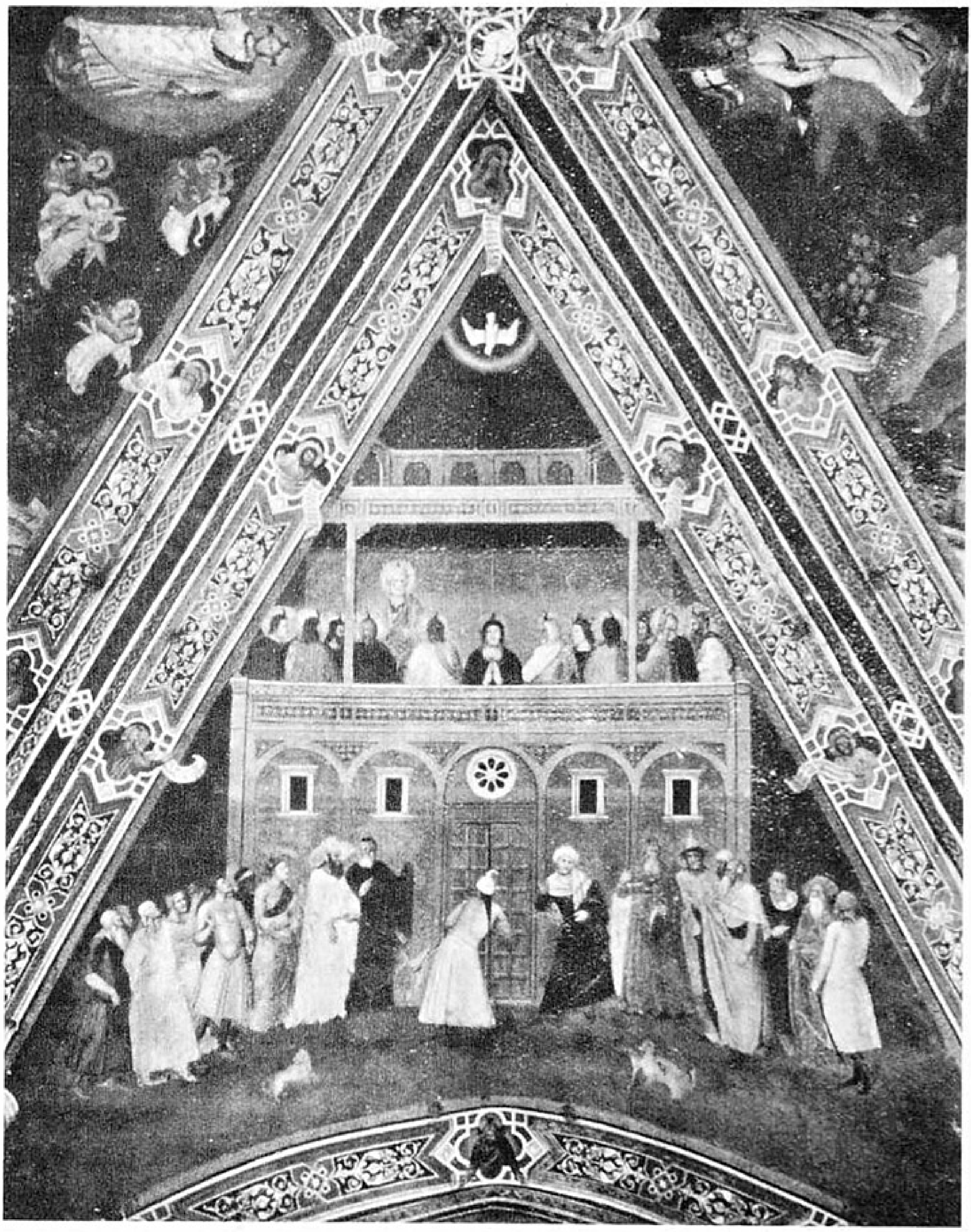


Fig. 251. Andrea da Firenze, the Descent of the Holy Ghost. Ceiling of the Spagnoli Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

are of great decorative effect as is also the entire ornamentation of the chapel and the effect is heightened by the magnificent colouring although it has suffered somewhat through restoration and repaint.

Happily we also possess documents which guarantee the authenticity of another extant work of Andrea's, the frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where we find three large wall-paintings executed by him about 1377. They illustrate incidents from the life of the young saint Ranieri (fig. 252); first he is depicted playing a small musical instrument for a group of girls to dance to; later we see him warned of the presence of the blessed Albert in the town, kneeling before the saint at the entrance to a monastery and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove descending on him; while in the same fresco we find represented the Lord appearing to the saint who is accompanied by two relations and telling him that he is one of the elected and pardoned.

The second fresco shows us how the saint travelling in a boat smells a most horrible odour coming out of a box and asking the Lord for an explanation of this phenomenon, he understands in the spirit that the Lord desires him to abandon the world. He dons the habit of a pilgrim and is then seen in a vision approaching the throne of the Madonna who tells him that he will rest in her lap in the town of Pisa. In the third fresco the painter has represented the devil trying to divert the saint while he prays in Nazareth; Satan bringing him to a rock near the sanctuary and throwing stones at him; the saint going to mount Thabor where he is attacked by two panthers, but overcoming this danger he sees the Transfiguration of the Saviour on the mountain; the last event depicted in this painting is the saint feeding ten poor people with one loaf of bread.

It was not an easy task for the artist to make three well composed frescoes out of the numerous interrupted small incidents from the life of St. Ranieri — which in itself is not one of the most inspiring legends of the Middle Ages — but in several cases Andrea has succeeded in doing so, thus giving evidence of his great talent. The girls dancing to Ranieri's music in the first fresco is, for instance, a charming scene. The background is formed by handsome and well designed architecture from the balconies of which several figures in very natural attitudes look down on the graceful dancers below; from a group of people on the left an older woman steps forward to inform Ranieri of the presence of the blessed Albert and the attitude of the future saint, who, on hearing the news, suddenly stops playing, has been very well observed.

The interview between Albert and Ranieri takes place in the

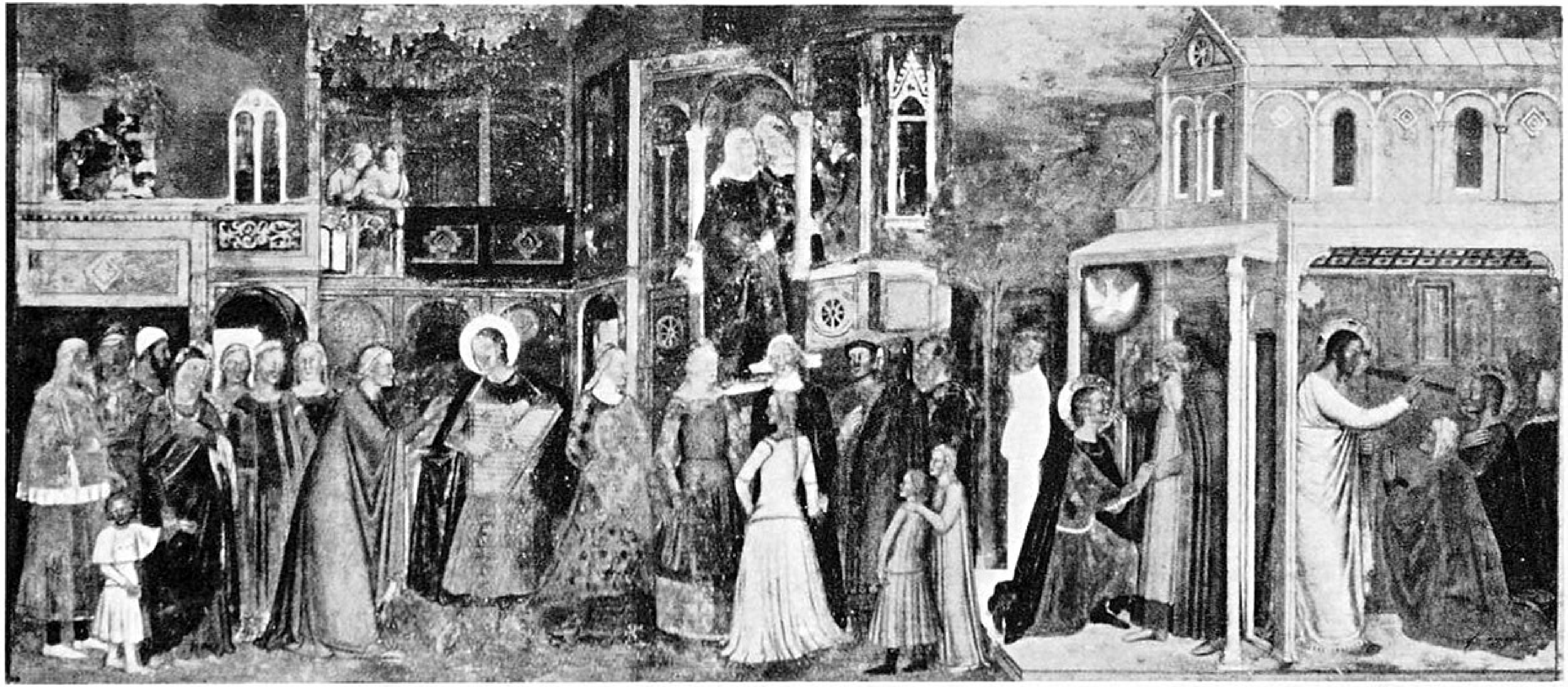


Fig. 252. Andrea da Firenze, three scenes from the legend of St. Ranieri. Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

portico of a church, inside which we see the Lord appearing to him; the interior of the building is shown by the primitive system, so often employed, of the suppression of one of the walls.

In the next fresco only the travellers in the ship form a really good ensemble; the ship is in full sail and the figures although too numerous are all well designed; several show by their gestures that an evil odour emanates from the open chest. The centre of the fresco is occupied by a section of a church, composed of a nave and two aisles, in which on one side the saint is seen kneeling in prayer; in the centre he is naked and receiving the pilgrim's gown and on the other side he is distributing riches to the poor, three events crowded into one small space. Without any interval follows the representation of Ranieri between two saints who present him to the Madonna around whose throne a host of angels is grouped. In the third fresco the different events are placed together in a still more confusing manner. To the left we see the interior of a church of which the altar is ornamented with a triptych, a priest officiates and the saint kneels close by while the devil approaches to divert his attention; this, as well as the scene on the extreme right, of Ranieri distributing bread to the poor, most of whom are depicted under a portico, is of quite good composition but the other small scenes in the centre are represented by as few figures and in as simple a manner as possible. In all these scenes, however, we find the human figure handsome, well designed and possessing much Sienese grace, but this decoration was no doubt one of the master's last works. He made his testament a month after he received the payment for the ornamentation of this building, and we know that Antonio Veneziano continued the series; these facts support the hypothesis that we have here a production of Andrea's old age which would account for some of its weak points.

As to the few works which have further been attributed to Andrea I cannot agree with Prof. A. Venturi in finding his hand in the Crucifixion in the Campo Santo of Pisa, nor with Mr. Sirén in ascribing to this artist a Crucifixion with two angels, the Virgin, St. John and a kneeling monk in the Gallery of the Vatican (no. 66) (¹), neither do I admit him as the author of the polyptych

---

(¹) *Sirén*, Alcune note aggiuntive, p. 98.

representing the enthroned Madonna with the Child and four male saints in the sacristy of the Carmine church in Florence, which sooner seems a work of Giovanni da Milano. A somewhat weakly designed panel of St. Mary Magdalene in the von Becherath collection in Berlin (¹), in which we notice, however, some of the qualities which pleased us so much in the frescoes, may be an early work of Andrea.

Of all the Florentine painters, Andrea da Firenze felt most strongly the Sienese influence, in fact we may say that there is hardly anything of the Giottesque tradition left in his productions.

The Sienese with whose art he betrays most familiarity is Simone Martini. It is not that we find in his works an exact imitation of the characteristics of Simone's figures, but the regular, somewhat dreamy beauty of the faces, the lack of tragic elements in the otherwise expressive features, tending to a languid melancholy, and the somewhat exaggerated slenderness but harmonious elegance of his personages are all in accordance with Simone's artistic aspirations.

We do not observe in Andrea's paintings any figures which in their proportions or plasticity remind us of Giotto; nor do we find the dramatic narrative style or the concentrated sober composition of the great Florentine. Very much to the contrary, our artist seems chiefly to have attempted a splendid ornamentation of the space he had at his disposal; the decorative effect of the ensemble was to him probably more important than the rendering of the different parts and figures, and it must have been this which dominated him in the execution of his great work. Instead of Giottesque conciseness his gift was diffusion of composition, and he succeeded in filling enormous spaces without ever making us feel the necessity of a division. Expression of space and perspective did not in any way preoccupy the artist, and this is very obvious in the Calvary in the Spanish chapel, where the only attempt to indicate distance is the diminution in the size of the figures inside the city wall, and even this is done without any consideration of the proportions of the surroundings. No sense of realism guided the painter, who in these frescoes produced a

---

(¹) Reprod. in *Sirén*, Giottino, fig. 25.

work belonging to the art of embellishment rather than to that of representation.

### ANTONIO VENEZIANO (1).

Antonio Veneziano is a painter about whom we possess a certain amount of documentary evidence but whose artistic activities are only known to us through three works, the frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa, those in the tabernacle of the so-called Torre degli Agli in the neighbourhood of Florence, and a panel in Palermo under which part of his signature seems still to be visible.

Antonio, according to Vasari, was Venetian by birth but received his artistic instruction in Florence. He returned to his native town and was charged by the council with the execution of an important wall-painting which, on account of its excellence, caused so much jealousy that Antonio left Venice for ever. In this it is easy to recognize Vasari's imagination at work, as well as when he furnishes us with the information that the artist died in 1384 at the age of seventy-four, whereas we still find him active in 1387. That he was a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, as several critics have assumed on Vasari's authority seems very unlikely, not only on account of dates but also on account of the difference of style; nor has any confirmation ever been produced of Baldinucci's affirmation that he found documents to the effect that the painter sometimes signed himself "Antonio da Siena".

It is true, however, that the first trace of Antonio's activities is to be found in the city of Siena where in 1370 along with Andrea Vanni he painted the ceiling of the Cathedral (2). In 1374 he matriculated in the guild of "Medici e Speciali" in Florence and in 1384—86 he was paid 210 golden guilders, comprising 14 guilders for house rent, for the three frescoes of the St. Ranieri legend in the Campo Santo of Pisa. Along with him he had two helpers, Giovanni and Pietro, who also assisted him in what seems to have been the framing and restoring of the paintings representing Purgatory, Hell and Paradise, and of other frescoes in this Campo Santo (¹). The same document informs us that Antonio had a son "Checcho". In 1385 he received payment for work executed in the cupola of the Cathedral and in 1387 for an altar-piece in the organ chapel (²).

---

(1) *C. Bernasconi,* Antonio Veneziano, Verona, 1862. *L. Venturi,* Le origini della Pittura Veneziana, Venezia, 1906, p. 45. *L. Testi,* Storia della Pittura Veneziana, I, Bergamo, 1909, p. 281. *G. Foggolari* in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, II, p. 13. *A. Dell' Acqua Giusti,* A. V., Venezia (no date). *R. Offner,* Five more Panels by Antonio Veneziano, Art in America and Elsewhere, 1923, p. 217.

(2) *Milanesi,* Doc. Sen , I, p. 305.

What we should specially take into consideration is the fact that the entries in the ledger concerning the payments of the St. Ranieri frescoes mention the artist at times as "Maestro Antone di Franciescho dipintore *da Fiorensa*" and at others "Magister Antonius Francisi pictor *de Venetiis*" (³), from which I think we may conclude that, although his origin was certainly Venetian, Antionio considered himself at that moment a member of the Florentine school.

The events which, in a somewhat confused manner, are depicted in the first of these frescoes, are related in a long inscription below; they comprise the continuation of the story illustrated by Andrea da Firenze (⁴). In the rather damaged left part the Lord appears to St. Ranieri and tells him to return to his home; with great demonstration of grief on the part of his companions he is accompanied to a spot from whence he embarks and sails to Messina. Of this part only the upper half remains, showing us a city, the apparition of the Saviour, traces of the group which accompanied the saint and in which Vasari recognizes members of the Gherardesca family, and a large part of the ship heading for a shore on which a fisherman is depicted kneeling. The right hand part of this painting is in a good state of preservation and represents St. Ranieri at Messina accusing a publican of having mixed water with his wine, and miraculous-

---

(¹) Following the example of *Rosini*, Guida del Campo Santo di Pisa, Cavalcaselle attributes to Antonio certain figures in the frescoes of the Hermits of the Tebiade here.

(²) *B.Supino*, Il Campo Santo di Pisa, Florence, 1896, p. 135. *Fogolari*, op.cit.

(³) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 281, note 2.

(⁴) Their composition is given by *C. Lasinio*, Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa, Firenze, 1832–38.

ly separating them; the saint points to a cat as being the devil who incites the publican to perform this act. Having arrived in Pisa the clergy invite him to a meal (fig. 253).

Of the next fresco which represented the death and funeral of St. Ranieri, only the left half has been well preserved (fig. 254). Against an architectural background we see the saint lying on his bier surrounded by numerous priests and mourners, while of the funeral procession on the right, only the last few figures remain clearly visible.

Of the third set of scenes only a few isolated fragments are left; originally they showed the body of the saint exposed and adored in a chapel of the Cathedral, while to the right were depicted some mi-

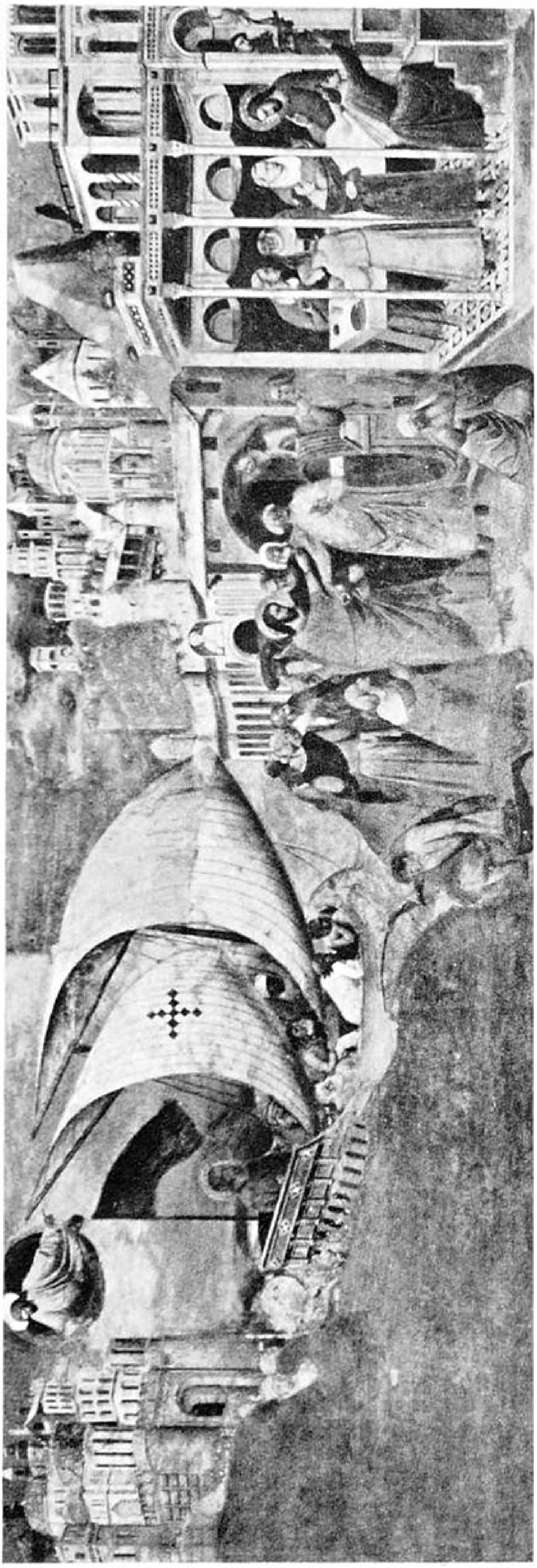


Photo Brogi.

Fig. 253. Antonio Veneziano, three scenes from the legend of St. Ranieri. Campo Santo, Pisa.

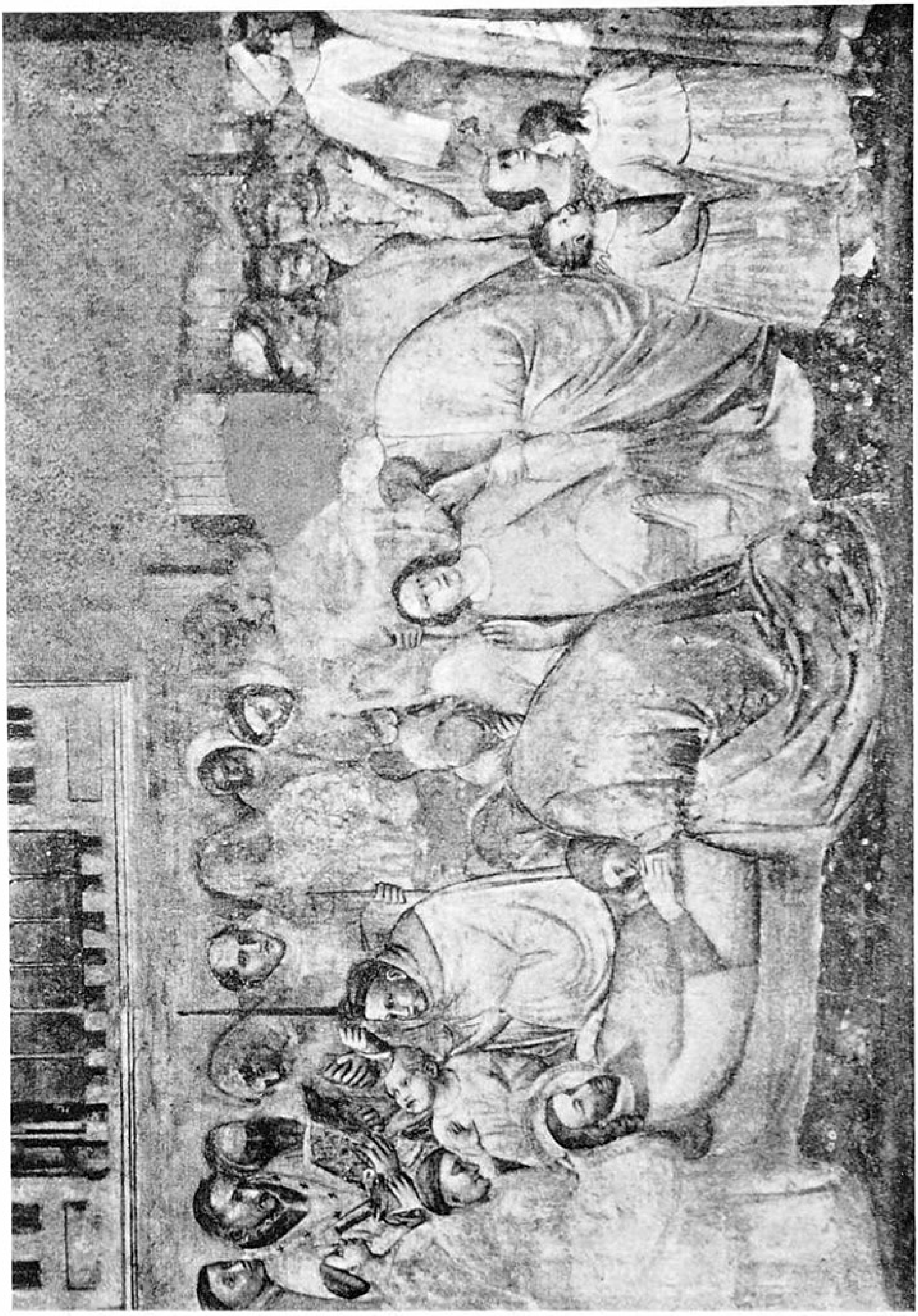


Fig. 254. Antonio Veneziano, the death of St. Ranieri. Campo Santo, Pisa.
Photo Alinari.

racles he performed: firstly of the extraordinary quantity of fish caught by Chiavello when he threw his net in honour of St. Ranieri (fig. 255) and secondly of how a certain Uguccione di

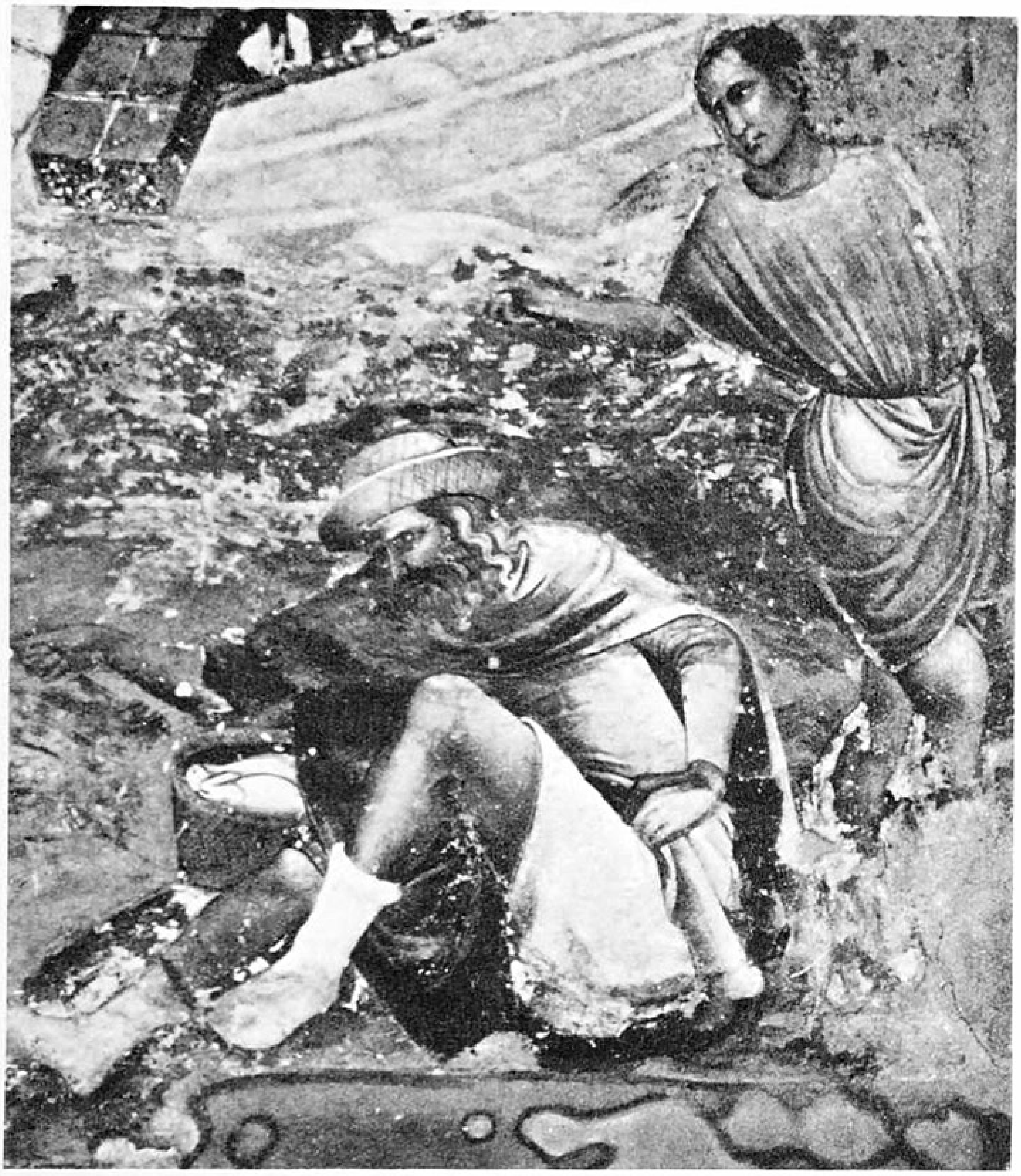


Fig. 255. Antonio Veneziano, Chiavello's miraculous haul, Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

Guglielmetto di Rinaldo, captured by pirates, was set free through the intervention of the saint; a few figures of these miracles can still be seen.

We can now look at the other mural decoration we possess by Antonio Veneziano, a tabernacle outside the Porta a Prato of Florence near the Torre degli Agli. Vasari tells us that it was a member of the family degli Agli who ordered these now extremely damaged frescoes which represent the Descent from

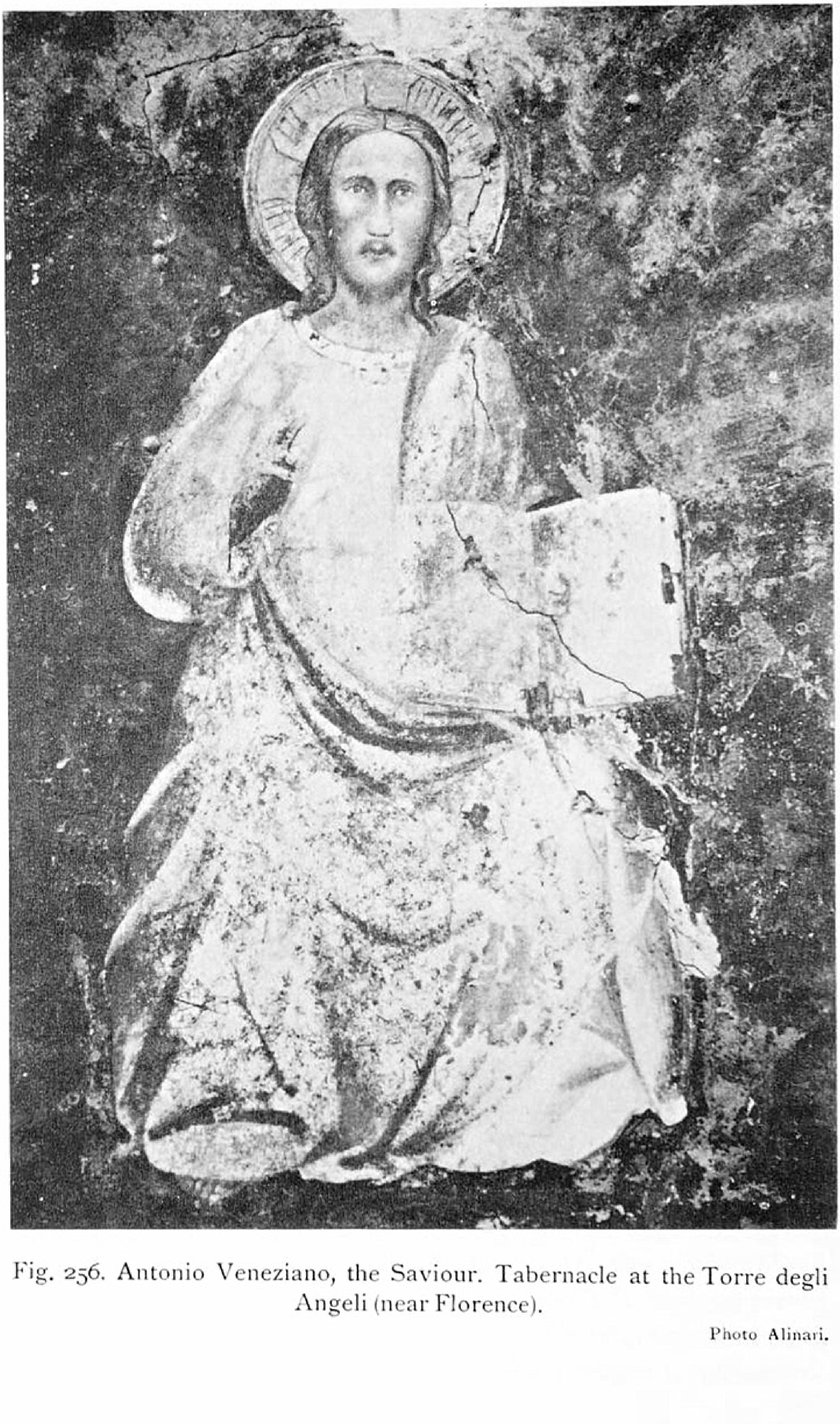


Fig. 256. Antonio Veneziano, the Saviour. Tabernacle at the Torre degli Angeli (near Florence).

Photo Alinari.

the Cross, the Last Judgment and the Death and Funeral of the Virgin. Of the Last Judgment the figure of the Redeemer is still quite distinct (fig. 256) and for once confirms Vasari's statement, for no doubt can remain that the author of these paintings is the same as the artist who executed the above mentioned works in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

Another of this artist's works which has come down to us is the panel in the church of S. Niccolao at Palermo. It is really a painted list of the deceased members of the confraternity of St. Nicholas, executed in 1388. In a triangle above we see the Flagellation of the Lord with kneeling members of the congregation at either side and medallions containing the Virgin and St. John, while below at the sides of the list of names other medallions enclose images of the Evangelists and Apostles. The signature found by Cavalcaselle ran, "*An[to]nis Lon[?ghi] da Vinezia*", although Mgr. De Marzo only deciphered: "*A N . . . . . L O . . . . . Da Venezia*" (1). Although the painter whose signature we read here, seems to have had a second name beginning with *Lo*, of which no trace is found in any of the documents concerning our artist, I think all the same that this panel is a work of Antonio's. It is not that the manner of execution is very characteristic of the artist although no one can contest that a certain connection exists, but it is difficult to imagine that exactly contemporary with Antonio another painter of Venice worked in this thoroughly Tuscan style.

Cavalcaselle saw two other similar panels in Palermo in the palace of the Prince of Trabbia. It is easy to explain their presence in Palermo; Antonio when working in Naples would no doubt have received the ordersfrom the neighbouring sea-port.

Recently, Mr. Offner has attributed some other panels to Antonio Veneziano (2). Most characteristic of his manner are a Coronation of the Virgin in Mr. Arthur Acton's collection, Florence, a half-length figure of St. James in the University Gallery of Gottingen and a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 257). Two panels of SS. Peter

---

(1) *G. De Marzo,* La pittura in Palermo nel Rinascimento, Palermo, 1899, p. 48. His interpretation of the signature is confirmed by Messrs. Langton Douglas and Testi.

(2) *R. Offner,* op. cit.

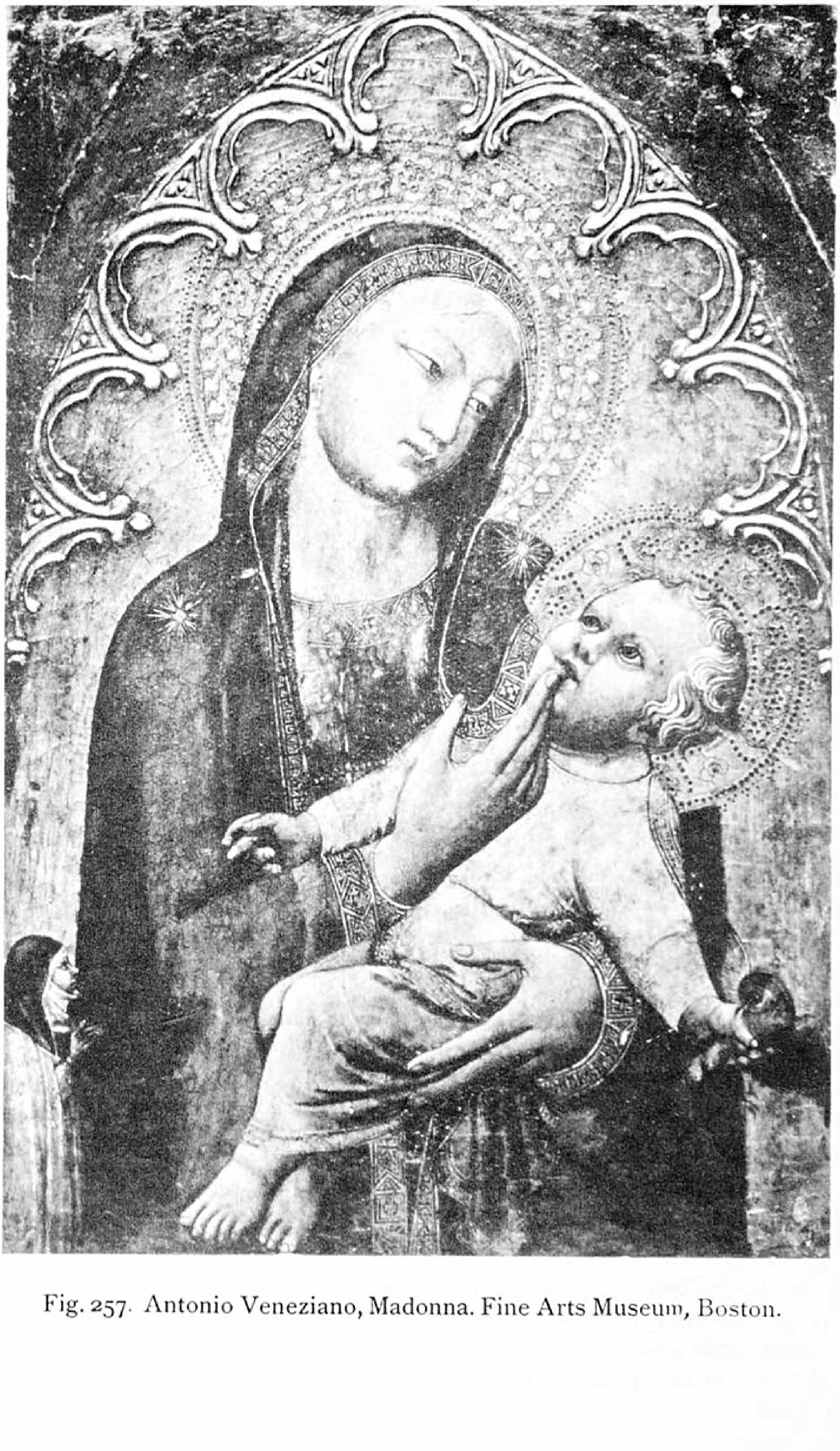


Fig. 257. Antonio Veneziano, Madonna. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.

and Paul in the Loeser collection, Florence, obviously belonged to the same polyptych as this Madonna. The attribution of a Madonna in the midst of four angels in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, is less convincing, moreover it seems to me of somewhat later date.

This completes the list of Antonio's works because of those which Vasari saw in the Florentine churches of SS. Spirito, Stefano and Antonio and others made by order of the Acciaiuoli in the Certosa nothing now remains while the inscription "*Antonius Ven ..... 1368*" on a small tabernacle in the Accademia of Venice (no. 2) has been recognized as a later addition, as also the signature of this painter on a picture (no. 44) in the Correr Museum, nor do I agree with Professor Schmarzow's attribution to Antonio of a panel representing six Apostles — probably part of an Ascension — in the Gallery of Altenburg (¹), the figures of saints in the old Pinacotek of Munich, the decoration of the vault in the Spanish chapel in Sta. Maria Novella and some frescoes in the Castellani chapel of Sta Croce, Florence.

Most of the modern critics agree that there is nothing in the art of Antonio Veneziano that reminds us of contemporary painting of the city of the lagune. Elsewhere we shall see how some Venetian artists, even in the later part of the 14th century, remained faithful to the Byzantine tradition. Nothing of this can be discovered in the works of our artist who can be qualified as a late adherent of the Giottesque tradition but not in that modified form in which we find it after it has passed through the workshop of Agnolo Gaddi. In fact I fail to see any relation between the art of these two painters.

If one desires to connect Antonio's work with any school of painting which flourished in North-Eastern regions, it should be with that of Altichiero and Avanzo from whom Sig. Testi believes he took his inspiration (²). I do not think, however, that there is any necessity for this. For all we know Antonio may have come to Florence at an early age, and as he calls himself after this city — he is thus inscribed in the corporation of Florence — and if we can believe what Vasari pretends, as he was very active there, I see no reason why we should not admit that it was in this city

---

(¹) Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz, p. 173.

(²) Also *P. Schubring*, Altichiero u. seine Schule, Leipzig, 1898, p. 131.

he received his artistic instruction, all the more so as there the manner in which he worked had earlier as well as contemporary adherents. It is the current which really started with the Master of the Vele and which we find in the paintings of the pseudo Maestro Stefano, Maso and the artist we called Giotto di Maestro Stefano. It is with the works of these last two in particular that Antonio shows himself most familiar.

It is clear from his method of representing events that he did not attempt to give them any narrative value. In the frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa the different scenes are agglomerated in such a way that the story cannot be comprehended by the spectator. This method which our artist followed, the one of decentralization of the action, is quite contrary to the spirit of Giotto's art but corresponds more or less to what Maso shows us in his works in the church of Sta. Croce. It is decidedly an art of ornamentation and not of illustration.

His types do not display the Sienese languid sentiment and spiritualized beauty to the same extent as do those of some of the other Florentine painters of this group. The design is stronger and his proportions, plasticity and realism of action and expression seem more directly inspired by Giotto than, for example, do Daddi's or Maso's paintings. Antonio made remarkable progress in the representation of drapery and its relief, and I do not think that it is an exaggeration to say that in this and in his ability as a draughtsman we do not, except for Giotto, find his equal in Florence. We cannot imagine any of his precursors or contemporaries drawing such a ship as Antonio did in his first fresco in Pisa and which already Vasari eulogizes at length.

On the other hand his types belong to that source to which Maso and Giottino adhered. If we compare for instance the regular oval of the face of the Redeemer in the tabernacle of the Torre degli Agli, or more especially of the woman at the feet of the dead St. Ranieri with those we find in the works of these two other masters, and particularly with those in the Pietà of the Uffizi or the Crucifixion in the cloister of Sta. Maria Novella, the connection becomes very evident.

Then, again, our artist was a refined colorist and if we can believe the legend Vasari relates, Antonio, as Leonardo da Vinci did later, used pigments of his own making based on chemical research. The same authority tells us that he carried this study so far that he became a physician and for years practised as such. But as we know was the case in the paintings of Leonardo we may suspect that this making of his own pigments is the reason why so few of his works also have resisted the destruction of time. Vasari pretends that the excellence of his colouring is due to the fact that the painter never retouched his wall-paintings "a secco" but executed them entirely "a fresco", that is to say when the wall was still wet and did not go over it again after the paint dried. This may or may not be true(1), but there is no doubt that there is a rare unity in the colouring and an extraordinary toning between the different tints.

His technical achievements in design and colour make Antonio the most important link between the Giottesque tradition under Sienese influence and the first generation of Quattrocento artists, and although Vasari's affirmation that he was the master of Paolo Ucello, must, on account of the dates, be erroneous, the statement nevertheless shows that the unreliable Aretin biographer realized the progress which such masters as Ucello owed to Antonio Veneziano.

---

(1) Mr. *Langton Douglas* contradicts Vasari's statement on this point.

# CHAPTER V.

## ANDREA ORCAGNA, HIS BROTHERS AND OTHER FOLLOWERS (¹).

### ANDREA ORCAGNA.

The tradition that Andrea Orcagna and his brothers form but one artistic individuality goes as far back as the year 1347 when amongst the five Florentine painters who were taken into consideration for the execution of the altar-piece in S. Giovanni fuor Civitas at Pistoia, with which it will be remembered Taddeo Gaddi was charged, we find mentioned "Maestro Orchagia e Maestro Nardo in (porta di) Balla". It is the only instance in this little list in which two painters are named together, it was evidently known that they worked in cooperation.

In Ghiberti, however, we find no confirmation of this. Andrea Orcagna is discussed at length and his brothers just mentioned at the end of the description. Vasari on the other hand leads us to suppose that the one hardly ever worked without the other and this tradition of almost six centuries has again recently been followed by Mr. Berenson, speaking, in his "Florentine Painters", of "Andrea Orcagna and his brothers" without any attempt to differentiate the productions of the three individuals whom we know to have existed.

The utmost caution is required in dealing with these painters because we have only one authentic painting by Andrea, none by Nardo and probably none by Jacopo, for we are not certain which part we can attribute to him of the two pictures at which we know he worked, but which we are equally sure are only partly by him. It is particularly regrettable that we have no better information about these artists who, as will be seen, played a very important part in the progress of painting in Florence.

---

(¹) *G. Orsini,* Vita di Andrea Orcagna, Le Vite da Giorgio Vasari diretti di P.: L. Occhini e E. Cozzani, XX, Florence (1914).

Happily our comprehension of Andrea is greatly aided by the fact that he has left us an important piece of plastic art signed and dated: the ciborium in Or San Michele; while for Nardo we have Ghiberti's elucidatory attribution of the frescoes in the Strozzi chapel. However, the reason of the fusion of the three artistic personalities may be explained by the complete domination of Andrea over the painters surrounding him, resulting in a connection somewhat similar to that which existed at Siena between Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi and, had we been unaware of the existence of Nardo, many of his works would have been attributed to Andrea and others to his school.

The considerable number of documents we possess concerning Andrea Orcagna (1) is rather inconsistent with the scarcity of his productions.

Regarding the name, Orcagna, which Baldinucci thought derived from or-cambiatore (gold-changer), it was discovered by von Rumohr that it was most probably a derivative of Arcagnuolo as he found in a document of the archives of the Cathedral the master mentioned as Andrea di Cione Arcagnuolo. The father, Cione, according to Vasari was a gold-smith, but this does not seem very likely, as no one of this name is found in the registers of the guild of that period.

The various documents we possess enable us to follow Andrea's career without any very long intervals from 1343 or 44 until 1368.

The first time we find his name is when he matriculates in the corporation of Medici e Speciali; in 1344 he is again mentioned in a notarial act. On the list made in 1347 from which a painter was to be chosen to execute the altar-piece for S. Giovanni fuor Civitas, Pistoia, Andrea's name comes third and his address as I have already said is given as being near the Porta di Balla. As we know that the proposed list only contained the names of the five best artists of Florence, the presence of Andrea's name shows us to what extent he was appreciated by his contemporaries.

---

(1) They are to be found in *Baldinucci*, *Milanesi's* annotations on Vasari, *Milanesi*, Nuovi Documenti, *K. Frey*, Loggia dei Lanzi, p. 101, and in as far as the Cathedral of Orvieto is concerned in *L. Luzi*, Il Duomo di Orvieto, Florence, 1860. *L. Fumi*, Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri, Roma, 1891, and a special chapter in *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 617. They have been grouped together by *W. Suida*, Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV, Jahrhunderts, p. 4, and *O. Sirén*. Giotto and some of his Followers.

In 1352 Andrea received payment for a Madonna which Herr Suida thinks is probably the one destined for the audience room of the captain of Or San Michele, while on the 20th October of the same year he became a member of the corporation of sculptors and his address was then inscribed as being the quarter of San Michele Visdomini. Two years later Tommaso di Rossello Strozzi charged him with the execution of an altar-piece for his chapel in Sta. Maria Novella which is signed and dated 1357. Once in 1354 and twice in 1356 Andrea vouches for artists who enter the corporation of sculptors. From this period on Andrea's fame rises rapidly and he is called upon to fulfil many important artistic functions.

In 1355 we find him "capo-maestro" of Or San Michele. In 1356 he changes his house and goes to live in the St. Lawrence quarter; the same year he makes a plan for the façade of the Duomo which is accepted and forms part of the commission for the interior decoration of the Cathedral. In the summer months of the following year he is still occupied with this building and in 1358 he is again mentioned in the painters' corporation. In June of the same year, when he is busy making the sculptured tabernacle for Or San Michele, he leaves this work to go to Orvieto where, for a period of five years and at a payment of twenty five gold guilders a month, he is charged with directing the construction of the Cathedral (1). But at the end of the year he is again working at his sculpture in Florence; in February 1359, however, he returns to Orvieto accompanied by his brother Matteo and is festively received by the painters Ugolino di Prete Ilario and Giovanni Leonardelli but he only remains a fortnight. Back in Florence he completes the tabernacle and then again returns to Orvieto where he is officially appointed "capo-maestro" and his brother Matteo assistant.

The Orvietans probably thought that this nomination would make the restless artist settle down for a time in their city but when in 1360 he returns to Florence to work in Or San Michele they become impatient, and notwithstanding a letter from the authorities of Florence to those of Orvieto, he is forced to resign his commission, with which his brother is charged and which occupies him until 1367. Andrea, however, stays on in Orvieto to finish a mosaic which was approved of in February 1361 but of which, in September 1362, four artists questioned the durability; nevertheless Andrea received sixty gold guilders in payment.

---

(1) *L. Fumi*, Il Duomo di Ovieto, p. 105 and passim.

In 1364, 1366 and 1367 Andrea is occupied with the construction of the Cathedral of Florence. In the last of these three years Andrea was charged with the painting of the extant panel of St. Matthew for one of the pillars of Or San Michele but on account of ill-health, the following year his brother Jacopo was asked to finish it (1). As this, the year 1368, is the last time we find his name in the ledgers of the guild of St. Luke, it may well be that he died that year or shortly afterwards. We are certain that his death took place before 1376.

A document informs us that at his decease he left behind him his wife Francesca di Bencino Azzucci and two married daughters whose names are also given. Besides them we know that he had a son called Cione obviously after the grand-father who was also a painter and is still found mentioned in 1421.

Ghiberti gives us a good deal of information about Andrea's various activities. He tells us that the tabernacle in Or San Michele was executed entirely by Andrea's own hand — a statement which Schlosser, with very good reason, doubts — and was paid for at the rate of 86.000 guilders. Vasari, in his first edition repeats this sum but in his second increases it to 96.000. Ghiberti further states that Andrea ornamented the choir of Sta. Maria Novella with frescoes; Antonio Billi and Vasari also speak of these paintings which, according to both, represented scenes from the life of the Virgin and were repainted by Ghirlandaio who, Billi tells us, destroyed Andrea's work while Vasari informs us that they were damaged by rain passing through the roof; in 1358 they were partly ruined by lightning. In Sta. Croce Andrea executed according to Ghiberti "tre magnifiche istorie fatti con grandissima arte, ancora in detta chiesa una capella e molte altre cose". These three stories may refer to the Last Judgment, traces of which are still visible. It is true that of these Billi only mentions

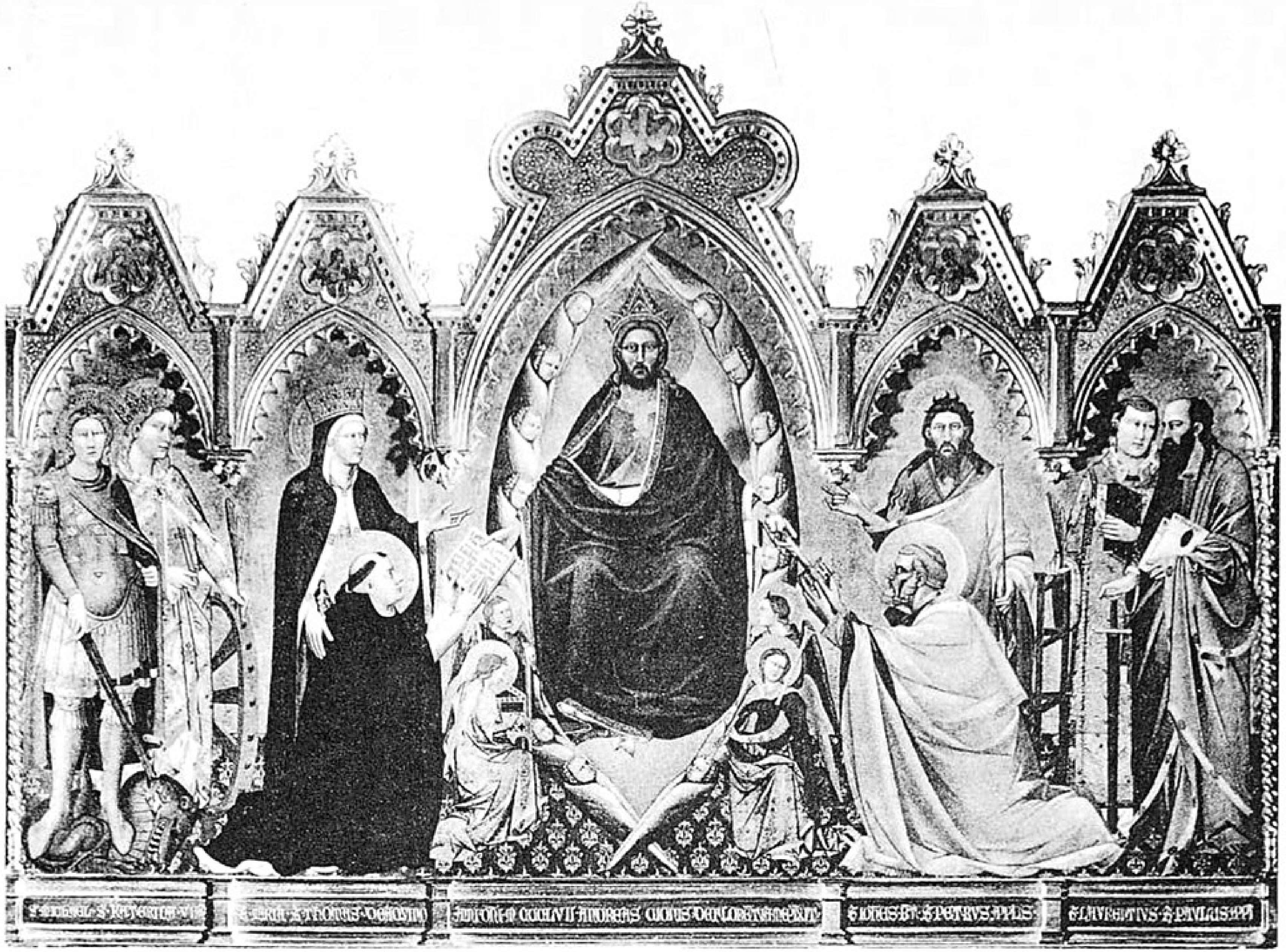
---

(1) The document is published by G. Poggi in *Sirén's* Giottino, p. 99.

Hell and Paradise but Vasari, comparing this composition with the representations he attributes to Orcagna in the Campo Santo of Pisa, tells us there were three, evidently a Last Judgment between two other scenes. From Ghiberti we also learn that in Florence Andrea painted in two chapels in Sta. Maria dei Servi and in the refectory of the Augustine monks (S. Spirito), while he speaks of Nardo, whom he mentions as the author of the "Cappella dell' Inferno che fece fare la famiglia degli Stroçi" in Sta. Maria Novella, and of two other brothers, one Jacopo, a painter and the other Matteo, "scultore non troppo perfetto". Vasari adds several other details. He tells us Andrea studied sculpture with Andrea Pisano. Like Ghiberti, he mentions Andrea's activity in Sta. Maria dei Servi but in cooperation with Nardo whose name he says derives from Bernardo although we know it to have been Leonardo. He also informs us that these two artists collaborated in the execution of a fresco on the façade of S. Appolinare and in the ornamentation of the Strozzi chapel which, differing from Ghiberti, Vasari calls the "Cappella del Paradiso" and in the decoration of which he seems to ascribe the principal part to Andrea. The same biographer mentions Andrea's activity in S. Romeo (S. Remigio?) and attributes to him a Coronation of the Virgin, now in the National Gallery, London, which is a work by Jacopo whom Vasari confounds with Matteo because he speaks of Jacopo's activities as a sculptor; later he may have become an architect and as such was active as early as 1328 but we have otherwise no information that Jacopo practised this branch of art.

Vasari was the first to attribute the frescoes of the Last Judgment in the Campo Santo of Pisa to Andrea Orcagna, an attribution which was accepted for a long time but which now has been completely abandoned. He tells us besides that Andrea executed statues of the seven theological virtues for a public loggia in Florence and panel pictures which were sent to the pope at Avignon. This artist according to him was also a poet but this fact may have been borrowed from the biography of Giotto. Vasari relates that Andrea died in 1389 but as we have already seen, his death must have taken place prior to 1376.

The Aretin biographer names, as Andrea's pupils at Pisa, Bernardo Nello, Tommaso di Marco, whom Milanesi identifies



ALTAR-POLYPTYCH, (1357)
*By Andrea Orcagna, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.*

*Photo Alinari.*

with Tommaso del Mazza, and Traini who owes hardly anything to Andrea's art. Vasari, however, is right in seeing the master's influence in the works of Mariotto (di Nardo) although this painter comes too long after Andrea for him to have been his pupil, but he makes a mistake in saying that Mariotto was Andrea's grand-son (¹).

Sacchetti, in his 136th novella, mentions Andrea Orcagna as "capo-maestro" of Or San Michele and forming part of a little group of painters who discuss artistic questions with much vivacity.

Of late Nardo, who, as Schlosser remarks, might have been older than Andrea, has frequently been considered the greater painter, which might be true if the whole of the decoration of the Strozzi chapel were really by him, but I am of another opinion; besides, the manner in which the two painters are mentioned in the document of 1347 more or less suggests that Nardo was looked upon as Andrea's helper. Again, the trouble taken by Florence and Orvieto to secure the master for their most important artistic enterprises proves the general appreciation of Andrea's extraordinary gifts while nothing similar is known about Nardo; yet again it cannot be doubted that for Ghiberti and other authors of olden times Andrea was the great artist and his brothers only of secondary consequence, Nardo perhaps of more importance than the others.

The only painting by Andrea is then the altar-piece in the Strozzi chapel ordered in 1354 and finished in 1357 (plate IX). Here we find depicted in the centre the Lord seated in a mandorla composed of cherubs whose bodies are formed or covered by their wings, the heads alone remaining visible, below at either side kneel two angelic musicians. In the compartments immediately to the right and left we see St. Peter kneeling and receiving the keys from the hand of the Saviour with St. John the Baptist behind and St. Thomas also kneeling to whom the Lord gives a book, while the crowned Madonna in the background lays one hand on the shoulder of the saint and indicates her Son with the other. The panels at the extremities contain on the left the archangel Michael cutting off the head of

---

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 610, note 3.

the dragon at his feet and the crowned St. Catherine, and on the right St. Paul and St. Lawrence both holding their emblems. In the apex of each of these five panels a medallion is represented, the central one containing the dove descending on the Lord, the lateral ones busts of angels. The predella is divided into three parts; centrally we find the Navicella in which St. Peter kneels at the feet of the Saviour Who makes an animated gesture and behind on the sea is the boat with the companions of the Apostles.

The panel to the left shows the celebration of a mass; the officiating priest stands near an altar, he is assisted by a choir boy and two other ecclesiastics behind whom we see another group of priests, one kneeling near a lectern. The scene on the right shows us the death of a king or some great personage, several knights and other figures standing near his bed; outside the death chamber we see the dead man's soul on St. Michael's scales, St. Lawrence saving it from the devil, and on the right penitent anchorites are depicted in the desert.

In looking at this picture we are at once struck by the many great and original qualities of the master. His dependence on Giotto is very limited, his types sooner reminding us of Daddi but the marvellous sculpturesque relief seems to be of his own invention, it is in any case not at all Sienese, and we should have to go back to Cavallini to find a similar degree of plasticity. His figures, however, are of a more graceful build, and the folds of their clothing lighter and more elegant; the aspect of his excellent draping should be thoroughly studied because it will help us to recognize some of Orcagna's other creations.

The fact that Andrea is the author of this altar-piece prompts us to connect his name with the frescoes in the same chapel. I do not deny that Nardo may be responsible for the greater part, but it seems to me that two different hands can be discerned in this decoration. The frescoes representing the Last Judgment and Hell (1) may in their entirety be ascribed to Nardo; as for the Paradise, I believe that the painter who executed the figures of

---

(1) May not the fact that Ghiberti says that Nardo painted the chapel of Hell instead of the one of the Last Judgment which in a way would include representations of both Heaven and Hell, be a wrong way of expressing the fact that Nardo painted Hell in this chapel? In this fresco the difference from Andrea's manner is very obvious.

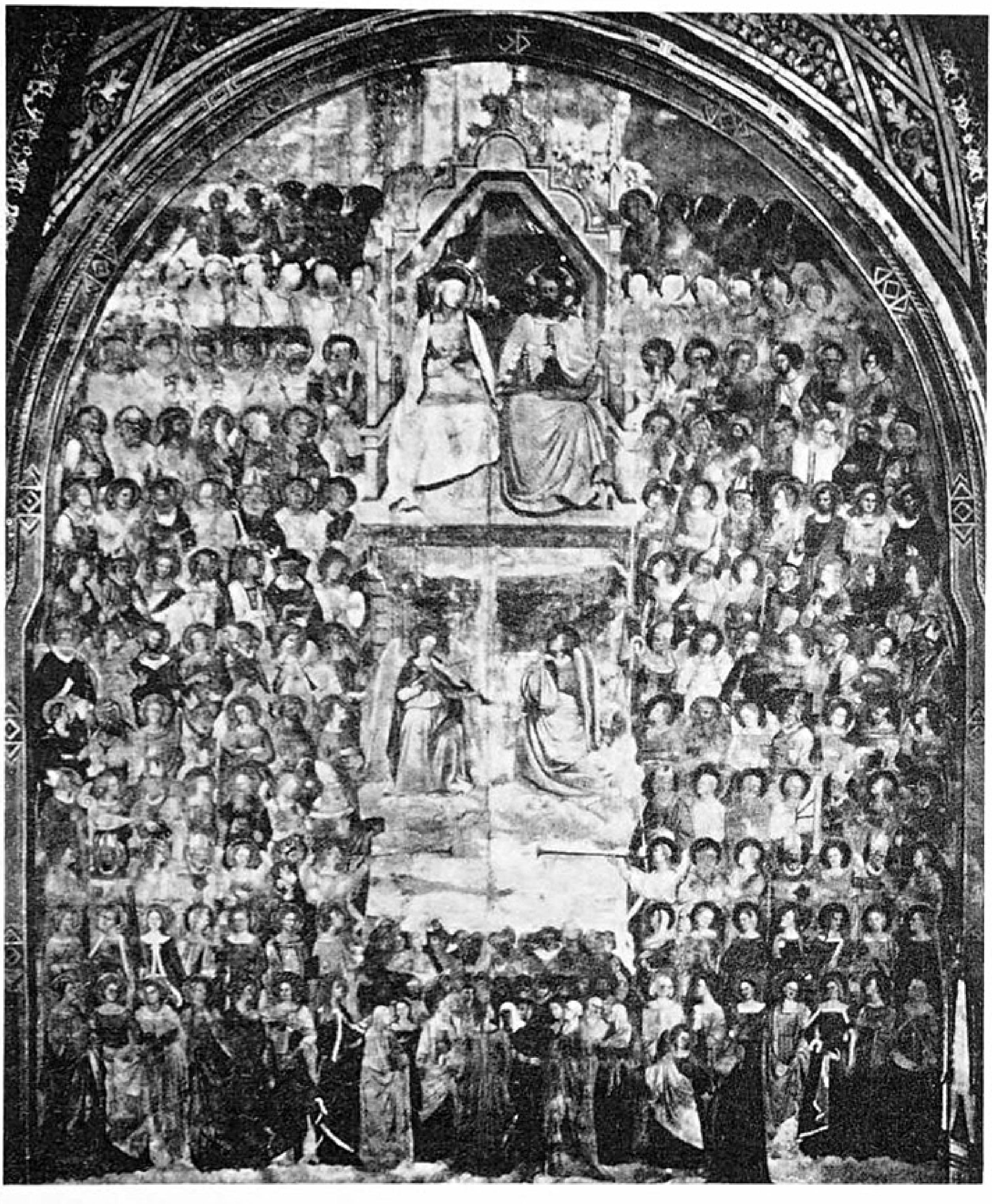


Fig. 258. Andrea Orcagna and Nardo di Cione, Paradise. Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Photo Brogi.

the Lord and the Virgin and probably also most of the six upper rows of angels was a much more capable artist than the author of the groups of the saved and the damned in the lower part of the Last Judgment (¹) whose hand will be found again, although his style has improved, in the figures above and the six lower rows of the Paradise.

---

(¹) *Sirén,* Giottino, p. 89, attributed the principal figures to Andrea so too *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit., p. 27. *Sirén* now believes the entire chapel to have been ornamented by Nardo, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 276.

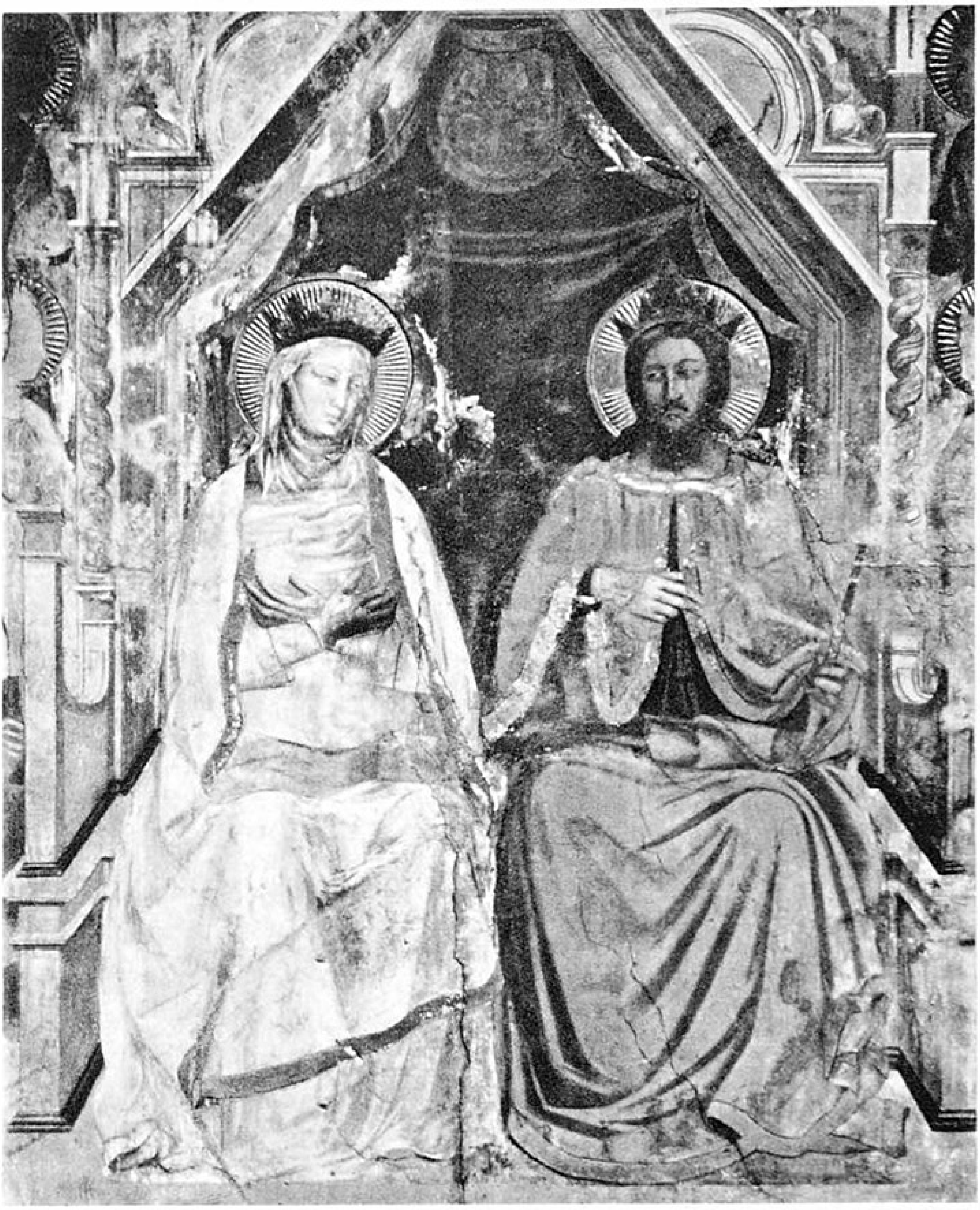


Fig. 259. Andrea Orcagna, detail of fig. 258. Photo Brogi.

Paradise is depicted in an enormous composition (figs. 258 and 259); above we see the crowned Saviour and the Madonna seated on an architectural throne; immediately below kneel two angelic musicians while still lower a group of the saved, one of whom is led by an angel, seem to enter their heavenly abode. To the left and right of these three central groups are twelve rows of haloed saints and angelic musicians, each row composed of six or seven figures except the uppermost, which on account of the encircling arch is much shorter, with just sufficient space for five. The figures of the lowest rows, which I believe were frescoed by Nardo, somewhat intermingle with the approaching group of the saved who, however, are slightly smaller.

I do not see the necessity of claiming two separate hands for the upper part of the Paradise painting and the altar-piece, and certainly the difference, if any at all, between them is not so great as that between the upper and lower figures of the fresco. The suave beauty of many of the faces, as well as the excellent sculptural draping, broader and of a less linear effect than we find it in Nardo's work, is of great artistic value; many of the physiognomies, above all those of the Saviour and Madonna, betray a deep religious feeling, while the forms, especially the peculiar shape of several of the faces, are quite congruent with the sculptured figures of the tabernacle of Or San Michele. As in the paintings of Michel Angelo and Verrocchio, it is, here too, obvious that these works are the productions of a sculptor.

It may be that Andrea also made the design for the window which shows a standing Madonna somewhat after the Pisano type.

Although we may have some difficulty in recognizing them at first, the same characteristics will be found in the three remaining fragments of the Triumph over Death in the church of Sta. Croce (altar of the Pozzi) (fig. 260), an attribution to Andrea which has not been contradicted since Ghiberti made it (¹). Of the original groups only a few heads and half-figures are now left; in one we see a cardinal and a few women all dead, in another some beggars: two blind men, one stretching out his hand and two women with crutches are very impressive figures and prove the artist's capacity for depicting crude realism which, without these two fragments of ghastly figures, we might not have discovered. In the third part we see some falling houses with a group of people escaping through the door of one of them.

In the St. Matthew altar-piece which Andrea, as we saw, was charged to execute in 1368 and which was finished by Jacopo, I dare say the greater part of the draped majestic central figure

---

(¹) *N. Tarchiani*, Gli affreschi dell Orcagna scoperti in Sta. Croce, Marzocco, 23 July 1911. *W. Bombe*, Der neuentdeckte Trionfo della Morte in Sta. Croce, Der Cicerone, 1911, p. 784.

can be ascribed to the former, while the smaller scenes were probably executed by Jacopo although they are of a higher standard than his other works of this style.

Regarding another work of the master's — the decoration of the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto which we only know from documentary evidence — a mosaic in the South Kensington Museum, London, representing the Nativity of the Virgin and two prophets in the spandrels, has been looked upon for many years as having once formed part of it; the signature "*Andreas Cionis*" and the date "*MCCC Sexagesima*" are found at the sides but it has been demonstrated by Luigi Fumi that we are here dealing with a forgery (¹).

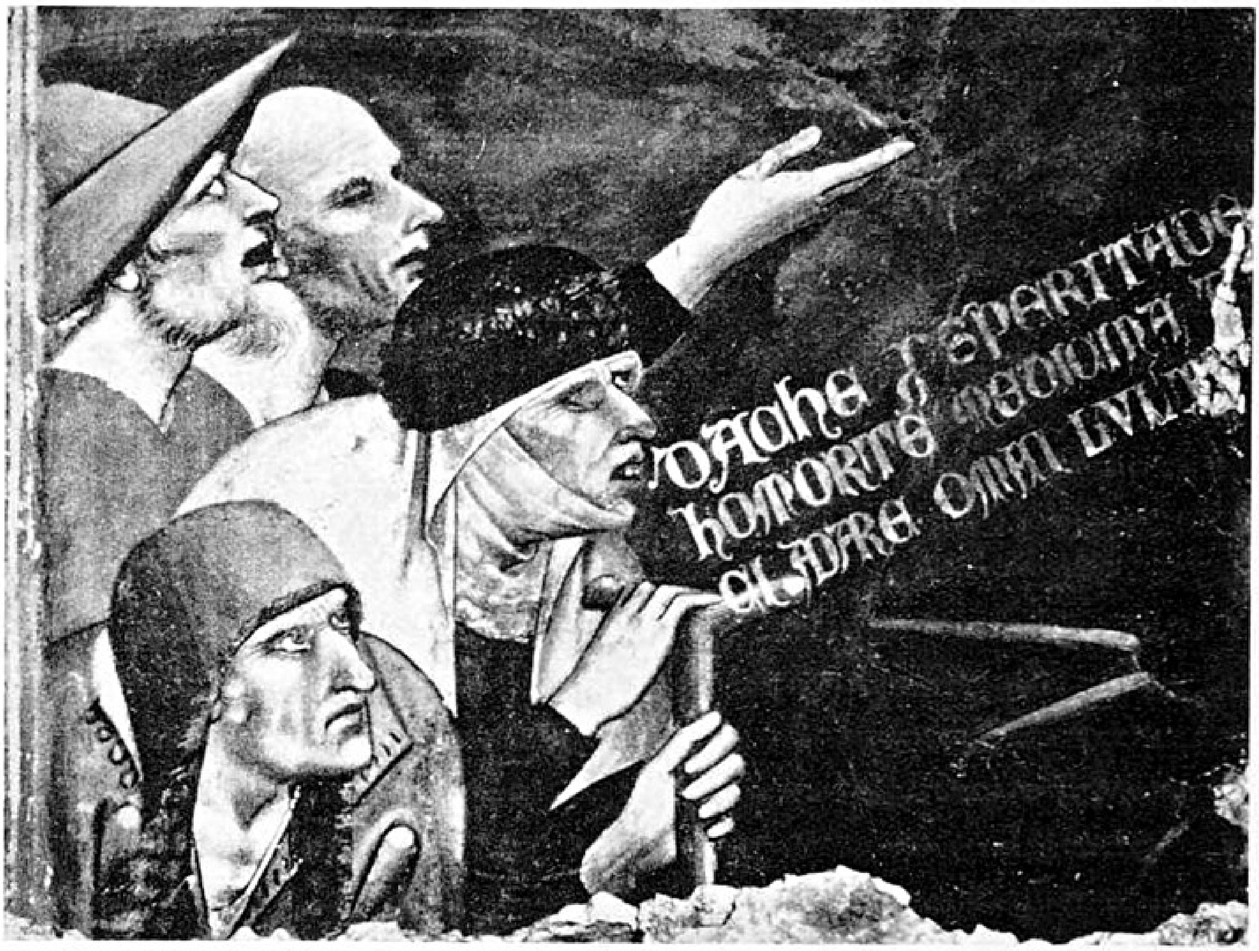


Fig. 260. Andrea Orcagna, fragment of the Triumph of Death. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Consequently all the dated works of Andrea's we know are

---

(¹) L'Orcagna e il suo preteso mosaico nel museo di Kensington, Rivista d'Arte, III, 1905, p. 11; see also *E. A.*, Mosaico rappresentante la Nascita della Virgine proveniente dalla facciata del Duomo d'Orvieto, Arch. Stor. dell Arte, II, 1889, p. 434.

productions of the later part of his career, that is to say between 1357 and 1367 which latter date, as we have seen, was probably the year of his death. The appearance of his earlier works is therefore a matter of speculation.

As such, it does not seem impossible to me that we may take into consideration two altar-pieces, one representing the Descent of the Holy Ghost in the Badia of Florence, the other the Vision of St. Bernard in the Accademia of the same town (fig. 261). The former is divided into three parts; centrally we see the Virgin kneeling on a slight eminence, six Apostles are grouped around her, while above, the symbolical dove appears between two angels; each of the lateral parts contains three kneeling Apostles. The other picture shows us St. Bernard, behind whom two brother monks are seen, kneeling before his prie-Dieu and looking up towards the apparition of the Madonna who is depicted

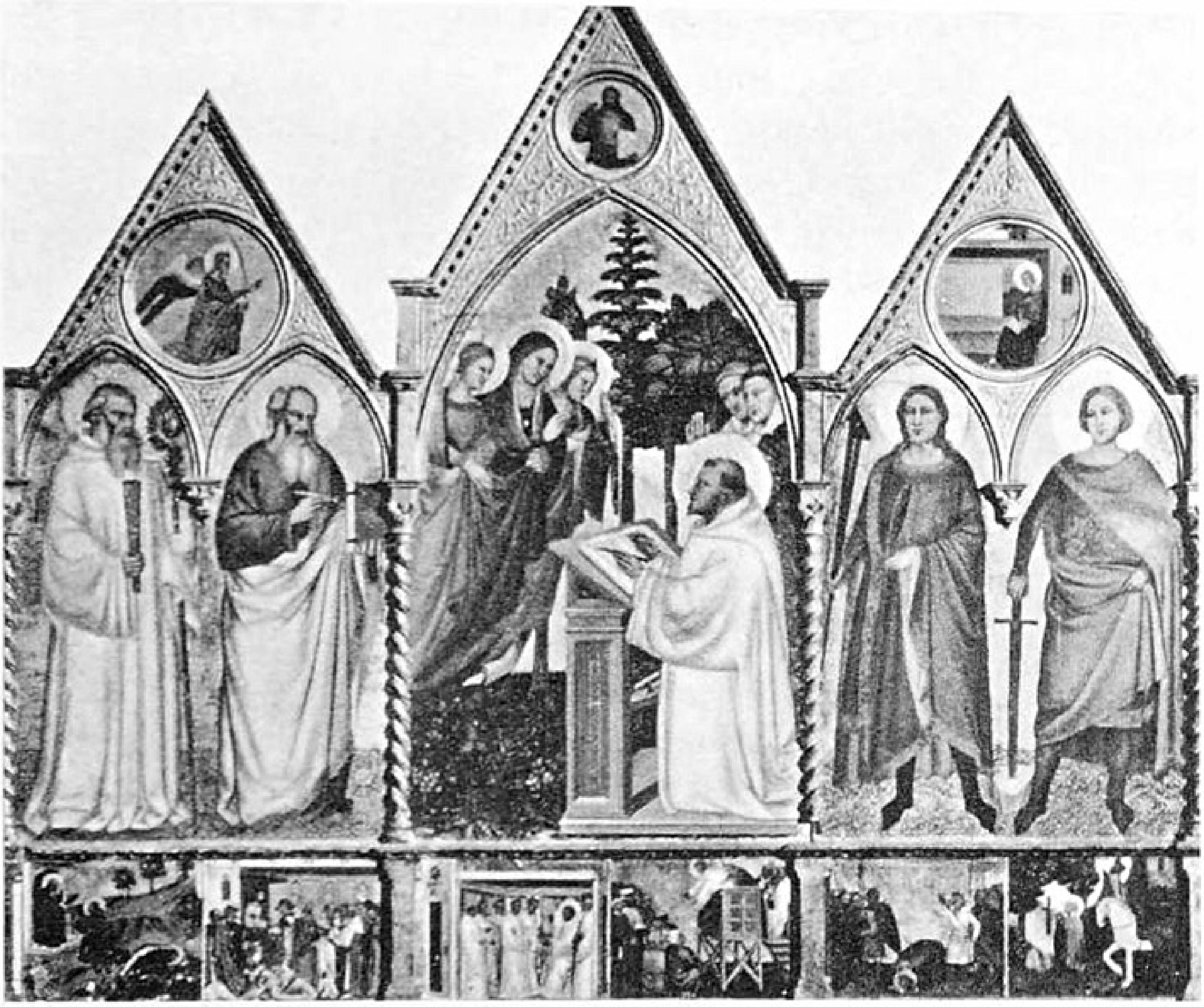


Fig. 261. Andrea Orcagna (?), the Vision of St. Bernard. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

between two angels; to the left we find St. John the Evangelist and St. Benedict, to the right SS. Galganus and Quintinus. Six predella panels relate scenes from the lives of each of these saints while the terminals contain, in the centre, the Saviour, and at the sides the angel of the Annunciation and the Virgin Mary.

Certainly these works do not fully possess the qualities of Andrea's later productions; they will, however, be discovered in an elementary stage, especially in the excellent rendering of the plastic relief of the draping, the skilful application of light and shade, the brilliant colouring, and the attempt — here, however, unrealized — to produce the same beautiful features which characterize his later works. It is the presence of these rudiments of Andrea's more mature productions which has led me to suppose that we have here examples of the master's earlier style because we should hardly expect to find similar qualities in the work of a follower and still less in a production of his workshop. On the other hand the panels are too homogenous in aspect to allow us to suppose that they were in part left to assistants. I believe the St. Bernard polyptych to be of a date slightly anterior to that of the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

With these works and more especially with the latter we can compare a considerably repainted Madonna in the church of SS. Apostoli, Florence. The upright Virgin carries in her arms the Child Jesus Who blesses and holds a little bird. It is chiefly the rather hard design and type of features of the Madonna which form the connection with the above mentioned work. The drapery seems to have been less rigid, which might point to a later stage in Andrea's career.

There exists some resemblance between this little group and a representation of the Saviour rising from His tomb, in a private collection in Stockholm (¹). This painting, however, seems inferior in quality to those we have just dealt with, while the tendency to produce beautiful faces and the plastic effects are absent. I am therefore sooner inclined to consider this as an early school piece than to include it in the master's output.

A very handsome picture which forms, as it were, the link

---

(¹) A painting only known to me through the illustration given of it by *O. Sirén,* Giotto etc., pl. 191.

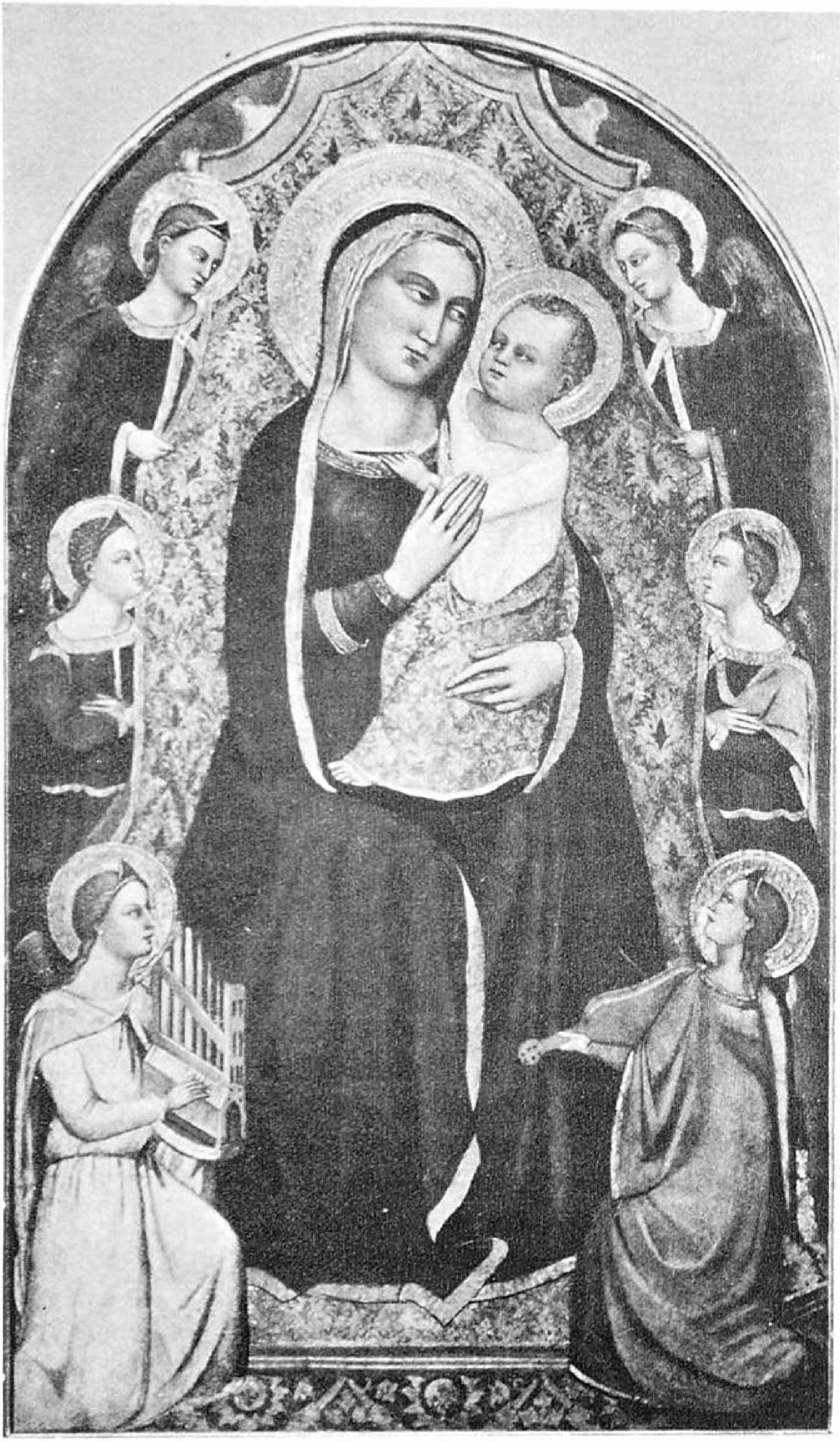


Fig. 262. Andrea Orcagna, Madonna. Picture Gallery, Budapest.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

between Andrea's earlier and later productions, belongs to the Lehman collection, New York (¹); it shows the Virgin seated on a cushion on the ground while the Child lying back on her knee stretches out His arms towards His Mother. Higher on either side are depicted four angels and in the centre God the Father blessing the little group below. Comparing this with the paintings which I believe to belong to an earlier period, we observe a greater facility on the part of the artist in rendering these elements which we found to characterize his art; light and shade are more toned down, leaving no harsh contrasts, the drapery falls more smoothly and the features, although not actually different, have been given a more pleasing and suave expression.

The Lehman Madonna leads the way to the panel in the Gallery of Budapest, which previously formed part of the Somzée collection in Bruxelles (²). It represents the Madonna seated, clasping the Child gently to her, with four adoring angels standing at the sides and two others kneeling below, playing on musical instruments (fig. 262). It is an extremely beautiful picture and although still somewhat earlier, cannot be separated by more than a few years from that period, beginning with the year 1357, to which Andrea's dated works belong. The proportions here are slightly broader, the faces more filled out and the expressions softer; in type the Madonna closely approaches the sculptured Virgin of the Annunciation on the tabernacle of Or San Michele.

Two figures — products of Andrea's most mature period — form part of the Jarves collection of Yale University; they represent St. John the Baptist and St. Peter (figs. 263 and 264). Although I myself thoroughly agree with this attribution, I wonder how some authorities can accept it and at the same time exclude the rows of saints in the upper part of the Paradise where we find figures corresponding in every detail to those of the Jarves collection; but, as is invariably the case, on account of the difference in technique and the fact that they are meant to be seen from a less great distance, the panels are of a more refined

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, op. cit., pl. 187.

(²) *W Suida*, Florentinische Maler, pl. 2. *The Same*, Alcuni quadri italiani nella Galleria di Budapest, L'Arte, X, 1907, p. 181. *G. von Terry*, Die Gemälde Galerie des Museums f. Bildende Kunst in Budapest, Berlin, 1916, p. 15.

execution. The powerful structure of the saints, especially of St. Peter, reminds us very much of the central figure of the St. Matthew panel in the Uffizi, only there the drapery is harder and more severe and does not manifest that Gothic movement which is more evident in the pictures of the Jarves collection than in any of Andrea's other works. In the execution of these panels and of the Strozzi altar-piece the artist has taken the greatest pains of all his works; not only the faces, but the hands and feet as well are treated with the utmost care. I think also regarding the date they may be placed very near the St Matthew panel, that is to say towards the end of Andrea's career.

This terminates what I consider to be the extant work of Andrea Orcagna. It is true that other critics have made this list considerably longer, but some of these additional works will be found in the paragraph that I devote to the "Compagno dell' Orcagna", some I entirely disagree with (¹) while one or two are unknown to me (²).

This is not the right place to deal in detail with Andrea's sculptures. We have already seen that they played an important part in the formation of his art and Vasari's statement that he obtained his instruction from the Pisanos is not contradicted by the aspect of his plastic works, which certainly betray a close connection with the products of the great Pisan sculptors.

It is curious, however, that so very few of his works have been preserved, for besides the tabernacle in Or San Michele, we can only attribute to him the statue of an angelic musician — or per-

---

(¹) As for instance the scene of St. Dominic and two angels in the Museum of Berlin, no. 1904, which I attribute to Bernardo Daddi. Mr. Sirén has recently ascribed to Andrea Orcagna two panels in the Vatican Gallery, nos. 83 and 84 — the angel warning St. Joseph and the Flight into Egypt — which, although showing obvious connection with the artist's style, seem to me very inferior to the master's own products. The Childhood scenes in the Bandini Museum, Fiesole, are too far distant from Andrea for us to call them even "studio work" as Mr. Sirén does.

(²) Such as the Presentation in the Temple which belonged to the Moll collection, Vienna, part of a predella, of which the Nativity of the Virgin in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, also formed part, *O. Sirén,* Giotto etc., p. 275. For works of the Orcagna school v. note at the end of the part in which I deal with Jacopo di Cione and il Compagno dell' Orcagna.

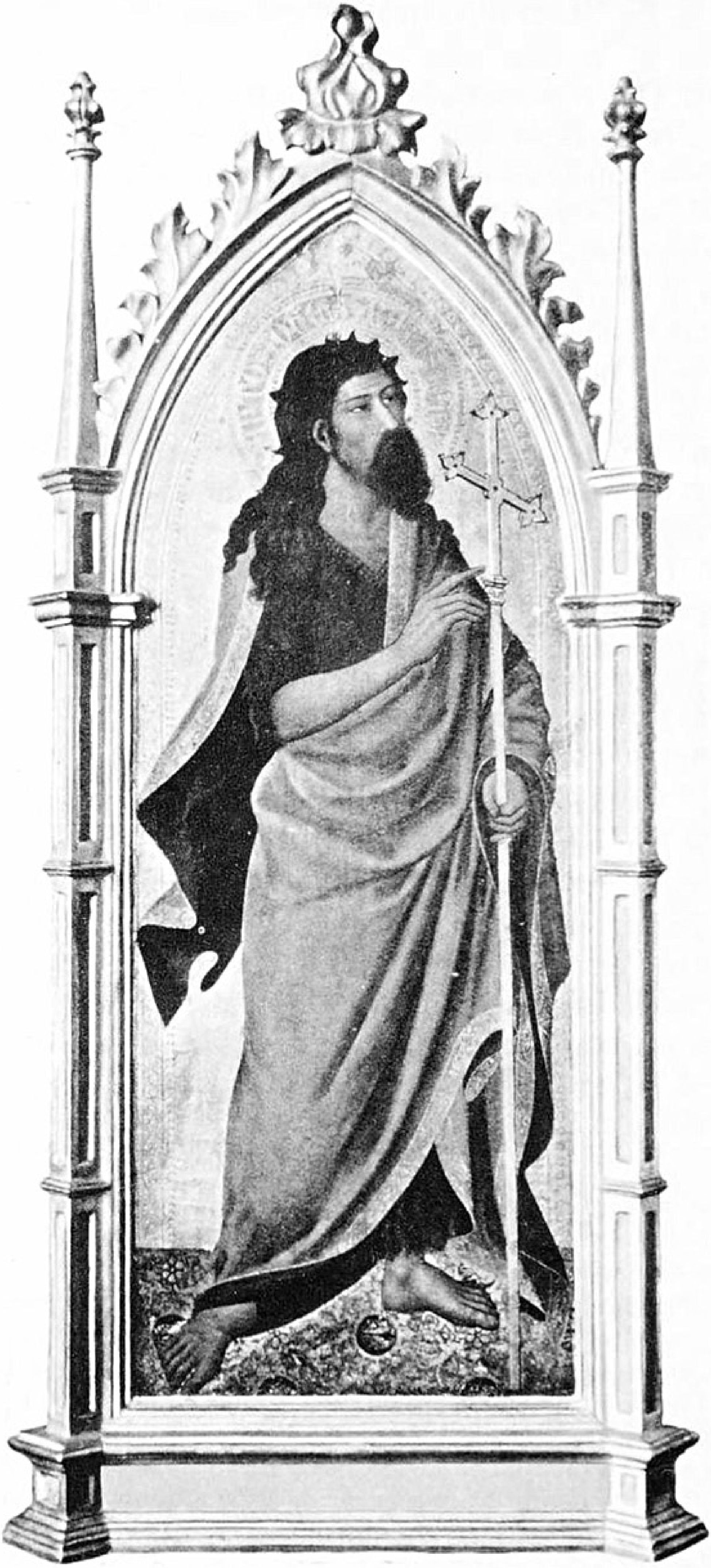


Fig. 263. Andrea Orcagna, St. John the Baptist. Jarves Collection, Yale University, Newhaven, U. S. A.

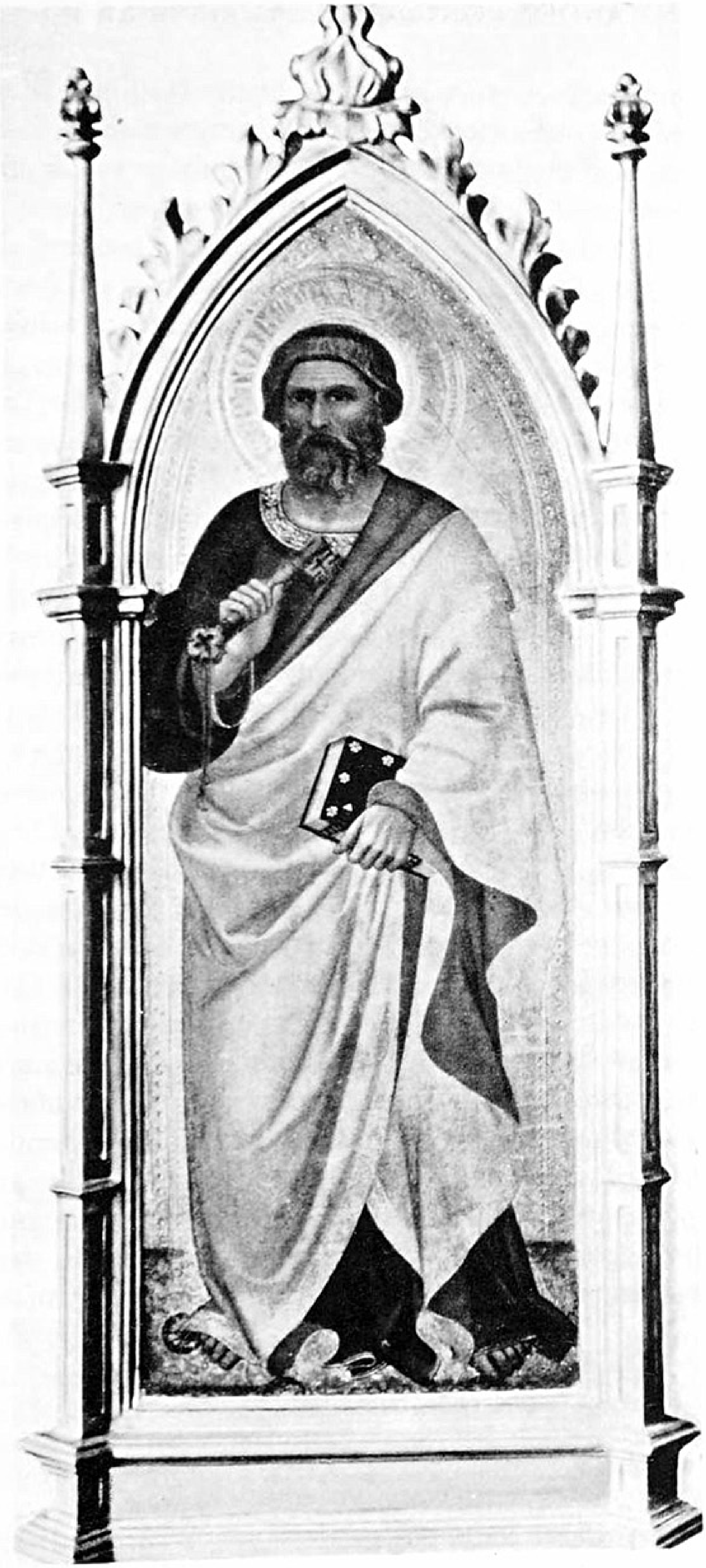


Fig. 264. Andrea Orcagna, St. Peter. Jarves Collection, Newhaven., Yale University, U. S. A.

haps a personification of music — in the National Museum of Florence; the head especially seems characteristic of the master. The tomb of Niccolo Acciaiuoli in the subterranean church of the Certosa near Florence has been claimed by Vasari — who mentions several others — as a work of Andrea but, although it still persists, there is no serious reason for this attribution.

Of late a design for a carved pulpit for the Cathedral of Orvieto, part of which is preserved in the "Opera del Duomo" of this town(¹) and part in the "Kupferstichkabinett" in Berlin (²), has been ascribed to Andrea. The pulpit would have consisted above of a series of scenes from the Life of the Lord, resting on pillars to each of which was attached the figures of two disciples. In the spandrels between the pillars, medallions contained busts of angels. Although it is difficult to compare these pen-drawings with the master's paintings, there is no doubt that they are very Orcagnesque and considering the active part Andrea took in the construction of the Cathedral of Orvieto, it seems likely that this is really his work, unless it be that of his brother Matteo, who, it will be remembered, succeeded Andrea as "capo-maestro" of this enterprise.

Although it is not absolutely certain, as has sometimes been asserted, that Andrea Orcagna began as a sculptor, it seems nevertheless very probable, and there can be no doubt that Andrea produced sculptures before he made any of his extant authentic paintings, in which the figures do not convey to us the main characteristics of Giotto but rather give us the impression of having been sketched from sculptures or designs of the same, as did also the works of Cavallini. Next to this fine rendering of relief in the figures themselves, we are struck by the primitive lack of perspective which Orcagna seems never to have attempted to produce; but it must be admitted that in the works we have mentioned as his, the occasions for the display of real per-

---

(¹) *A. Venturi,* Disegno per il pulpito del Duomo di Orvieto, Arch. Stor. dell' Arte, V, 1892, p. 210. *L. Beltrami,* Andrea Orcagna sarebbe autore di un disegno per un pulpito nel Duomo di Orvieto, Milan, 1901. *Suida,* op. cit., pl. XXXV, reproduces the piece at Orvieto. *Venturi* believes this pulpit to be by Agnolo e Augostino di Ventura.

(²) *C. Loeser,* Ueber einige Handzeichnungen des Berliner Kupferstichkabinettes, Repertorium f. Kunstwiss., 1902.

spective are rare, although in the predellas of the two altar-pieces where an opportunity offers itself, we clearly see that this problem did not preoccupy Andrea. In his reliefs the same shortcoming is very evident; in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, for instance, that part of the stairs which is furthest from us, is just as broad as the part nearest, and the proportion between the kneeling Joachim and Anna and the other figures is entirely wrong, the former being about double the size they should be. It is also misproportion combined with absence of perspective which gives such a peculiar aspect to the Nativity. The composition of the Death of the Madonna is rich and pleasing and that of the Nativity of the Virgin also very good; but apart from these two scenes we are rather struck by the poverty of composition and the incapacity on the part of the artist to group his figures in any way but symmetrically or in rows.

Andrea, however, introduced in his polyptych of the Vision of St. Bernard and the one in the Strozzi chapel, a novelty with the obvious aim of avoiding rigidity: the divisions between the panels are only indicated by the arches of the frame and are not prolonged to the foot of the picture so that frequently the hands, garments, or emblems of the figures on one panel encroach on the adjacent ones. Notwithstanding this element which proves the master's dislike of stiff compositions, it can only be said that he had but little fantasy in the grouping of his figures.

The merits of the great artist consequently are neither in his perspective nor in his composition and we might at once add that his way of representing action cannot be called either very realistic or animated. In these points Andrea does not show himself a true follower of Giotto. Besides his merit as a colorist, Andrea's great qualities lie entirely in the perfection of his forms. That these forms are closely connected with his sculptural work cannot be doubted, as one of their chief characteristics is their suave plasticity, which we find again in the figures of his tabernacle in Or San Michele, with admirable foreshortening, an obvious result of his representations in relief. Even in the general appearance there is sometimes a resemblance, as for instance in the Christ or the Madonna of the Paradise and the carved symbolic figure of Faith. The expression of the faces in most of the works does not show any variety, all Andrea's figures have similar blissful and serene features, but they are extremely handsome and frequently remind us of those of Bernardo Daddi's in his best period. The features are finely outlined, somewhat influenced by the Sienese — especially Ambrogio Lorenzetti — the figures are sculpturesque and graceful and in their proportions again sometimes recall Bernardo's art. Andrea's greatest achievement and most important innovation is the gradation of his shades — the chiaroscuro — by which he obtains the effect of the difference in depth of the folds in the drapery, thus adding a special grace to his figures. He is the first, but not the only artist to add this new element to the improved form of art which Giotto had created.

I do not agree with Crowe and Cavalcaselle that Orcagna was the artist who most thoroughly comprehended Giotto's lessons, because his artistic aspiration was different and we can easily suppose that if he had not developed, through his sculptural activities, his strong sense of relief, he would have been one of the Florentine painters most strongly influenced by the Sienese school. This is clearly betrayed in his taste for beautiful forms and idealized expressions as well as in the loose flowing lines of the drapery and the presence of Gothicism, the increase of which is a leading factor in the chronological classification of his works; it is most marked in the two figures in the Jarves collection, the robe of St. John the Baptist especially showing some decidedly conventionalized Gothic folds.

A Sienese influence also accounts for his taste for ornamental detail which does not, as at Siena, appear in the robes of his figures but almost invariably in the curtain which forms the background to his picture.

It is then obvious that we find in Andrea's art a number of important Sienese elements but a happy coincidence combined these with an accomplished rendering of relief — an acquirement the school of Siena cannot boast of — and the result was that the art of Orcagna opened up a new field of possibilities for Florentine painting.

The influence of Orcagna was also very profound and lasting; he did not in any way belong to that group of more or less superficial wall-decorators, among whom may be mentioned Agnolo Gaddi and Spinello Aretino, but treated every figure with care, and apparently with each fresh work he was inspired by a new desire to make each of his personages as beautiful as was in his power.

A very strong connection exists between Andrea and some early 15th century Florentine painters, especially Lorenzo Monaco, who seems to have inherited Orcagna's taste for Gothicism in the draping of his figures.

## NARDO DI CIONE.

The facts which have come to our knowledge of Nardo's existence are the following(1): in 1345 he matriculated as a painter and then inhabited the S. Michele quarter of Florence; in the same year his name appears in a national act. On both of these occasions he is called Nardus Cionis and such is his general designation, but in 1355 when he is accepted in the corporation of wood-and-stone sculptors, we find him mentioned as Lionardus Cionis (2) and as living in the St. Lawrence quarter of the city. Three years later he is mentioned with Andrea in the painter's guild, his address being the same as in 1345. In 1363 the captains of the company of Sta. Maria del Bigallo charge him to execute the decoration of the ceiling of the Oratorium for which he is to receive forty gold guilders and the following year his name appears in its Italian form — Nardo Cioni — in the S. Lucas guild. In 1365 he is very ill and makes his will, being unmarried and childless, his three brothers Andrea, Jacopo and Matteo are his heirs. In May 1366 we are sure his death has taken place because his brothers receive their heritage.

As the only work that the documents mention has disappeared, and as we have no painting signed Nardo, we can only, basing ourselves on Ghiberti's statement, look for some of his productions in the Strozzi chapel of Sta. Maria Novella where we can attribute to Nardo those parts not executed by Andrea. These include the scene of the Hell, the Last Judgment and the six lower rows of Paradise, but we should not forget how flimsy this attribution is, for it is based solely on Ghiberti's text which we have already had reason to distrust because it speaks only of Nardo in connection with the frescoes of the Strozzi chapel, while I believe an important part of the Paradise was executed by Andrea.

---

(1) The sources of information for the greater part are the same as for Andrea.

(2) Consequently his name was not Bernardo as Vasari imagined.

In the frescoes of the Strozzi chapel we can differentiate Nardo's painting from Andrea's by the more elongated and less sturdily built but more agitated figures (figs. 265 and 266). The folds have not the plasticity of his brother's and betray a certain hardness with broken angles; the longer oval of the faces and the shape of the eyes are also different while the heads are frequently small in proportion to the size of the bodies. The features on the whole are less beautiful but the expressions are more animated.

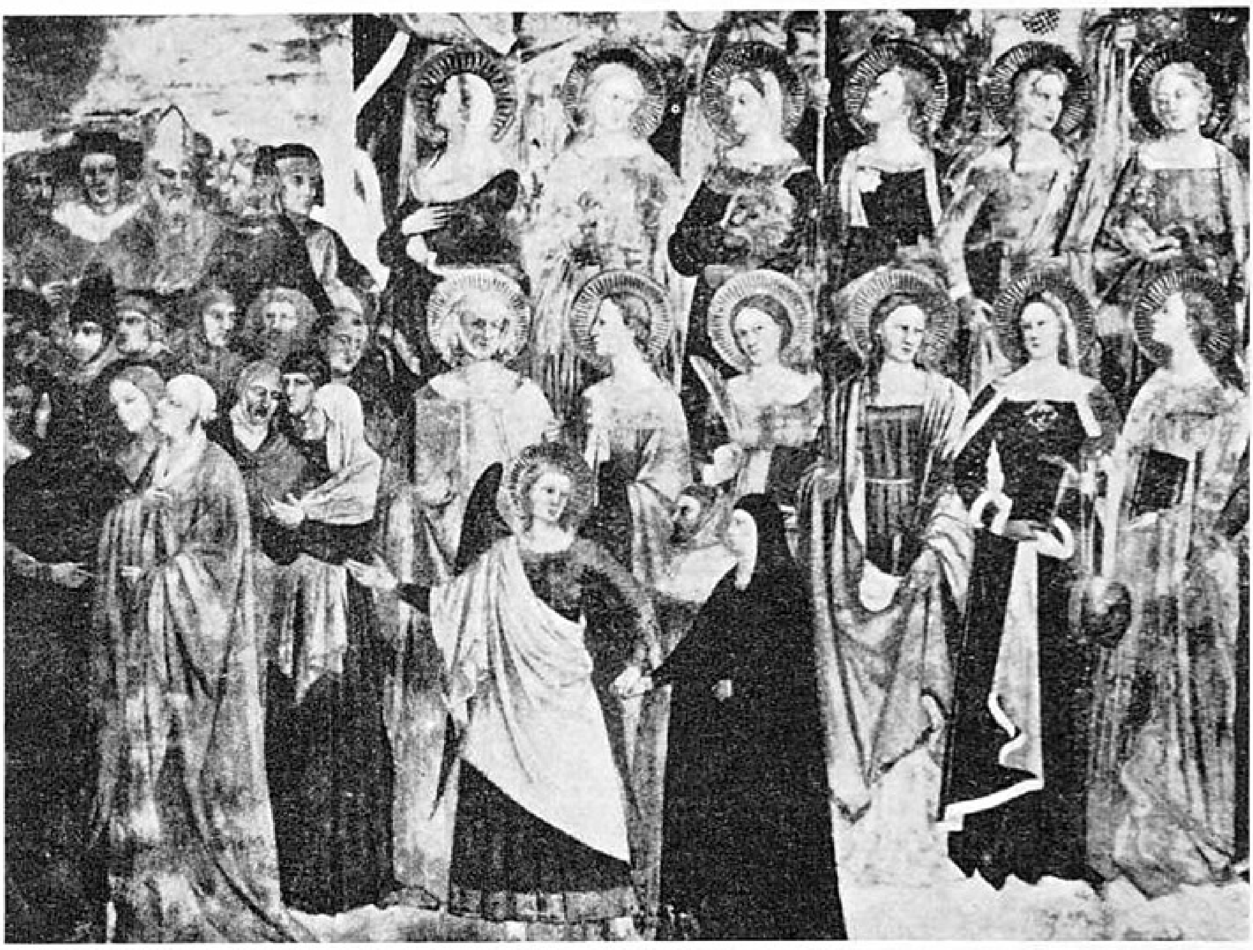


Fig. 265. Nardo di Cione, detail of fig. 258.

Photo Alinari.

The composition of the Hell (fig. 267) is just as important as that of the Paradise but many of the figures, on account of the repainting, have lost much of their original aspect. The whole

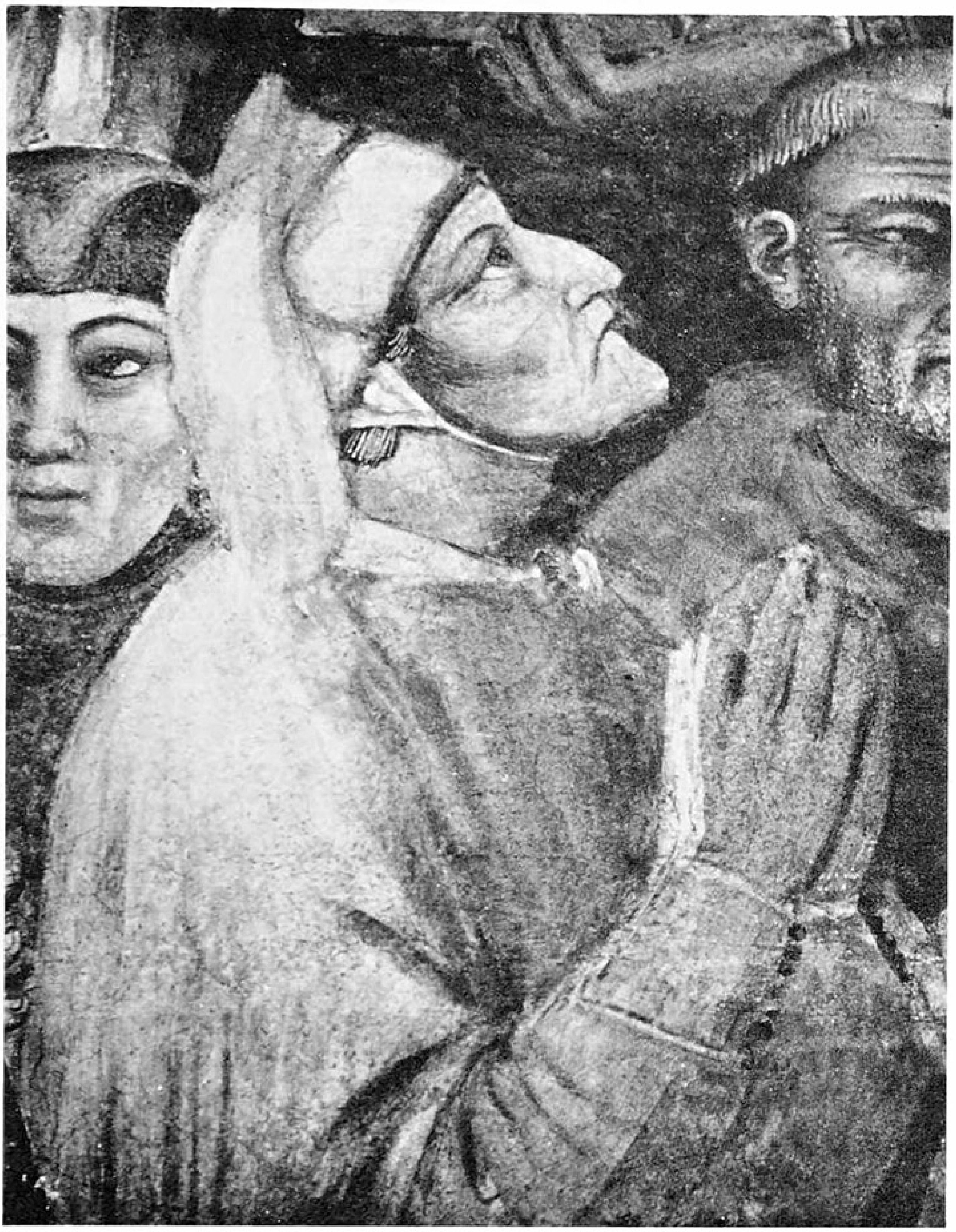


Fig. 266. Nardo di Cione, Dante, detail of fig. 258.

Photo Alinari.

fresco as Ghiberti remarks, is obviously an illustration of Dante's Inferno; it is divided into six horizontal compartments each of which is subdivided into smaller sections. The rocks which separate the different parts are really very artistic and without any rigidity. The painter followed Dante so exactly that we can easily determine the lines of the poet illustrated in each part of

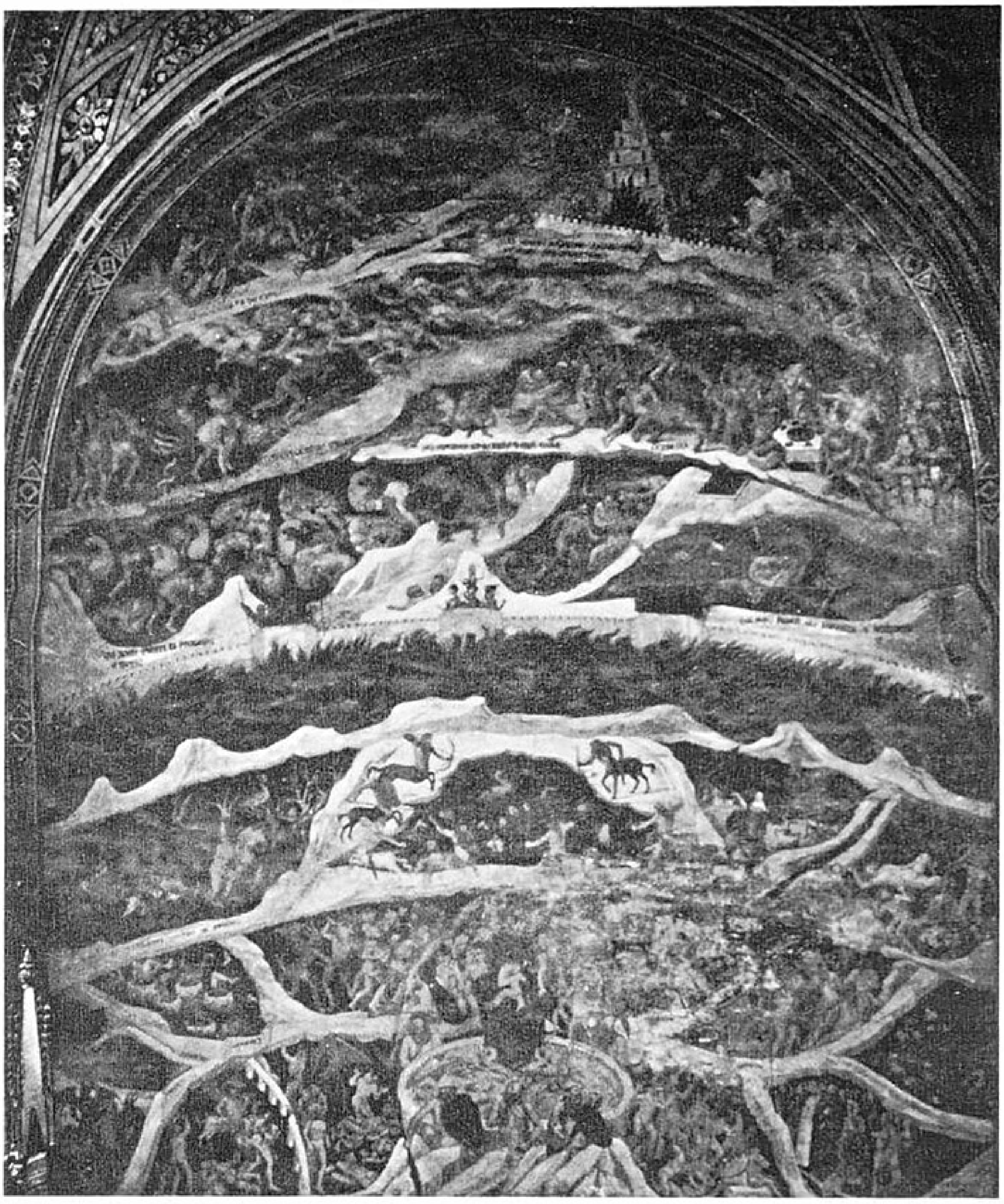


Fig. 267. Nardo di Cione, Hell. Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.
Photo Brogi.

the fresco (¹), many inscriptions besides help us in doing so. The divine poet himself is represented to the left in the lowest row of the central group of the Last Judgment (²).

The fresco betrays a knowledge of anatomy superior to anything we have as yet seen and this alone would have been suffi-

---

(¹) As for instance is done by Venturi.

(²) *Mesnil,* Miscellanea d'Arte, I, 1903, p. 32. *Th. Papa,* Ritratto di Dante in Sta. Maria Novella, Giornale Dantesco, XI, fasc. I. *G. L. Passerini,* Per il ritratto di Dante, Firenze, 1903.

cient to class the artist as one of the great painters of the Trecento, if we had not been dealing with a considerably restored work; as it is we have first to ask ourselves what part of this anatomical precision we owe to Nardo and how much to the considerably later painter. The magnificent figures of the second horizontal division are almost worthy of Signorelli himself but on the other hand we do not find any attempt to depict distance or perspective.

The Last Judgment is painted around a window; above in the centre we see a half-length figure of the Lord within an aureole, from which a shining light radiates; clouds separate Him from six angels, two of whom blow blasts on trumpets to awaken the dead while the other four carry emblems of the Passion. Lower to the right and left six Apostles are seated in two small rows. The Madonna kneels near those on the left with her arms crossed on her breast (fig. 268) while on the right we see St. John the Baptist making an imploring gesture; both look up towards the Saviour. Below, the good and the wicked are represented, the former in a group, behind which others are placed in three rows. The arrangement is not very natural but Nardo, like his brother Andrea, paints each separate figure for itself only in a less calm manner than Andrea. In the crowd we see people of all conditions, a king, noblemen and women, bishops, cardinals and many others, but I am inclined to believe that in the treatment of some of the realistic faces we again find the hand of Andrea. In the foreground two figures rise out of their open graves, an angel taking one of them by the hand. The damned are depicted in the same manner with the slight difference that only two rows are distinctly seen behind the group. The figures here are more animated and manifest their grief in expression and gesture; from one of the two open graves a man is roughly pulled by a small demon. In the figures of the Apostles a very strong and direct influence of Andrea is noticeable.

In the Paradise fresco I believe Nardo executed the group between the two angelic musicians and all the figures below. The misproportion between the heads and the bodies is here sometimes very obvious (¹).

---

(¹) As for example in one of the last figures to the right on the lowest row of the central group.

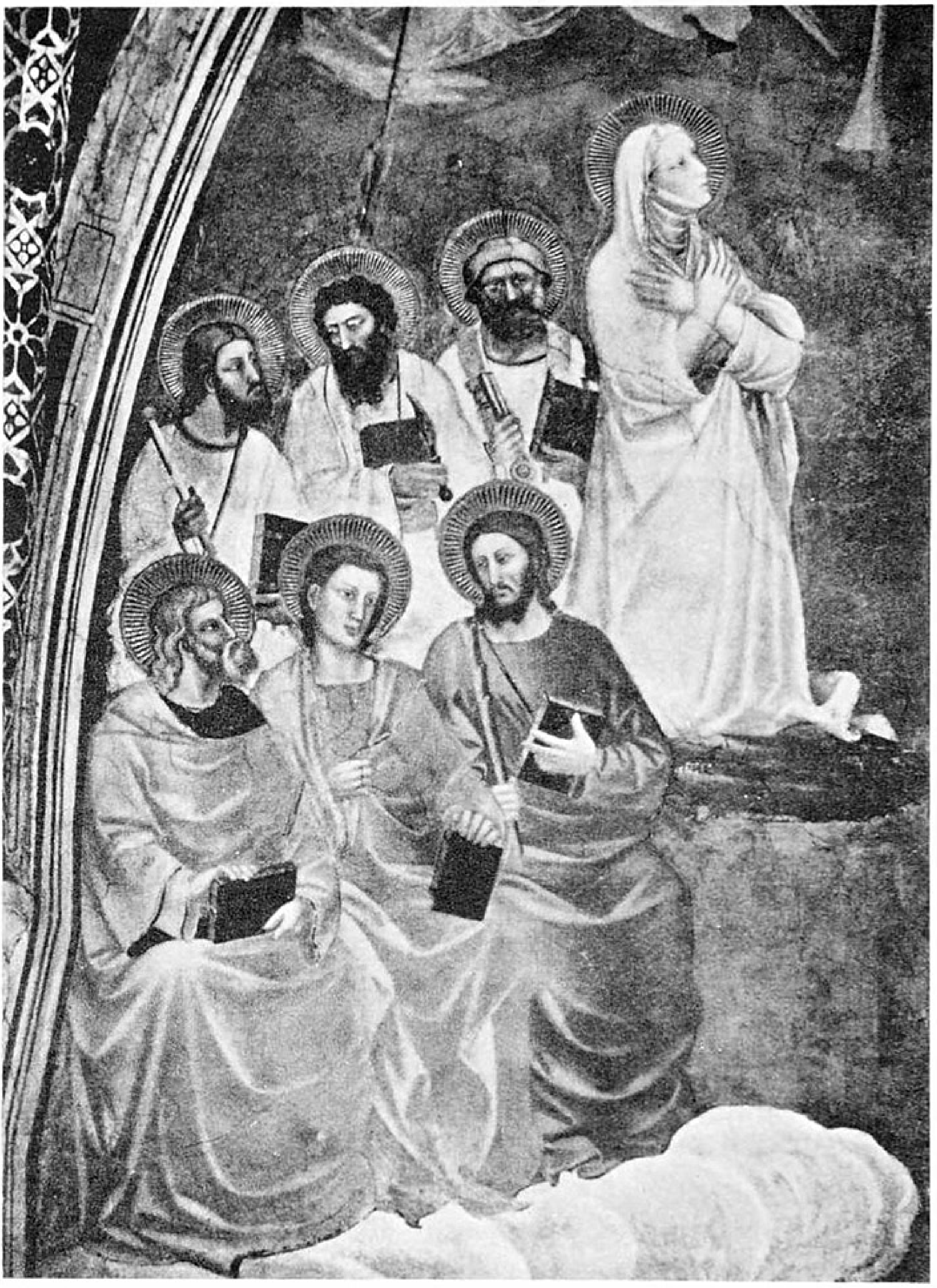


Fig. 268. Nardo di Cione, detail of the Last Judgment. Strozzi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

Taking the frescoes in the Strozzi chapel, in as far as they can be attributed to Nardo, as a starting point, we are able without difficulty to divide his productions into two groups, one comprising the paintings of an earlier stage in his career, the other including works of the same period as, or slightly later than the mural decoration just described. As with Andrea's works I think we should place those productions of Nardo, which are characterized by a looser and more Gothic draping, in a later period of his activities.

Earlier in his career Nardo must have executed the important decoration of the ancient Giochi e Bastari chapel in the Badia of Florence. This, according to old records, was supposed to have been the same as Buffalmacco made in this church (¹) and is certainly one of the works Vasari ascribes to this gay contemporary of Giotto's, but on account of its style it is without any doubt a product of the second half of the 14th century, while further comparisons betray its strong resemblance to other works of Nardo and permit us to ascribe it to this master (²).

The series must have been fairly extensive but now only more or less fragmentary pieces of the Mocking of Christ, the Flagellation, the Calvary (figs. 269, 270 and 271) and the Death of Judas combined with Pilate in prison, remain visible. Each scene covered a large surface of wall; in the first we find represented a large group of people gesticulating towards the Saviour, Who in the following scene is attached to a pole while two men violently scourge Him. The painting of the Calvary shows us one of the most impressive Trecento conceptions of Christ; He is depicted disappearing on the left, a cruel soldier with sword and shield separating the Madonna and her companions from Him; He looks back at His Mother who pathetically stretches out her hand towards Him. The artist has portrayed with ghastly realism the dead body of Judas hanging from the branch of a tree, the death-like fixity of the features is most impressive; through the barred windows close by we see the sad bearded face of Pilate. We find still a bust of Christ in benediction but the rest of the walls are almost entirely covered with a painted imitation of marble.

In the Badia frescoes we can pick out perhaps a greater number of beautifully drawn faces than in any other work of Nardo di Cione and this decoration must certainly have been one of the

---

(¹) *P. Bacci,* Gli affreschi di Buffalmacco scoperti nella chiesa di Badia in Firenze, Bull. d'Arte del Minist. della Pubbl. Istr., 1911, p. 1.

(²) I think Mr. *Sirén* in his Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 244, was the first to do so.

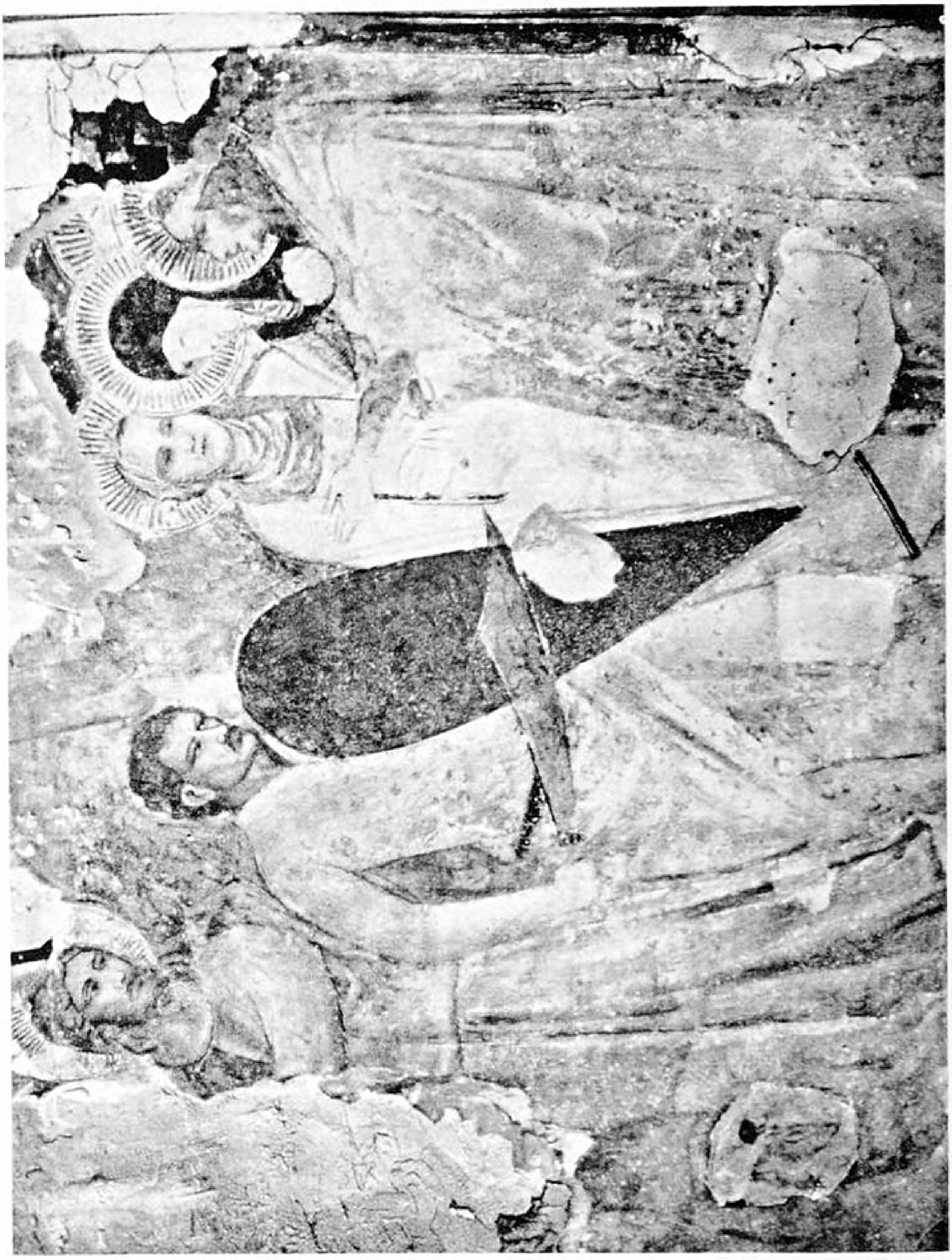


Fig. 269. Nardo di Cione, the Calvary. Giochi e Bastari Chapel, Badia, Florence. Photo Alinari

artist's best productions, although the somewhat feeble build of the bodies can also be detected here.

Most closely approaching this production of what I believe to be Nardo's earliest period which is characterized by the absence of Gothicism, are the four frescoes in the so-called "Sepolchretto"

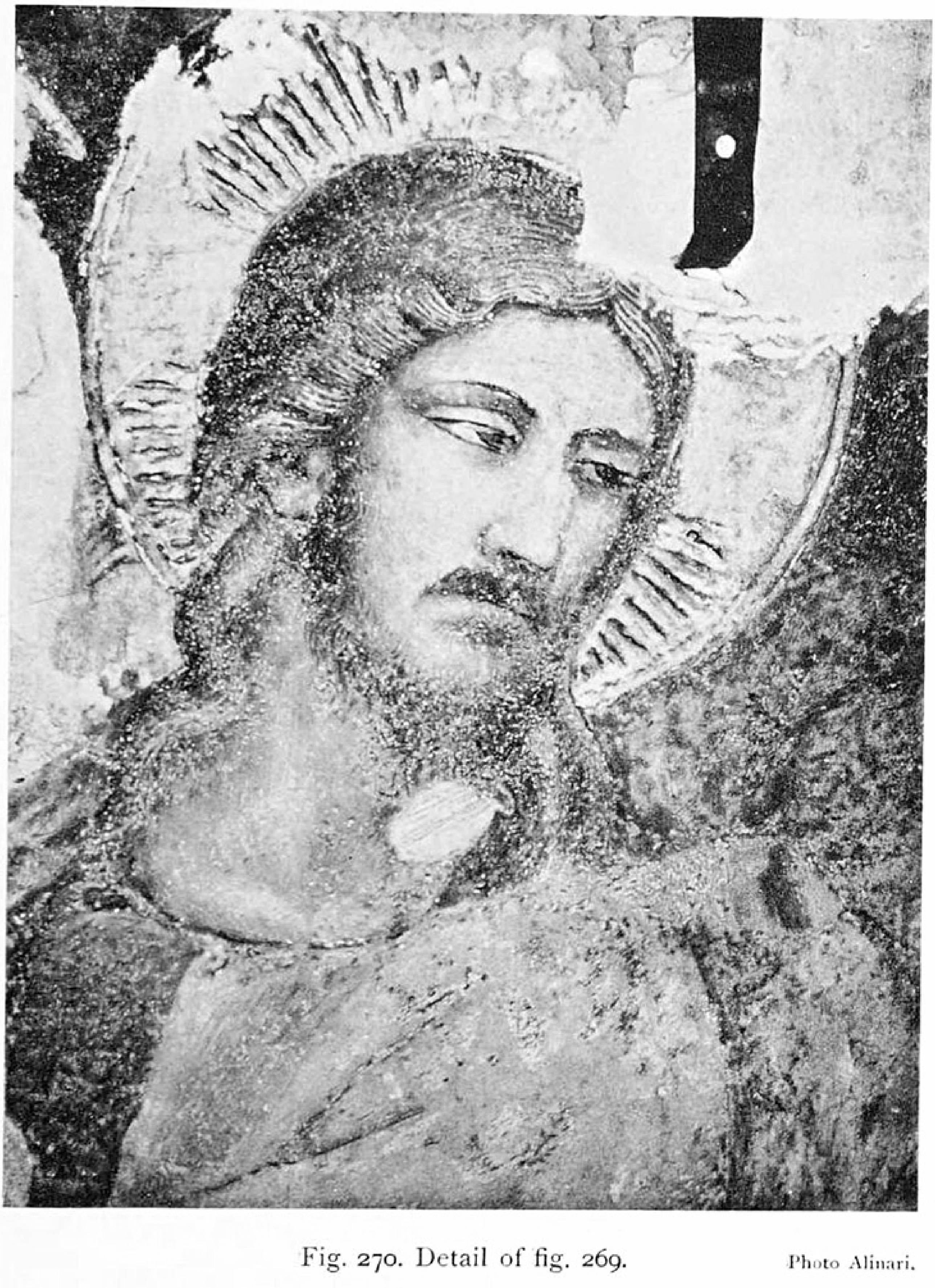


Fig. 270. Detail of fig. 269. Photo Alinari.

in the cloister of Sta. Maria Novella, Florence, which Ruskin took to be Giotto's most perfect creations while Prof. A. Venturi does not even ascribe them to Nardo himself but to the Orcagnesque school. I think, however, we can safely say they are an outcome of Nardo's early activities, possibly executed prior to the wall-paintings in the Badia. The first scene represents simultaneously

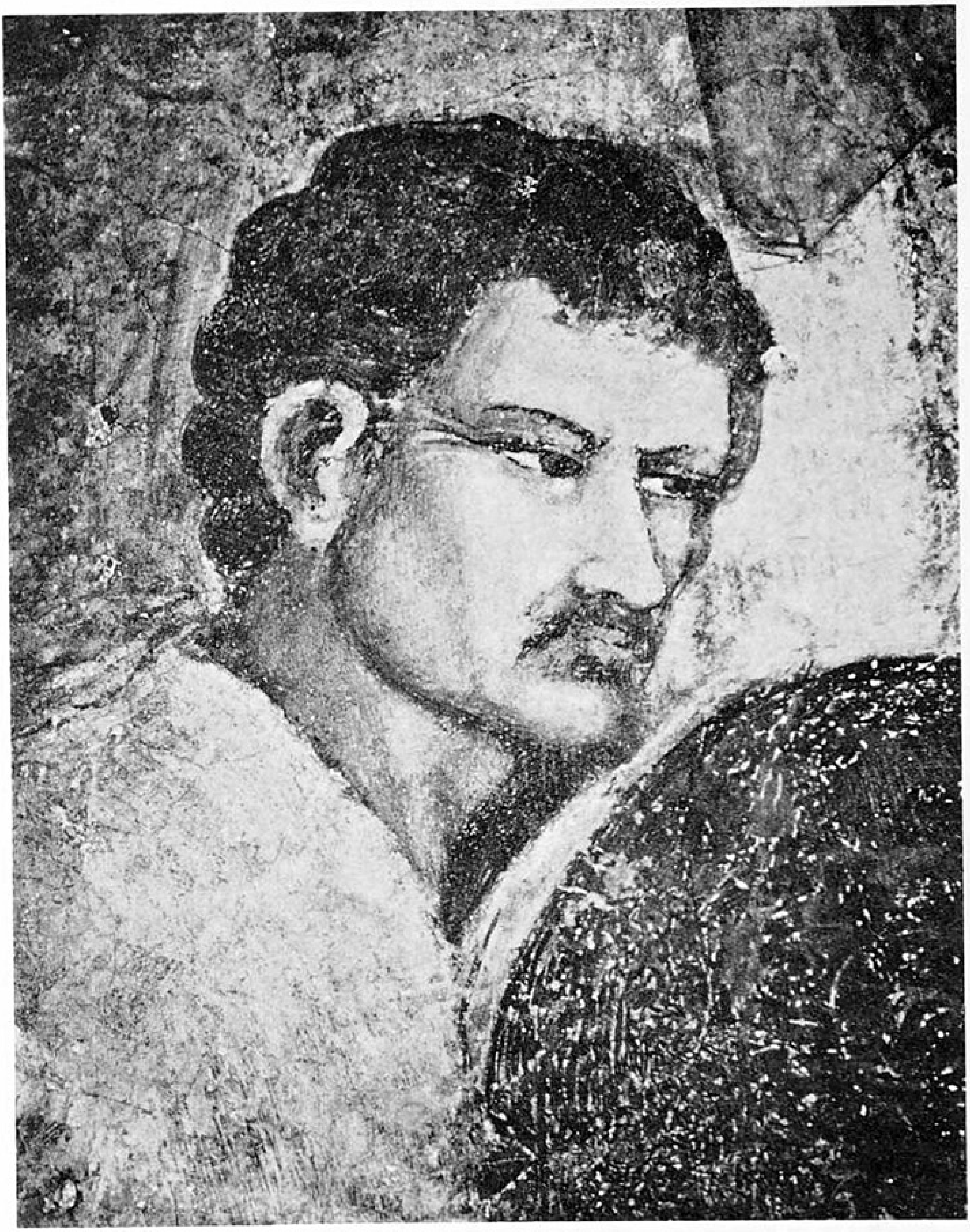


Fig. 271. Detail of fig. 269. Photo Alinari.

the Annunciation to Joachim and to Anna; against a rocky landscape where Joachim dwelt with the shepherds we see one angel appearing to the patriarch and another to St. Anna. It is not very clear whom the old man looking up at the celestial messenger is meant to represent, perhaps he is one of the shepherds. The Meeting at the Golden Gate (fig. 272) forms the subject of the second fresco; the Gate is a handsome piece of architecture,

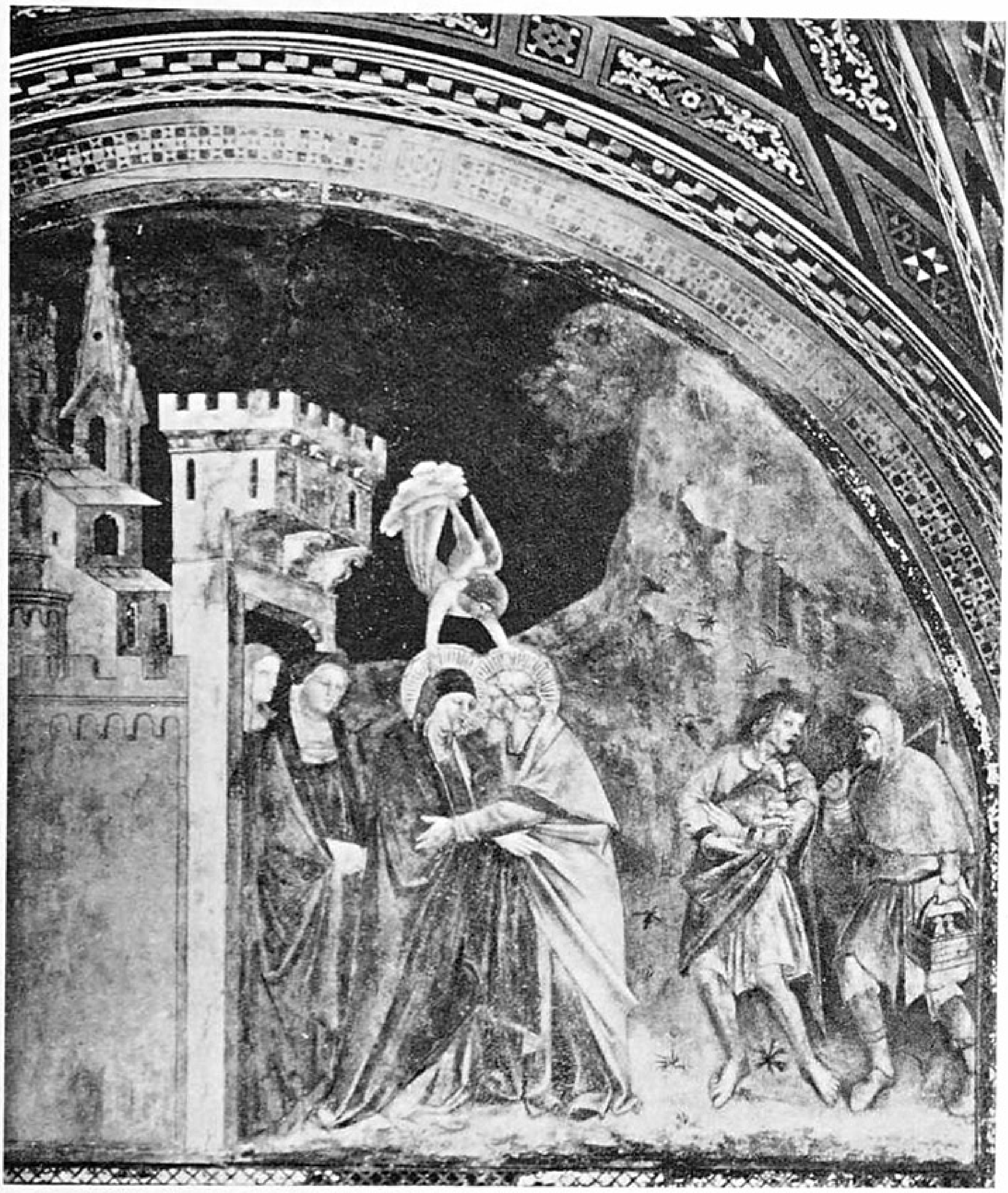


Fig. 272. Nardo di Cione, the Meeting at the Golden Gate. Cloister, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence. Photo Anderson.

some towers of the town are also visible. St. Anna, followed by two women, and Joachim by two shepherds, are depicted embracing each other affectionately while the little angel, who descends from above and touches both their heads to emphasize that it was he who brought them together, is a charming and original detail. In the Nativity of the Virgin we see two midwives tending the child whom they have just swathed after her first bath; St. Anna, resting on one arm, looks down upon this group. One woman appears from the left through an open door-way while two others stand beyond the lower end of the bed, the perspective of which is rendered in a most unskilful manner. A similar mistake will be found in the representation of the steps which the Virgin ascends

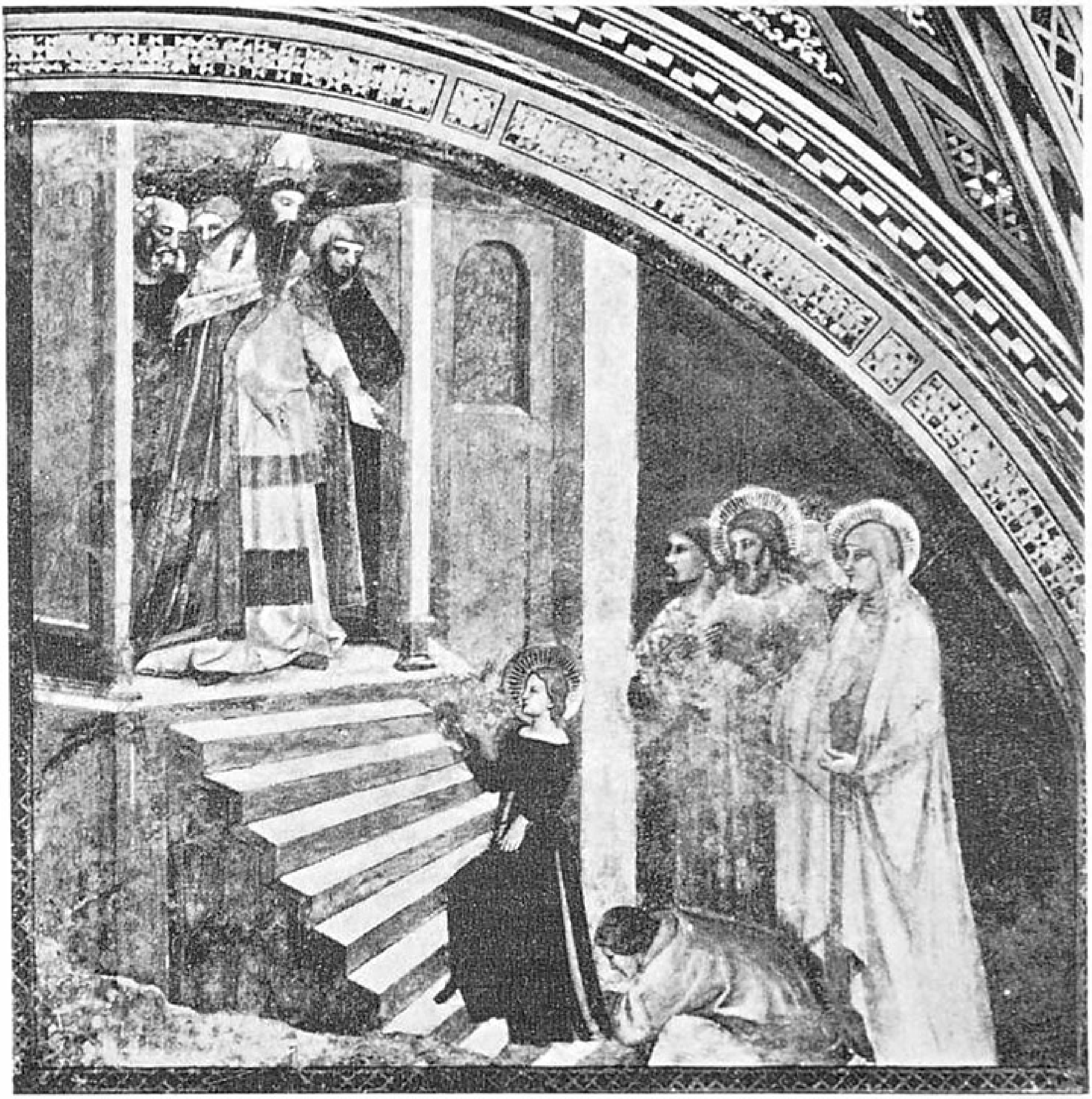


Fig. 273. Nardo di Cione, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. Cloister, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

in the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 273). At the head of the steps the chief priest accompanied by some colleagues stretches his arm towards the approaching Child, the two parents and another figure stand below while a fourth seems to kneel behind the young Virgin.

Besides these four frescoes we also find here two upright figures of St. Luke and St. John the Evangelist; in appearance they are rather broader than the personages in the scenes from the childhood of the Virgin but the design, which may appear somewhat hard and rigid when compared with Nardo's later productions, is the same.

The panels we may consider as having been executed at this period are a triptych and two central parts of triptychs, all in private collections. The first belongs to Sir Hubert Parry, Highnam Court, Gloucester (¹), and represents the Madonna behind whom two angels support an outspread piece of drapery, while four saints stand at either side. The wings contain simple compositions of the Nativity and the Crucifixion and in the apex of each a figure of the Annunciation.

Of the two other panels one belongs to Mr. Platt, Englewood, the other to a collection in Stockholm; I only know them from reproductions (²). In type both remind us of Daddi's works; in the former, probably the earlier of the two, the throne is surrounded by two angels and four saints, in the latter the escort is more numerous, there being six saints and four angels. As in Daddi's triptychs the saints descend towards the foreground while the angels are placed around the back of the throne.

Somewhat later, and paving the way to the wall-paintings in the Strozzi chapel is, I believe, a rather repainted fresco of the Madonna between St. Nicholas (?) and the archangel Michael in the cloister of Sta. Croce. The attribution of this work to Nardo was made by Herr Suida (³) and I do not think it received the consideration it deserved. The face of the archangel is very characteristic of our artist especially if we compare it with other figures facing in a similar manner. We easily detect here the Orcagnesque desire to produce handsome features, moreover the conception of the entire figure resembles that of the archangel in Andrea's signed polyptych in the Strozzi chapel.

To a slightly more advanced stage in Nardo's career I think we should attribute the beautiful Coronation of the Virgin in the Ionides collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in

---

(¹) *Sirén,* Giottino, p. 27, attributed it to Giottino; he now ascribes it to Nardo, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 276.

(²) *Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, pl. 207.

(³) Florent. Maler, p. 22.

London (fig. 274) (¹). The two figures are represented in profile, the Saviour placing a crown of a peculiar pointed shape on the head of the Virgin; a more profound sentiment emanates from this picture than from most of Nardo's other works. The drapery is broader than in our artist's earlier productions but the folds do not yet hang in the loose Gothic manner of a later development.

Very similar in quality to the above work is a predella panel in the collection of Mr. Berenson at Settignano, representing a scene from the life of St. Benedict; it is of an excellent sober design and deep religious feeling.

A work approaching the Strozzi chapel paintings represents St. Paul enthroned, holding an open book and a sword in one hand and placing the other on the head of an adoring Dominican monk who kneels at his feet, while the apex contains a half-length figure of the Saviour; it is to be found in the collection of the University of Stockholm; the drapery on the chest of the saint betrays a stronger Gothic influence than in any work of Nardo's we have studied until now.

The same element is equally evident in a picture which originally formed part of the Artaud de Montor collection (²) but which now hangs in the gallery of the Historical Society of New York (³). Here we find the Madonna depicted between a holy bishop, a female martyr, the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. The Child standing on His Mother's knee has a thin transparent veil wrapped round His right arm and the lower part of His body, He grasps a small bird in His left hand. The Gothic elements can be detected in the robes of the saints who stand in the foreground.

Although it is not easy to judge this work under its present repainted condition, I think in all probability that we can attribute it to Nardo and to the same period in which he executed a fresco in the church of S. Ambrogio, representing the Virgin on a monumental throne between St. John the Baptist and St. Bartholomew. Both of these works, however, may only be school productions. A stronger Gothic element will be found in a Crucifixion in the

---

(¹) *Vitzthum,* Bernardo Daddi, p. 62, attributes this panel to Daddi.

(²) Florent. Maler, p. 22.

(³) In the catalogue issued in 1915 of the collection, this painting (B.—3) is preposterously attributed to Guido da Siena, no doubt the authorship given to it in the Artaud de Montor collection.

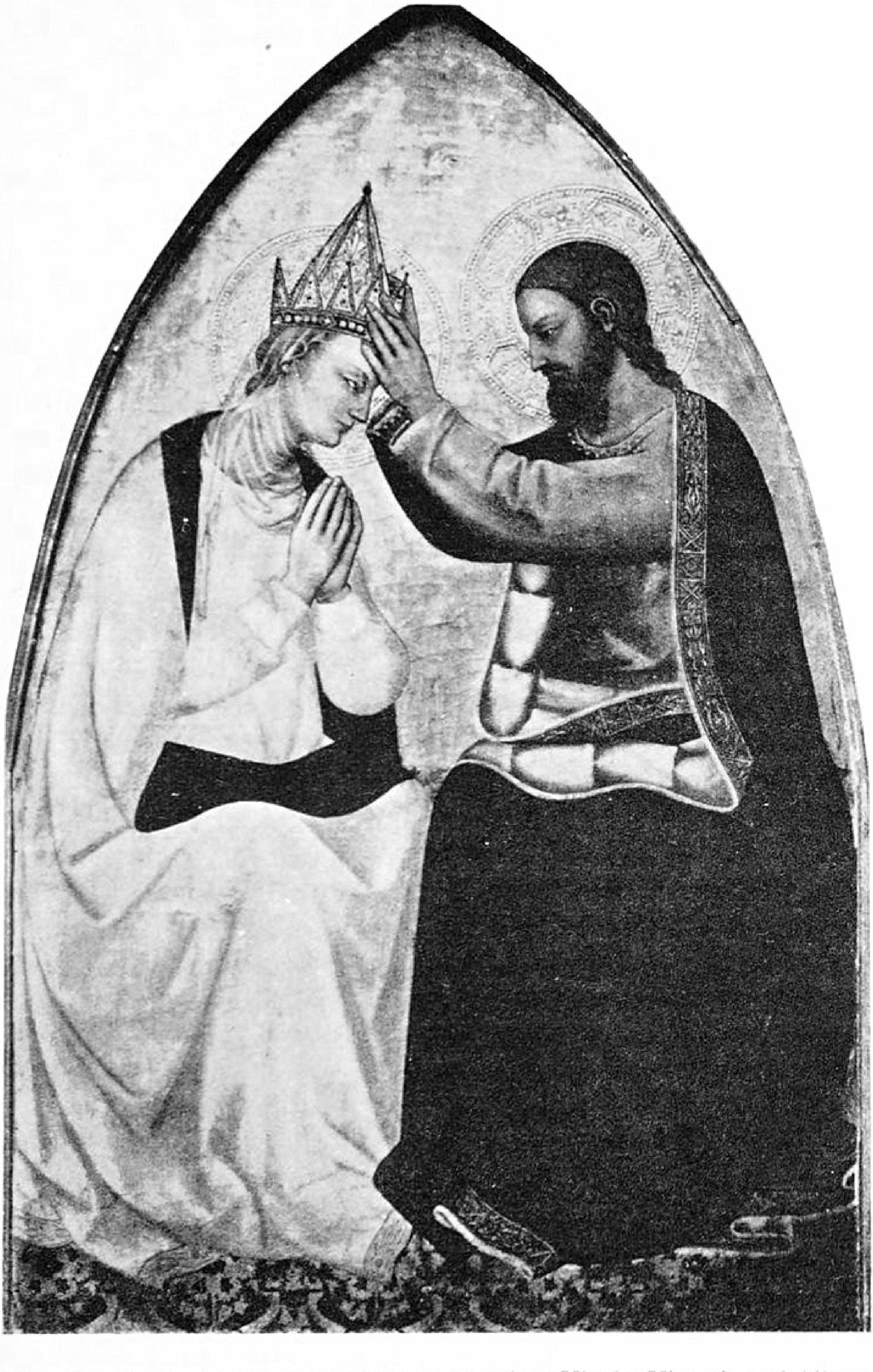


Fig. 274. Nardo di Cione, the Coronation of the Virgin. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Bandini Museum, Fiesole (no. 36) in which, besides the Virgin Mary and St. John, we see the Magdalene depicted at the foot of the Cross and two angels catching the blood from the wounds in the hands of the Crucified. The predella contains the half-length figures of St. Jerome, a Gospellist (?), St. Paul, St. James the Elder and St. Peter the Martyr. This is one of Nardo's beautiful works, it is of a very fine design and full of sentiment.

These works which comprise Nardo's output in as far as it is known to us, show us the painter, as a good follower of his brother before anything else. We should not, however, deny him certain personal elements but these are not predominant enough to conceal his dependence on Andrea.

In comparing the productions of the two brothers we discover that Nardo was less placid and less dominated by that spirit of symmetry which in Andrea's works sometimes resulted in an exaggerated equilibrium of the composition. Nardo apparently possessed more fantasy, and I think this is a factor which should be taken into consideration in determining which part they respectively executed in the decoration of the Strozzi chapel. Nardo's figures on the whole are given more movement and expression and are frequently more graceful but they are not so well constructed as the sculptor's. Besides his faces of a rather elongated shape, Nardo executed others of a very characteristic rounded oval in which the hair and the shading seem to form a frame around the features. All the same we have to admit that Nardo's aesthetic aspirations cannot easily be separated from his brother's, while in his rendering of relief he shows himself a faithful adherent of Andrea's (1).

---

(1) The polyptych in the Accademia of Florence (No. 139 of the old catalogue) is an important work by a follower of Nardo; it represents the Virgin and Child between two angels and two saints and in the lateral panels SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, Francis and Stephen. One is surprised to find a date as late as 1393 on a work so closely resembling the master's; we also read that it was repainted in 1513. A polyptych in the sacristy of the church of Impruneta is more distantly connected with Nardo's style. A Coronation of the Virgin with a row of angels and saints around the throne in the National Gallery, Rome, which picture will probably be transferred to the Museum in the Palazzo Venezia, closely resembles Nardo's triptych panels.

### JACOPO DI CIONE.

Jacopo di Cione was evidently much younger than either Andrea or Nardo because we find him first mentioned after Nardo's death and only occasionally at the end of Andrea's career. The earliest documentary evidence we have of his existence as a painter is in 1368 when he is charged to finish a panel of St. Matthew begun by his brother Andrea, then too ill to continue the work. In 1368—9 he matriculates in the corporation of Medici Speciale e Merciai; in a document of 1373 he is found working with Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. For fourteen years we can discover no trace of him; the next record is in 1387 when he is mentioned amongst the six consuls of the corporation, while the following year he becomes a member of the S. Lucas guild. In 1389 he colours and ornaments four marble statues for the Cathedral and in 1390 we find him paying for marble which his brother Matteo had ordered but which only arrived after his death. Vasari pretends that Jacopo too was also a sculptor. In 1394 he is mentioned for the last time.

We have two authentic works by Jacopo, the St. Matthew panel we spoke of above, which is now in the Uffizi, and a Coronation of the Virgin in the same gallery which the document of 1373 referred to but unfortunately, as I said before, both works were executed in collaboration with other painters, the first with his brother, the second with Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

When ordered, the panel of St. Matthew (fig. 275) (1) was meant to be attached to one of the pillars in Or San Michele. It has sometimes been supposed that the part executed by Andrea is limited to the central figure; this seems to me very likely

---

It is attributed by Suida and Sirén to Giovanni da Milano and will be mentioned when we deal with this artist. *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 276, attributes to him a small crucifix in an art dealer's shop in New York. *Khvoshinsky and Salmi*, op. cit., p. 30, ascribe to Nardo a predella panel in the Louvre (1313), representing the death of a holy monk, but I think it is a work of the Pisan school. *Sirén*, op. cit., loc. cit., attributes still several paintings to Nardo, some of which are unknown to me, while I have ascribed others to different artists.

(1) The documents concerning it are published by *Sirén*, Giottino, p. 99.

because this figure is broader in aspect than those of any ot Jacopo's works, but it is not impossible that Jacopo took some part in the execution of this central part as well. No doubt can exist that the scenes from the life of the saint have been painted by another hand than Andrea's, consequently these must be certain works of Jacopo. The compositions of these four scenes are extremely simple and clear; they represent St. Matthew called by the Lord, the saint vanquishing the dragon, the Resurrection

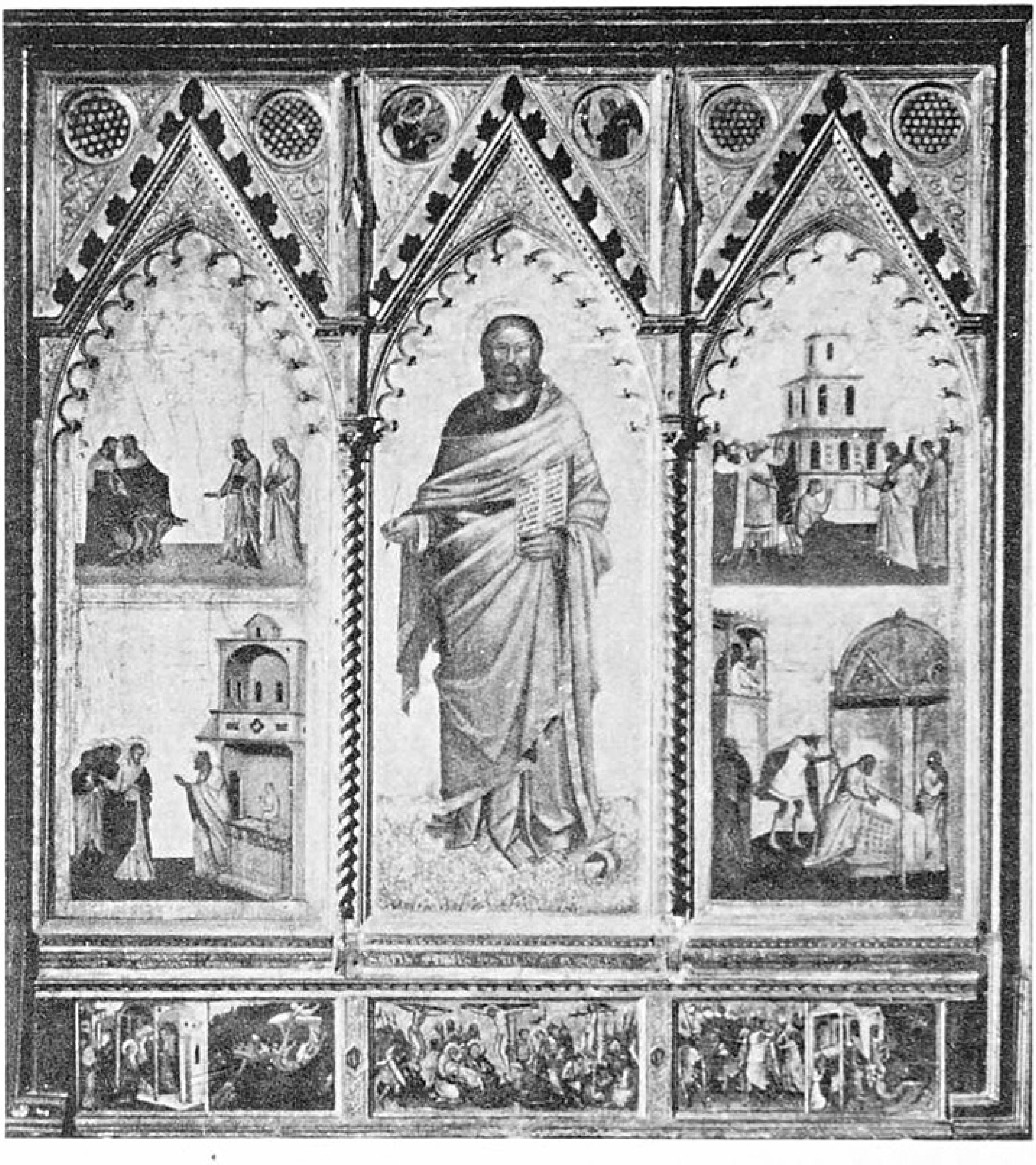


Fig. 275. Andrea Orcagna and Jacopo di Cione, St. Matthew and scenes from his legend. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

of the sons of the King of Aethiopia and St. Matthew murdered by a soldier. The figures are not monumental but the particularly neat design is very striking; and whereas the paintings of Andrea betrayed his activities as a sculptor, these figures suggest the occupations of a goldsmith. The compositions are poor, the action and movement unskilfully expressed but the little figures are always handsome although the minute and somewhat hard execution is not in keeping with the grandiose conception of the central figure.

The Coronation of the Madonna in the Uffizi (old catal. no. 29, fig. 276) is, we learn from old records, a work which Niccolo di Pietro Gerini was charged with in 1373 and which was made for the "Zecca Vecchia"; however although it was begun by Niccolo and a helper, Simone, it was finished by Jacopo di Cione who certainly must have done by far the greater part of it because the sum of 138 pounds which he was paid is greater than all the others together received (¹). The composition shows us the Lord and the Virgin seated near each other, the Saviour places a beautifully shaped crown on the slightly inclined head of the Virgin who crosses her arms on her breast.

Below at either side stand St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist while eight other saints kneel in the foreground, four at each side, two prophets with inscriptions occupy the spandrels and look down on the central group.

We find here a detail which might almost be called a distinguishing feature of the works of the Orcagna family, it is the flowered curtain hung behind the principal figures, seen in so many panels of this group. I think that almost the whole picture can be attributed to Jacopo who, in depicting the features of the Lord, shows how he has adapted certain elements of Andrea's art in a very individual way.

Only a few years earlier, 1370—71, the studio of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini produced for the church of S. Pietro Maggiore in Florence the large Coronation of the Virgin, which Vasari ment-

---

(¹) The documents are published by *G. Poggi* in *Sirén*, Giottino, p. 101—2. Mr. Sirén has already pointed out that in the records, in which he is called Jacobo Cini and Jacopo di Cino, there can only be an erroneous spelling of the artist's name.

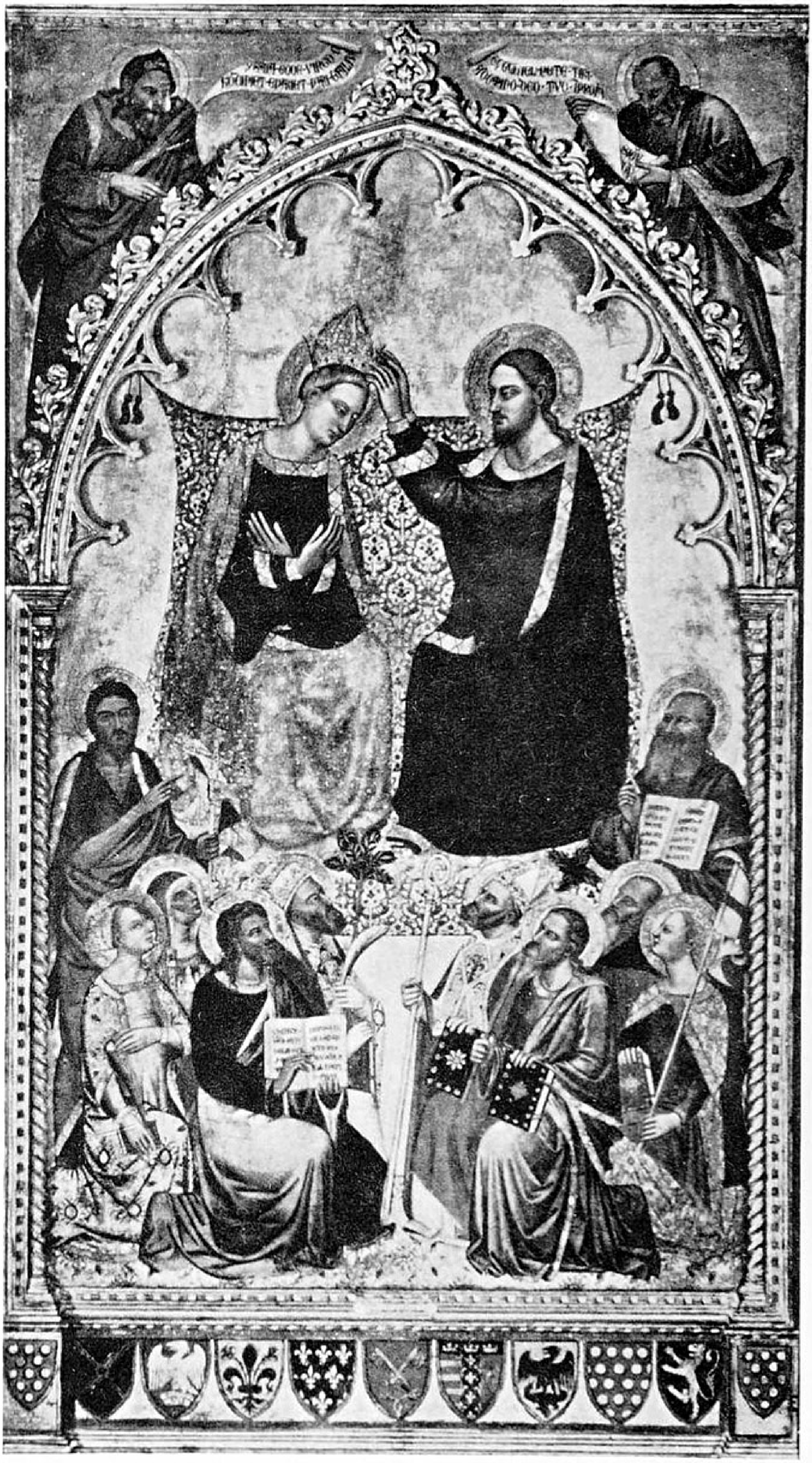


Fig. 276. Jacopo di Cione. the Coronation of the Virgin. Uffizi, Florence.

Photo Anderson.

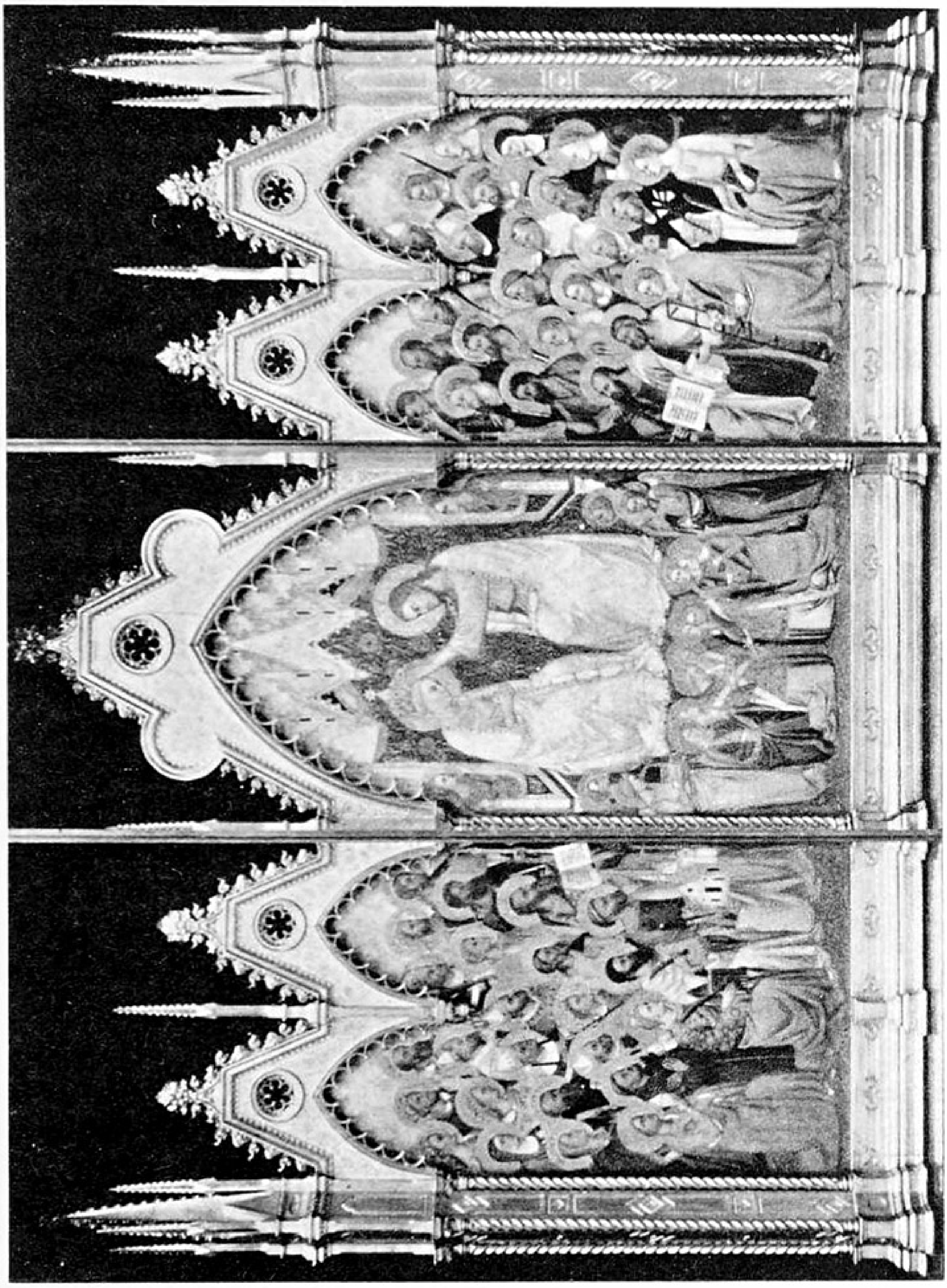


Fig. 277. Jacopo di Cione, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints. National Gallery, London.

ions as a work of Andrea Orcagna's, and which is now in the London National Gallery (569, fig. 277) (¹).

---

(¹) The documents are again published by *G. Poggi* in *Sirén*, Giottino, p. 100—101.

No doubt can exist that this panel, which, even before the discovery of the above mentioned records establishing the co-operation of Jacopo and Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and the source of the picture as the studio of the latter, was ascribed to the school of Orcagna, is for the greater part, if not entirely, from the hand of Jacopo. A slight coarseness in the execution of particulars might point to the assistance of pupils but we do not recognize anywhere the manner of Gerini.

In the central part of this picture the Madonna and the Lord are seated in a large architectural Gothic throne in attitudes identical with those we found on the previous Coronation. A solitary angel stands at either side while lower down and in the foreground an angelic orchestra performs, some of its members upright, others kneeling. The lateral panels which are each divided into two by the arch of the frame above, contain twenty-four kneeling saints divided into five rows, the highest and lowest consisting of three figures, the intermediate ones of six. Comparing it with the works of the two other brothers, we find it is of less artistic importance; the figures although slightly rigid, are not lacking in grace, beauty of feature or expression; it was obviously a production meant to impress by its general rich appearance because its chief attraction is its decorative merit and in this respect it surpasses any creation of Jacopo's elder brothers.

In the National Gallery there are nine panels (nos. 570—78) framed in a similar manner as the above picture (figs. 278 and 279), which are reported as being of the same origin and of having once formed a whole with it. The events represented are the Eternal holding the crucifix on which the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, descends, groups of angels on two separate panels also form part of it; the Nativity which takes place under a shelter, while on the hill behind, angels announce the glad tidings to the shepherds; the Adoration of the Magi occuring in the same shed; the Resurrection of Christ Who hovers in the air above His tomb around which the soldiers sleep; the three holy Women at the empty Sepulchre which, according to the Florentine iconography, is watched over by two angels instead of the single figure of the Byzantine tradition; the Ascension of the Lord, Who is seen floating upwards towards heaven while below the Madonna and Apostles kneel on the ground; and the last panel on which two scenes are represented: above the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the heads of the Apostles and below the illustration of the words "..... the multitude came together and were confounded because that every man heard them speak in his own language" (Acts, II, 2). These pictures are technically finer than the Coronation of the Virgin. That Niccolo di Pietro Gerini took no part in the production of these panels seems to me doubtful, not that his manner is in any way manifest here but because, as will be seen when dealing with this artist, he has left us a panel ot the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, the dimensions of which correspond exactly to the paintings in the National Gallery. Of course it is quite possible that Niccolo di Pietro made another polyptych of the same form and size.

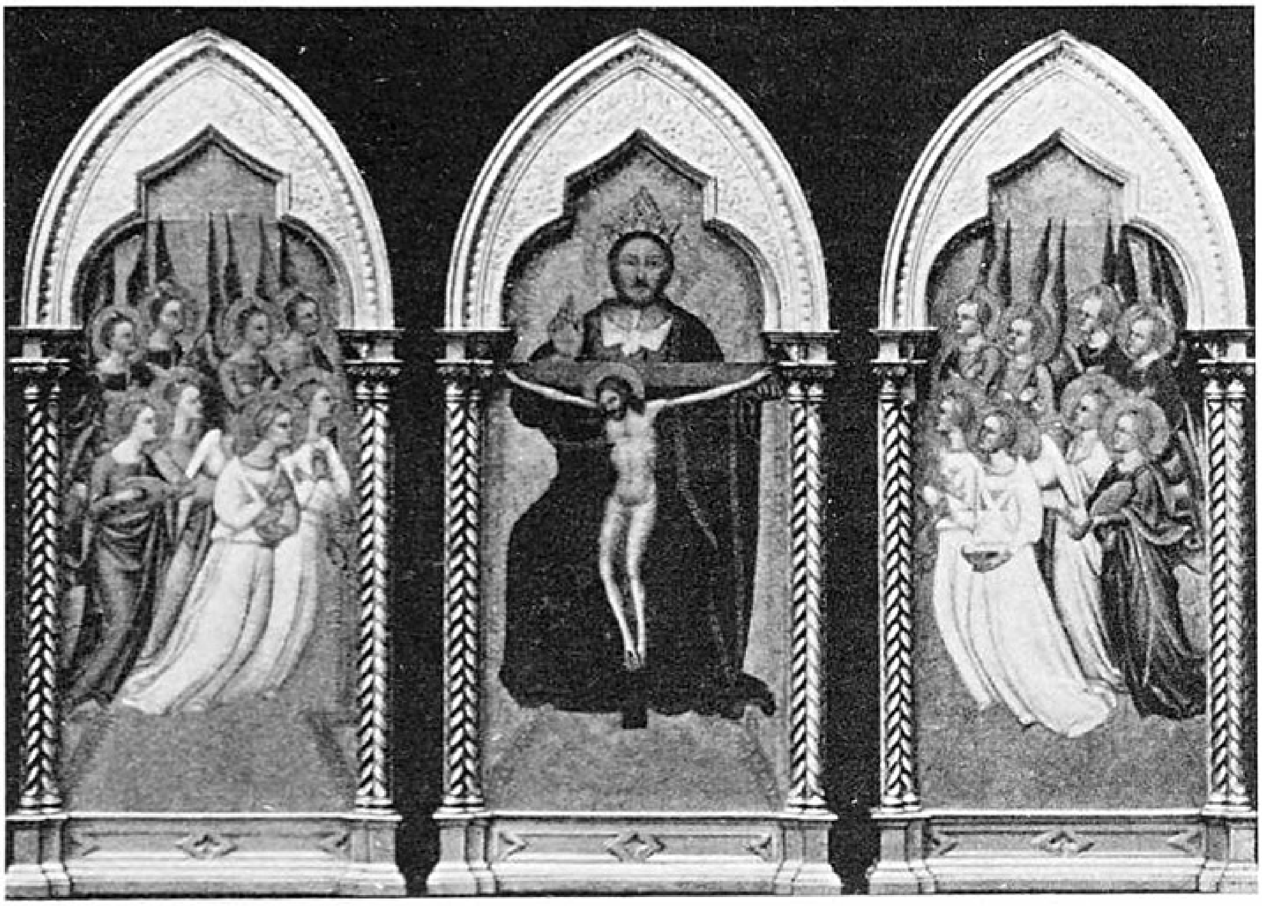


Fig. 278 Jacopo di Cione, the Holy Trinity and angels. National Gallery, London.

If the nine panels really form a whole with the Coronation of the Virgin of 1370—71, we can observe that at that moment Jacopo had already to a certain extent become independent of his brother's manner; this is confirmed in the Coronation of 1373. Two panels which I know are to be found in a private collection in

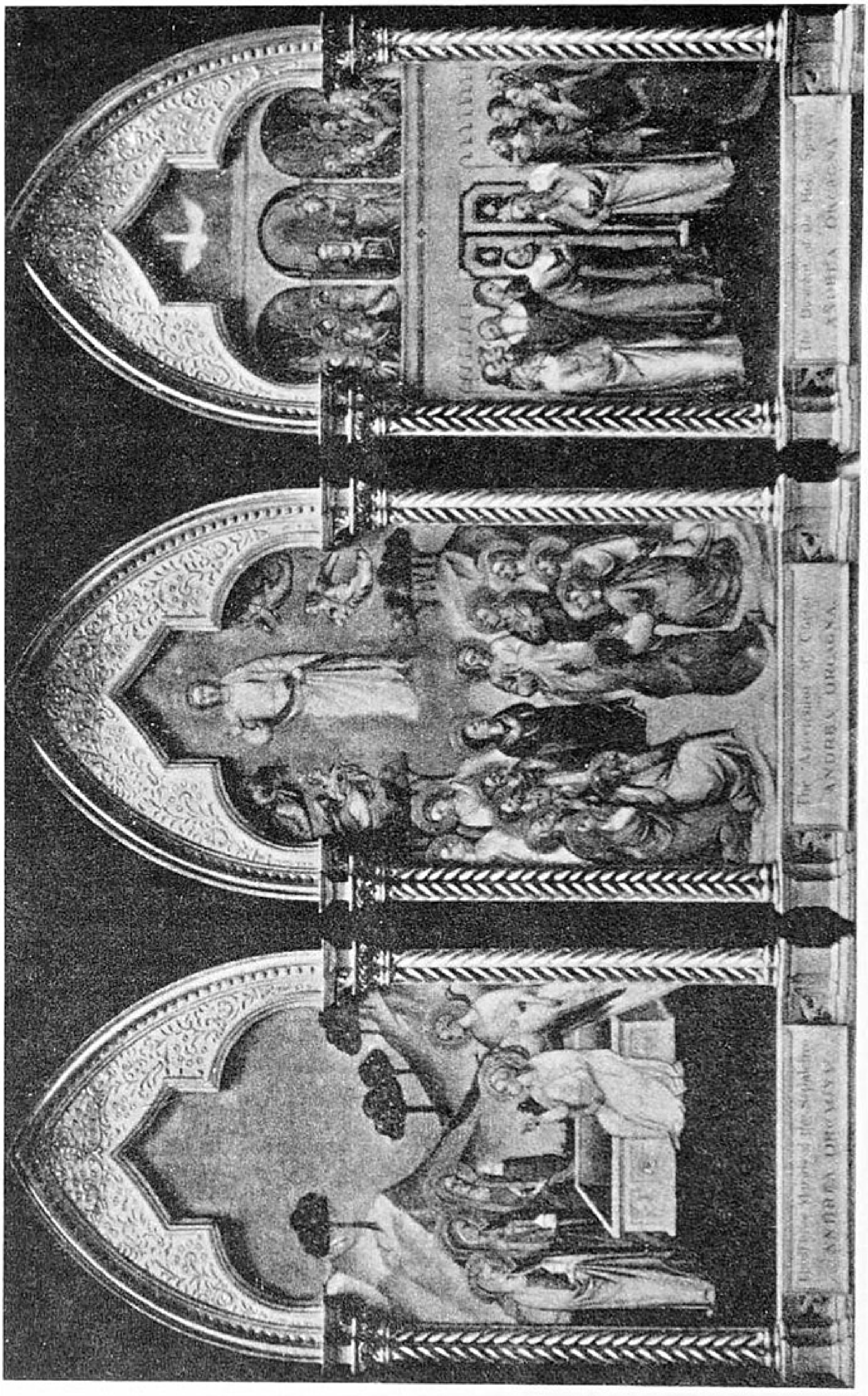

ANDREA ORCAGNA
ANDREA ORCAGNA

Fig. 279. Jacopo di Cione, the Holy Women at the Empty Sepulchre, the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. National Gallery, London.

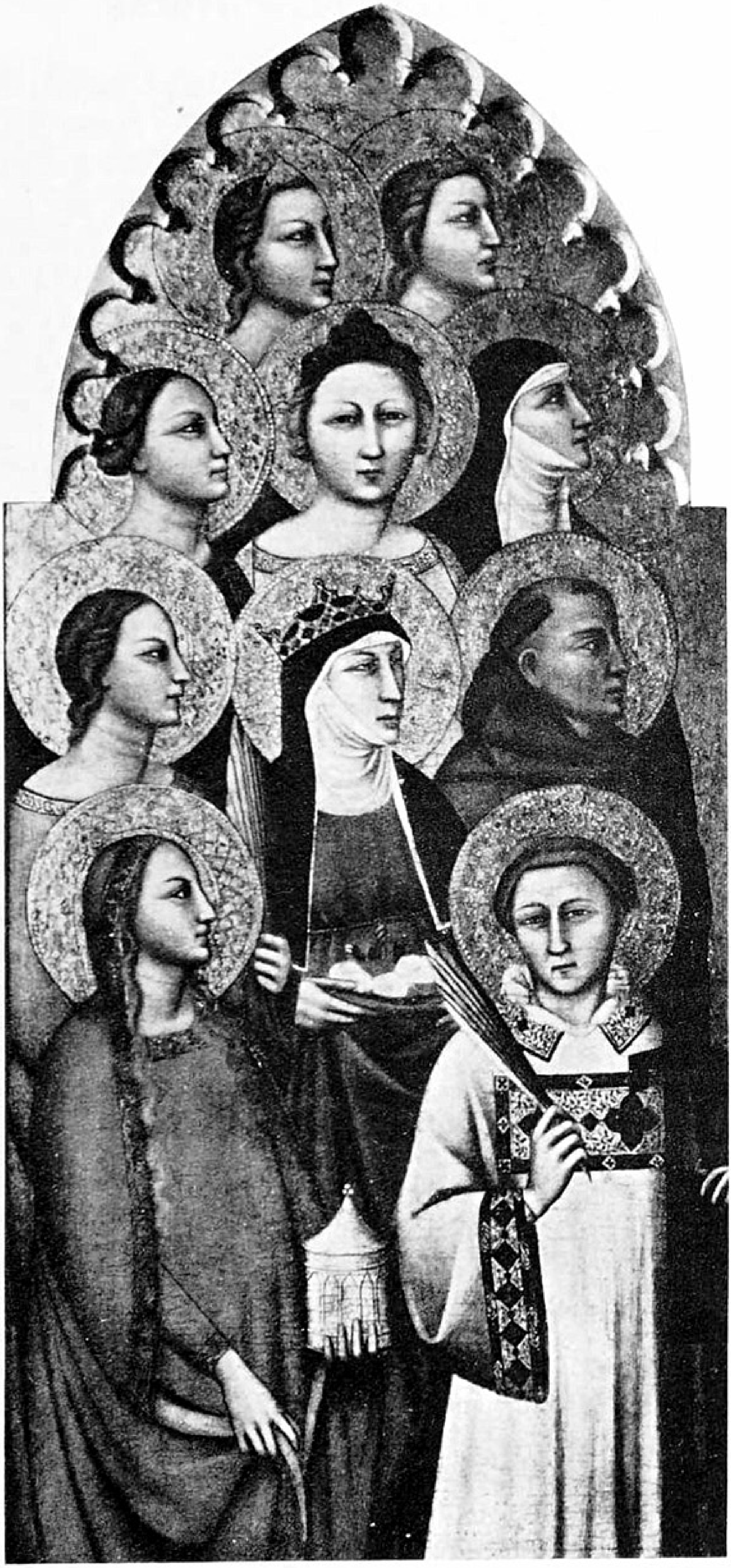


Fig. 280. Jacopo di Cione, part of an altar-polyptych. Private Collection.

America, have obviously once formed part of a polyptych similar to the Coronation of the Virgin, although smaller in size (fig. 280). Each panel contains eight saints and two angels. The forming of the rows, the rendering of the relief by means of strong light effects and the general spirit lead us to believe that these works belong to an earlier period in the artist's activities, that is to say executed at a moment when Jacopo was still under the more direct influence of Andrea (¹). Jacopo followed his

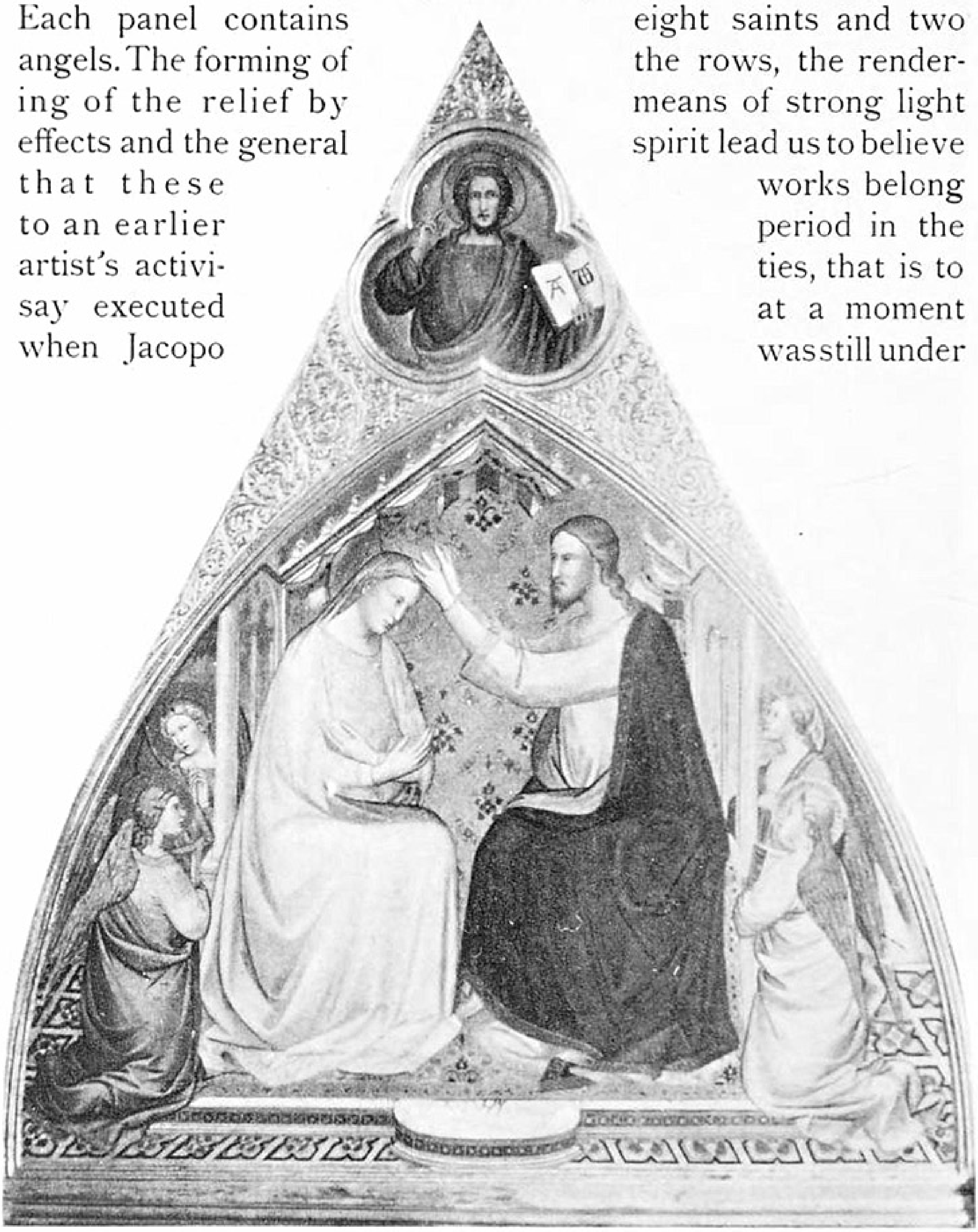


Fig. 281. Jacopo di Cione, the Coronation of the Virgin. Parry Collection, Gloucester. Photo Mansell.

---

(¹) I believe these panels will be published soon as the work of Allegretto Nuzi, who at a certain period was very much influenced by the Orcagnas as we shall see when dealing with this artist.

brother Nardo's representation of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in executing a painting of the same subject, now in the collection of Sir Hubert Parry, Highnam-Court, near Gloucester (fig. 281).

With the small representations which Jacopo painted around the figure of St. Matthew can very well be compared four scenes

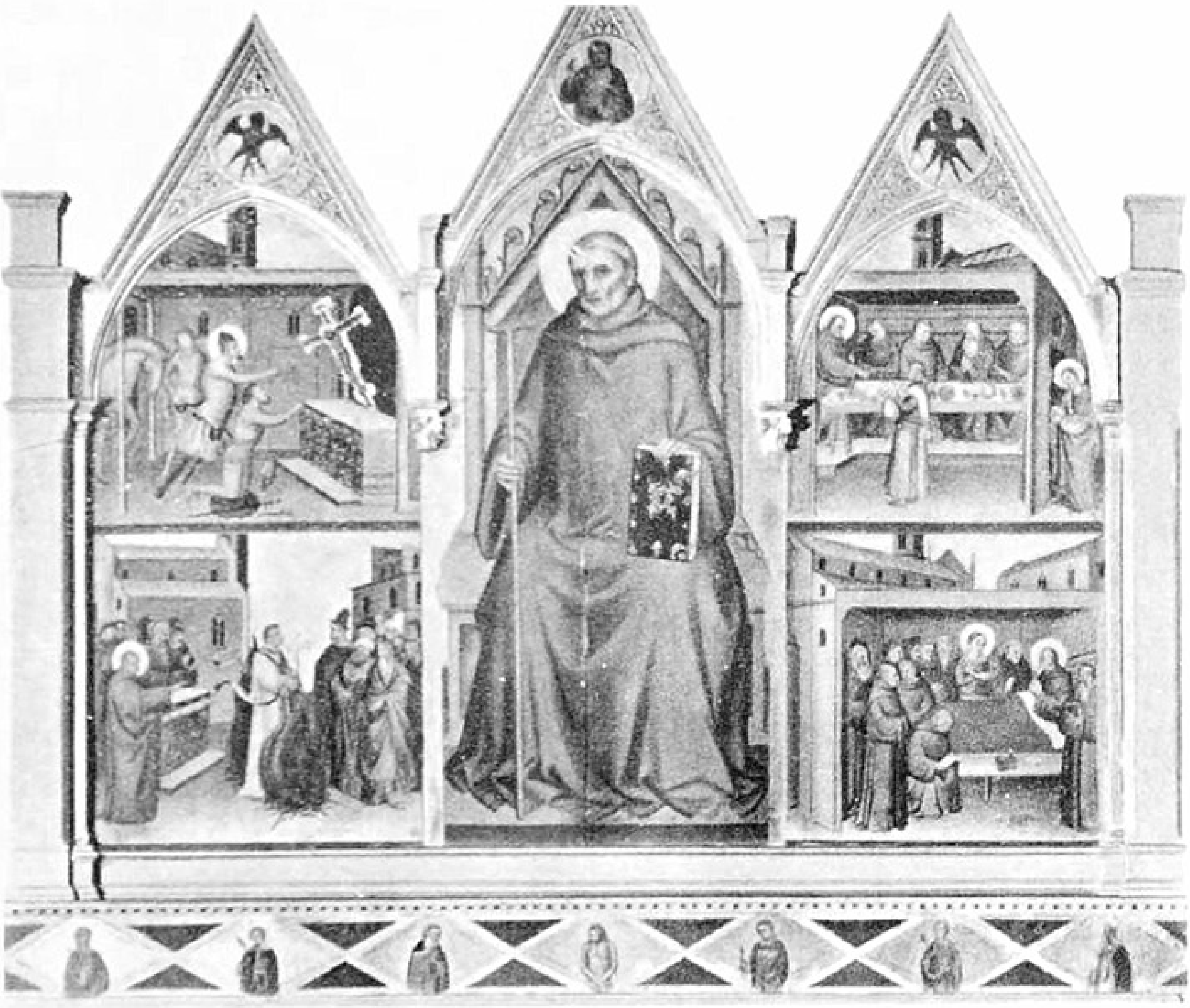


Fig. 282. Jacopo di Cione, S. Giovanni Gualberto and scenes from his legend. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

in the church of Sta. Croce, Florence, depicted at the sides of the image of St. Giovanni Gualberto (fig. 282), whose aspect as Mr. Sirén remarks, is not very characteristic of our artist, reminding us rather of his brother Nardo, but no doubt this part of the altar-piece was also executed by Jacopo as well as the small scenes and the half-length figures of the dead Saviour and six saints in the predella. Something of the handsome forms peculiar to Andrea may be detected here but very much more evident are the elongated proportions the straight folds and pointed drapery, characteristics which help us to distinguish the art of Jacopo from that of his brother Andrea and which are still more obvious in two panels, each containing two scenes from the legend of saints and a figure of the Annunciation, preserved in the Museum of the Cathedral of Florence (fig. 283).

Characteristic of Jacopo's earlier manner, when still under the influence of his brother, are the four panels in Sta. Croce, Florence, dating from 1363 and representing the church-fathers SS. Ambrosius, Gregory, Augustine and Hieronymus which form an altar-piece together with a panel of the Madonna and two saints by Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. The four Evangelists in the apices and the five predella panels, however, are certainly from his hand and again show the peculiar angular draping which is almost absent in the four large figures.

Two pictures in American collections betray a close connection with the Coronation of the Virgin of 1373; the first which belongs to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard College, represents the Crucifixion with the seated figures of the Virgin and St. John in a medallion above, lower the Annunciation and the Nativity which again takes place under an open shelter, and below these scenes the Entombment of the Saviour, surrounded by numerous figures and two small donors (fig. 284) (¹). The Madonna represented here in the different events reminds us of the figures of the small panel in the National Gallery but on the whole the increase of rigidity unhappily announces the beginning of Jacopo's detachment from his brother's artistic principles.

The second panel, again representing the Trinity — we have already found it depicted in the series of panels in the National Gallery — forms part of the Jarves collection of Yale University (²). In this picture, however, the two SS. John, the Virgin and Mary Magdalene sit mourning at the sides. We have here reached the turning point in the painter's career; the recollection of his brother's lessons degenerates under the influence of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

The most typical production of Jacopo's last manner is a large

---

(¹) Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1919, p. 39, attributes it to the school of Orcagna.

(²) *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue etc., p. 44.

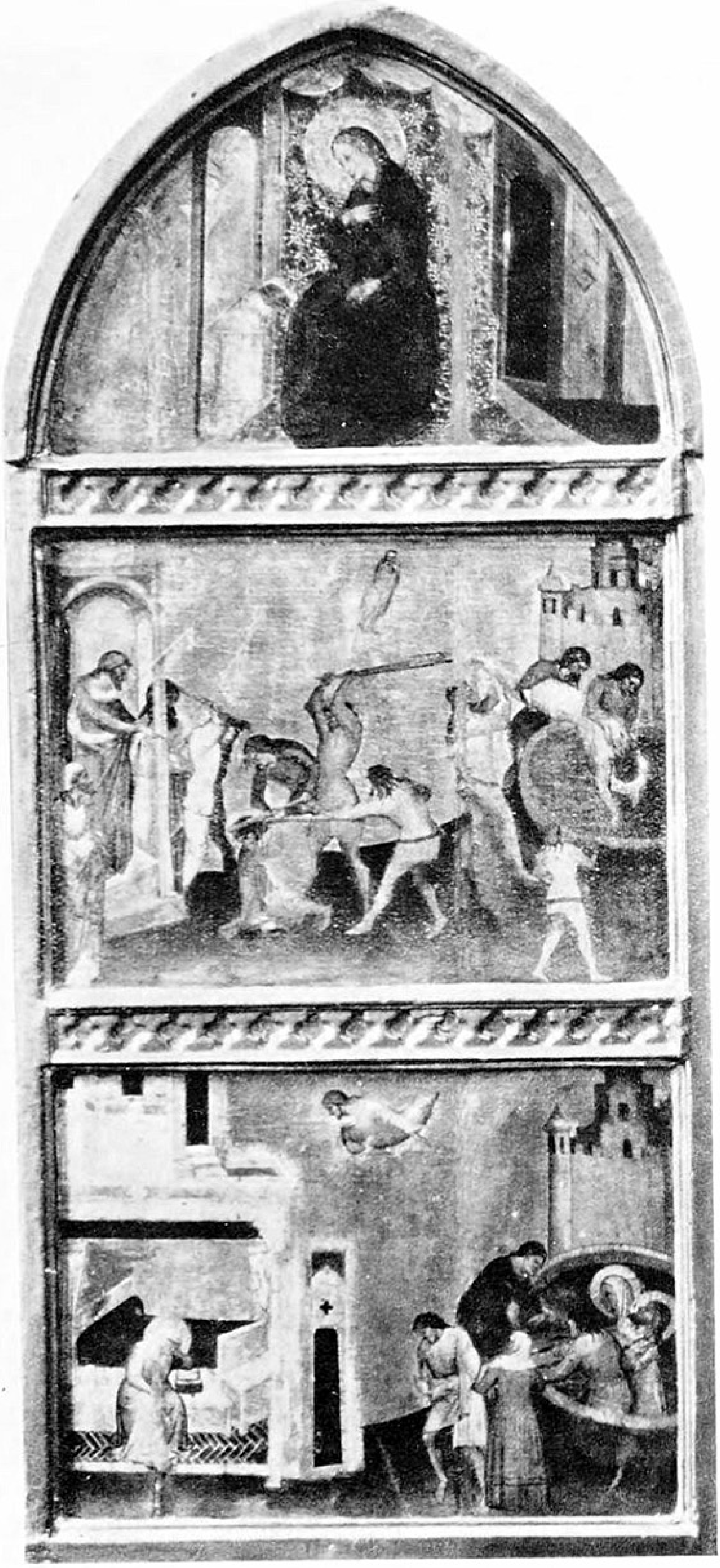


Fig. 283. Jacopo di Cione, the Madonna of the Annunciation and scenes from the lives of saints. Opera del Duomo, Florence. Photo Brogi.

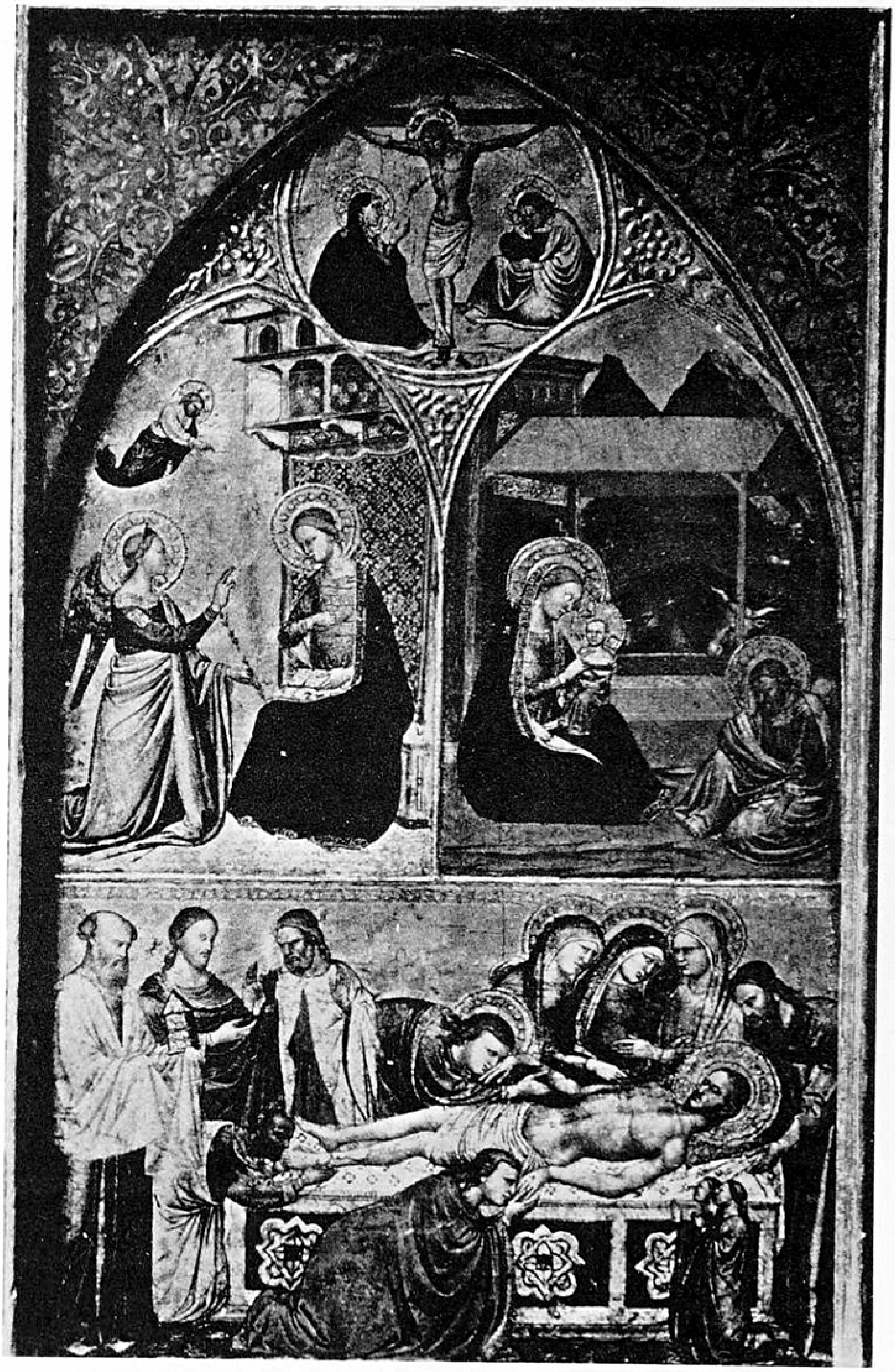


Fig. 284. Jacopo di Cione, scenes from the History of Our Lord. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, U. S. A.

panel of the Crucifixion also in the National Gallery (no. 1468, fig. 285), where it is attributed to Spinello Aretino. Little angels fly round two of the crosses while a devil carries away the soul of the unconverted criminal; below is assembled a large crowd, many on horseback, in the background. At the sides in separate frames, one above the other, we see SS. John the Baptist and Paul, SS. James the Major and Bartholomew; the predella contains the half-length figures of the Madonna and four saints. The proportions are here more elongated and the draping executed in harder lines; the painter must have passed through a long

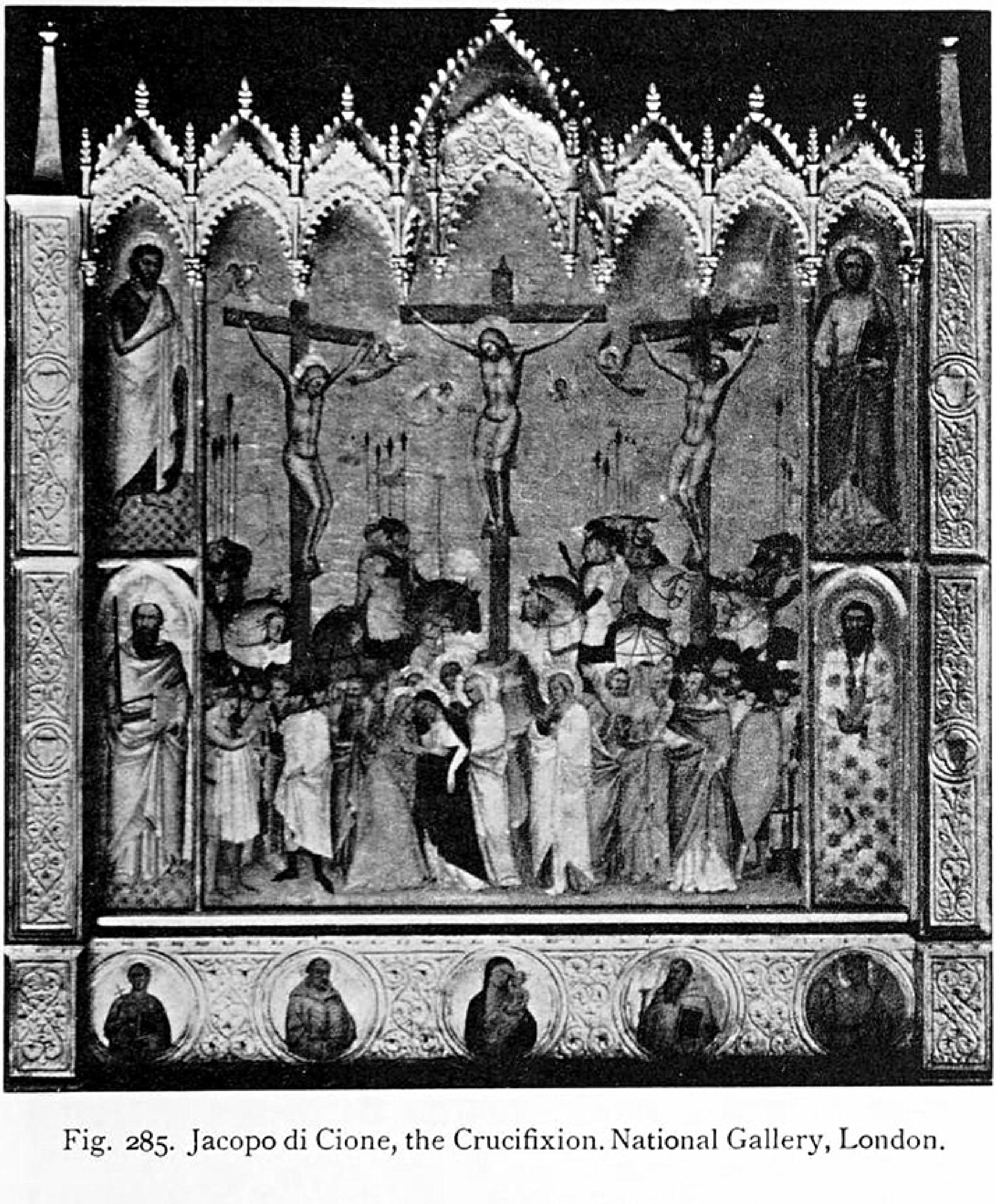


Fig. 285. Jacopo di Cione, the Crucifixion. National Gallery, London.

intermediate stage before reaching this manner in which so few Orcagnesque elements can be discovered.

Similar proportions are manifest in a small panel in the Vatican Gallery (no. 891, fig. 286), which was doubtfully attributed to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, but which Mr. Sirén has rightly reclaimed as Jacopo di Cione's [1]. It represents the Coronation of the Virgin who is seated in an aureole of cherubs, four saints are depicted lower down at either side and kneeling in the centre two angelic musicians. Half-length figures of the Lord and four saints ornament the predella.

A panel in the Lehman collection, New York, of rather peculiar shape, the lower border being curved, is a finer but no doubt also a late work. Here we see the Saviour attached to a high Cross, above which is represented the pelican in its nest; eight angels fly around the Crucified while under the Cross many people are depicted taking part. Six three-quarter figures of angels, three each side, are separately framed one above the other [2].

Jacopo shows more connection with Niccolo di Pietro Gerini than with his older brother in a picture of the Madonna enthroned with the Child and two angelic musicians at her feet in the collection of Mr. C. Ricketts, London [3].

A Madonna between four saints and two angels and two other angelic figures kneeling in the foreground offering vases of flowers, in the Vatican Gallery (no. 89) is somewhat puzzling. There it is attributed to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, but I sooner feel inclined to look upon it as a work of Jacopo's. The figure of the Baptist and also that of St. Peter remind us too much of the manner of Nardo to believe the attribution to Gerini correct, while the Madonna herself, although of heavier proportions, belongs to that type which we observed in some of the eight panels of the National Gallery. A picture of the Meeting at the Golden Gate from the Chillingworth collection, which was sold in September 1922 at Lucerne (no. 100), seems to be from Jacopo's hand.

Summing up this artistic personality, it may be said that he

---

[1] *O. Sirén*, Alcune note agguintive, p. 100.

[2] *Sirén*, Giottino, p 26, attributed this picture which was then the property of Mr. Roger Fry, to Giottino; in his Giotto and some of his Followers, he rightly ascribes it to Jacopo di Cione.

[3] *Sirén*, Giottino, fig. 37.

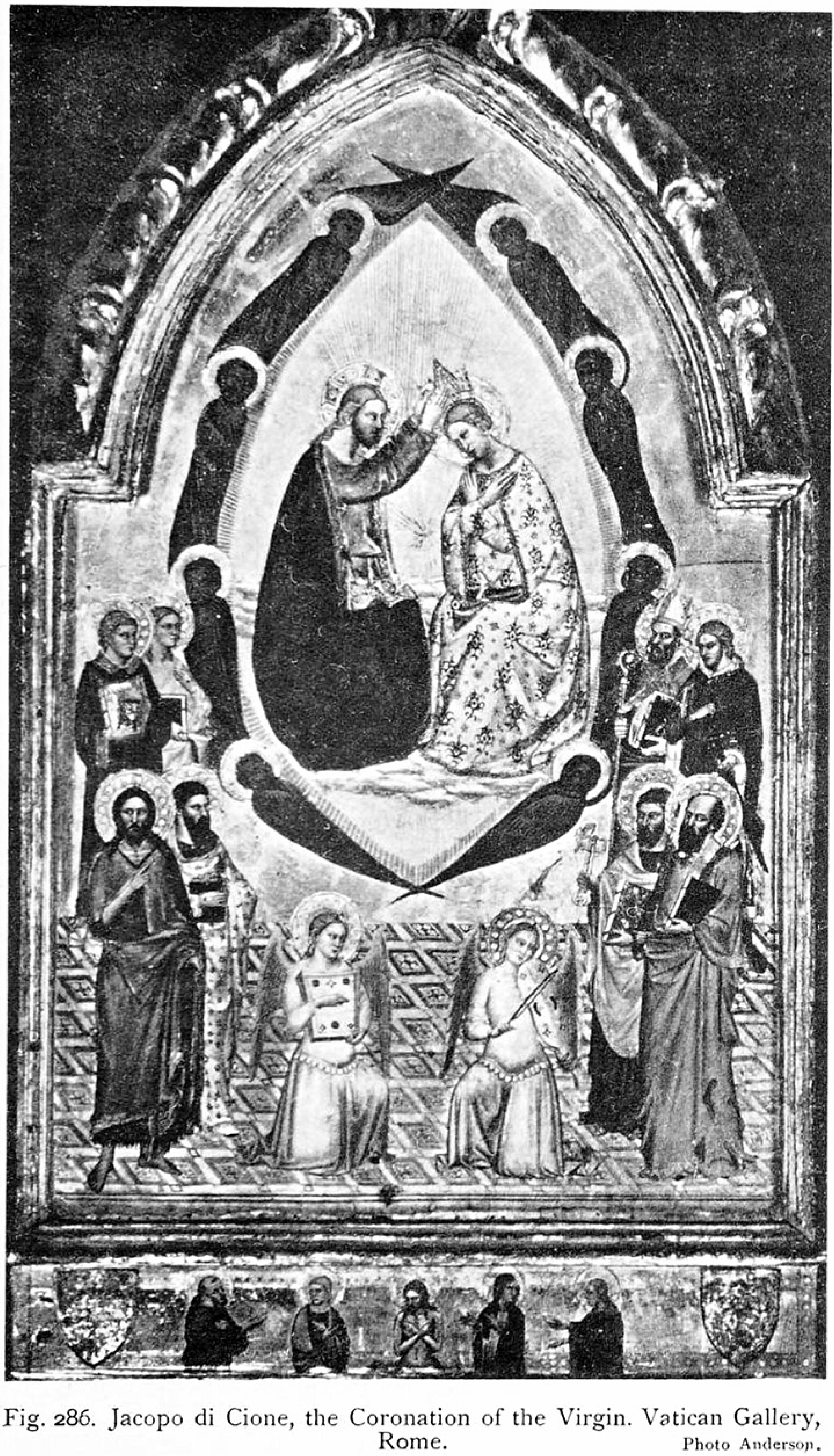


Fig. 286. Jacopo di Cione, the Coronation of the Virgin. Vatican Gallery, Rome. Photo Anderson.

was not an unskilful artist but a very impersonal one who, very soon after the death of his brother Andrea lost that great and serene sense of beauty he had borrowed from him at the outset of his career. We see from his pictures of 1372 and 1373 that at that time Jacopo was already following another course, no doubt influenced by his fellow-artist and companion Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. His later productions do not show anything of the charm of Andrea's art, the rigidity of design, especially noticeable in the draping, separating his art very distinctly from that of his brothers Nardo and Andrea (¹).

### "IL COMPAGNO DELL' ORCAGNA".

In his "Florentinische Malerschule" Herr Suida committed the mistake of creating a second Allegretto Nuzi; there only exists one, the well-known principal figure of the 14th century school

---

(¹) Other works which I find attributed to Jacopo di Ciono are the Martyrdom of the SS. Quattro Coronati in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia, which might well be from the hand of our artist v. *B. Berenson*, Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings and some art objects, Italian Painting, Philadelphia, 1913; a Madonna and saints belonging to D. Vidal, Paris, which I do not know; a Crucifixion and saints in Lord Crawford's collection; a Coronation of the Virgin and saints for sale in New York (Sirén) while I cannot recall the Nativity of the Virgin in the Taylor Museum, Oxford. The following works, some of which are wrongly attributed to Jacopo, were painted by adherents of the Orcagnesque school: a Madonna and saints, Christ Church, Oxford; an Annunciation in the Parry collection, Gloucester (Sirén); and figures of saints in Or San Michele and in S. Barnaba, Florence (Suida). More resembling Jacopo's manner are a small Madonna in the Gallery of Altenburg (attributed to him by Schmarzow); a Madonna, saints and a Crucifixion in the Jarves Collection, Yale university (attributed to Jacopo by *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, no. 16); a tabernacle in the Via Lippi near Caciolle in the neighbourhood of Florence in which the principal figures are the Virgin nursing the Child between SS. Peter and John the Baptist; another tabernacle on the corner of Via Cafaggiolo and Borgo Pinti and a third called the "Madonnone", Florence, all three showing more or less the same composition. A panel of the Lord and Virgin and seventeen Dominican saints in Sta. Maria Novella betrays some connection with Jacopo's later manner. *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 277, attributes some other pictures to Jacopo. v. p. 517 note 1.

of The Marches, but Herr Suida thought that one of his signed works — a triptych in the Vatican Gallery — showed so much more connection with certain Florentine works than with the other productions of Allegretto Nuzi that he wanted to make us believe that a second painter of this name existed.

The theory is obviously a mistaken one, and the arguments offered by the German critic in support of it, did not convince anyone (¹); besides, it was afterwards established that the picture came from Fabriano, the residence of the Marchegian master (²); but what refutes the hypothesis more than anything else is a comparison between other works of Allegretto's and this triptych in the Vatican, a comparison which clearly demonstrates that they are from one and the same hand, while the connection between the Vatican panel and the Florentine works, which Suida attributed to the same master, is very vague.

Incomprehensible as Suida's mistake may be, personally I find an element of reasonableness in it, because I too believe in the existence of an artistic personality very near, but all the same quite different to Andrea Orcagna, and to him I attribute two of the works that Suida ascribed to his Florentine Allegretto, although I do not agree that any of the other paintings he enumerates are by the same hand (³).

The group of works which I ascribe to this artist may be distinguished from those of Andrea Orcagna by a difference in proportion, a hardness of design, a considerably lower level of artistic value and an absence of the spirituality of expression and suave beauty which were amongst the characteristics that con-

---

(¹) One of the first to protest was *A. Colasanti,* Note sull' antica pittura fabrianese, L'Arte, IX, 1906, p. 263.

(²) *A. Muñoz,* La provenienza del trittico di Allegretto Nuzi del Museo Vaticano, L'Arte, X, 1907, p. 143.

(³) Besides the Vatican triptych Suida attributes to this painter a Presentation in the Temple of 1364 in the Accademia (no. 3, old catalogue), SS. Peter and John, S. Ansano, Fiesole, a Descent of the Holy Ghost in the Badia of Florence, which I believe to be probably a youthful work of Andrea's, and a Madonna with an angel and four saints in Sta Maria Maggiore, Florence. The two pictures which he includes in this list and which I too am of the opinion are works from the same hand, are a triptych showing the Madonna between St. Gregory and Job of 1365 in the sacristy of Sta Croce, Florence. and the Trinity between SS. Romuald and Andrea of the same date in the Accademia.

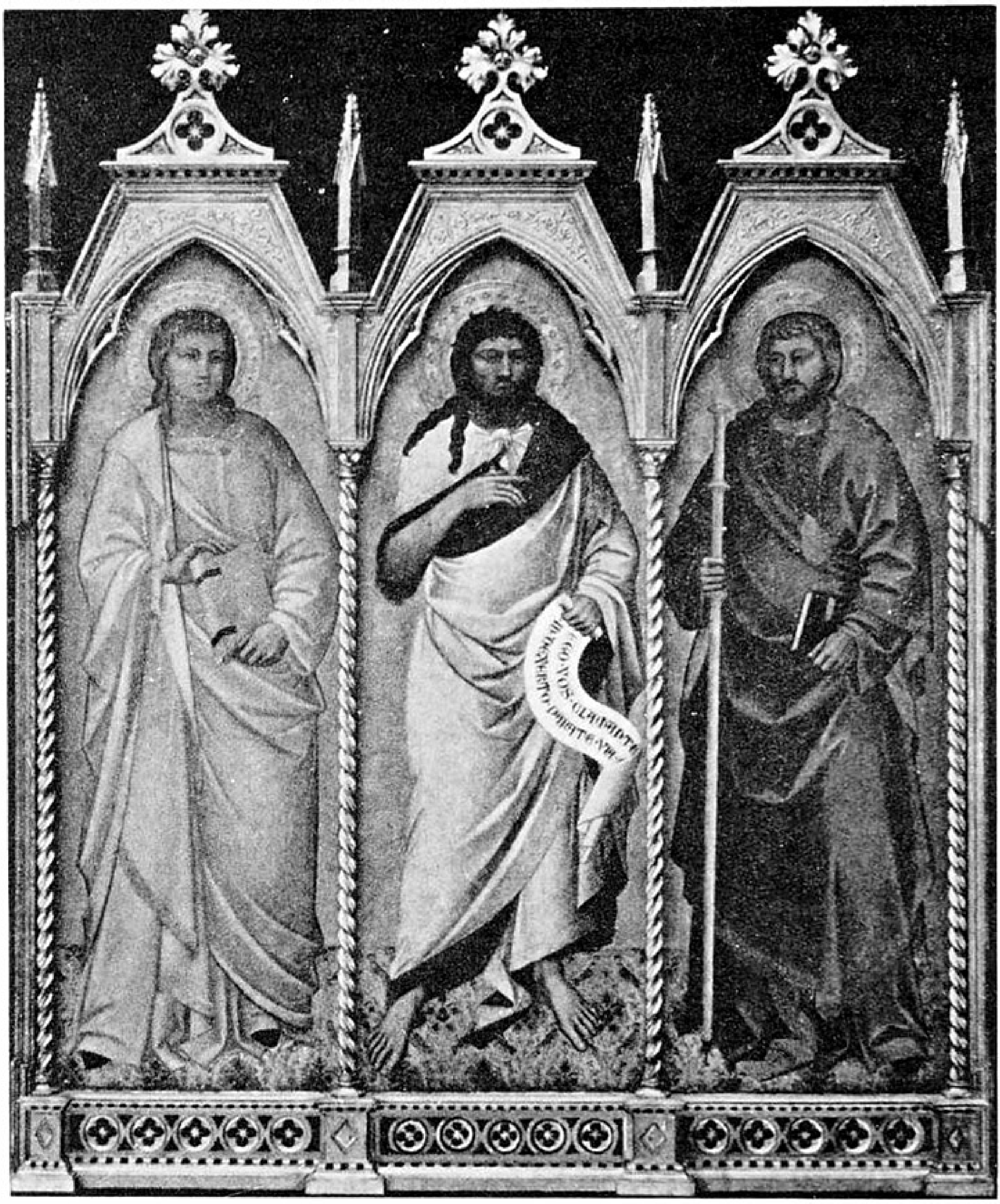


Fig. 287. Compagno dell' Orcagna, the two SS. John and James Major. National Gallery, London.

nected Andrea with Daddi and other painters working under a Sienese influence. On the other hand, that the connection between this artist and Andrea was still closer than that which usually exists between a pupil and his master, cannot be denied.

Showing so much resemblance to Andrea's manner that it has even been attributed to this master himself (¹), is a picture in

---

(¹) e.q. by *Sirén*.

the National Gallery (no. 581) representing St. John the Evangelist, the Baptist and St. James Major (fig. 287); it is catalogued as a' work of Andrea Orcagna's (¹) and originates from the hospital of SS. Giovanni e Niccolo near Florence. The three saints, who are represented standing and separately framed, remind us very much of Andrea's figures, but in the shape of the heads, the hard angular folds in which the linear effect surpasses the plasticity,and the solid but ungraceful proportions, this work shows a good deal of difference to the master's manner. A representation of St.Peter,which seems to have belonged to these three figures, will be found in S. Stefano al Ponte in Florence.

To this same moment of his career, which I dare say is the earliest and the one which most closely approaches his master's art, we may ascribe two freely retouched panels in the Ältere Pinakotek of Munich (1027 and 1028), each containing five figures of saints (fig. 288); there they pass as works of Spinello Aretino but are also sometimes attributed to Nardo di Cione (²).

The treatment and expression of the faces are here somewhat softer, reminding us therefore still more of the manner of Andrea and Nardo, but we can again observe a certain heaviness in build and in the shape of the head and a lack of grace which are never found in the productions of these two painters.

I believe we can recognize the hand of the same artist at this early stage in the débris of frescoes in the Chapter House of S. Spirito which Mr. Sirén previously attributed to Giottino, but now identifies with the paintings in the refectory of the Augustine monks in Florence, referred to by Ghiberti as having been made by Andrea Orcagna (³). It seems to me, however, certain, that these pictures are not from the hand of Andrea. The principal scene is that of the Crucifixion in which the Lord is surrounded by many angels, while below a great crowd of people on foot and on horseback is depicted, while in the right corner we see the soldiers gambling for the cloak of Christ. Most of the centre of the lower part has been destroyed on account of the wall having been broken in to make a door, without any consideration

---

(¹) In the older catalogue it is ascribed to Spinello Aretino.

(²) Old catalogue 987 and 988. The attribution to Spinello was accepted by *A. Venturi,* L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 391. *Sirén* believes them to be by Nardo.

(³) *Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 235.

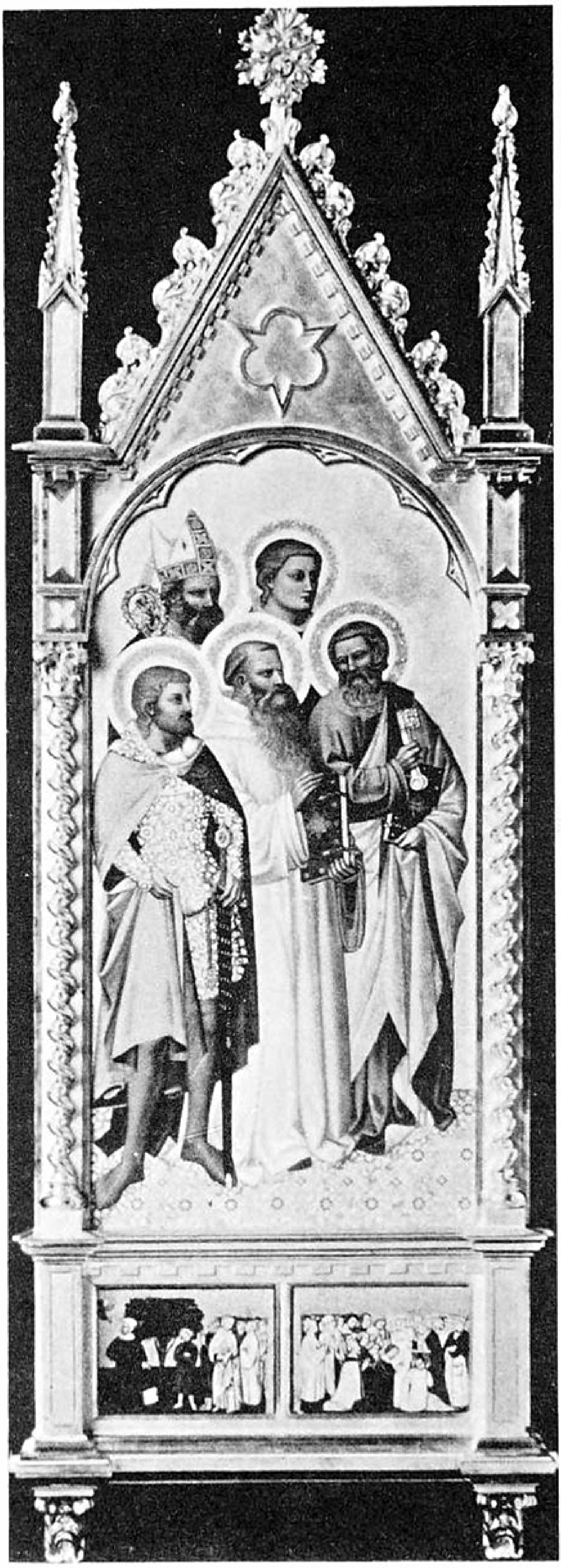


Fig. 288. Compagno dell' Orcagna, five Saints. Ältere Pinakotek, Munich.

Photo Hanfstaengl.

of the painting. Lower down we find two figures of Apostles inside a room, no doubt part of a Last Supper, because not only is it a very probable subject for the decoration of a refectory, but also the gestures point to the moment represented being the one when the disciples ask which of them will be the traitor. To the right of this part the figure of a holy monk is still visible.

The elements which separate the "Compagno" of Andrea from his guiding master become more obvious in an important polyptych in the collection of the late Count Pálffy at Bajmocz (¹) repre-

---

(¹) *A. Colasanti and T. Gerevich,* Quadri italiani nelle collezioni del conte Pálffy in Ungheria, Rassegna d'Arte, XII, 1912, p. 168. *Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 275. calls this a work of Andrea's studio. *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit., p. 26, also doubt the attribution to Andrea. I believe the Pálffy coll. is now comprised in the Gallery of Budapest.

senting in the centre the Virgin with the Child and in the side panels SS. James, Hieronymus, the Baptist and an old bearded saint with a staff in his hand and sandals on his feet, while the predella contains the Saviour rising from His tomb between the Virgin and St. John and four half-length figures of saints on either side. The two saints on the right especially, possess this short-necked, square built aspect, which is augmented by the shortness of the dress and its horizontal border leaving the feet and part of the legs visible, and a certain immobility which features characterize this master's productions.

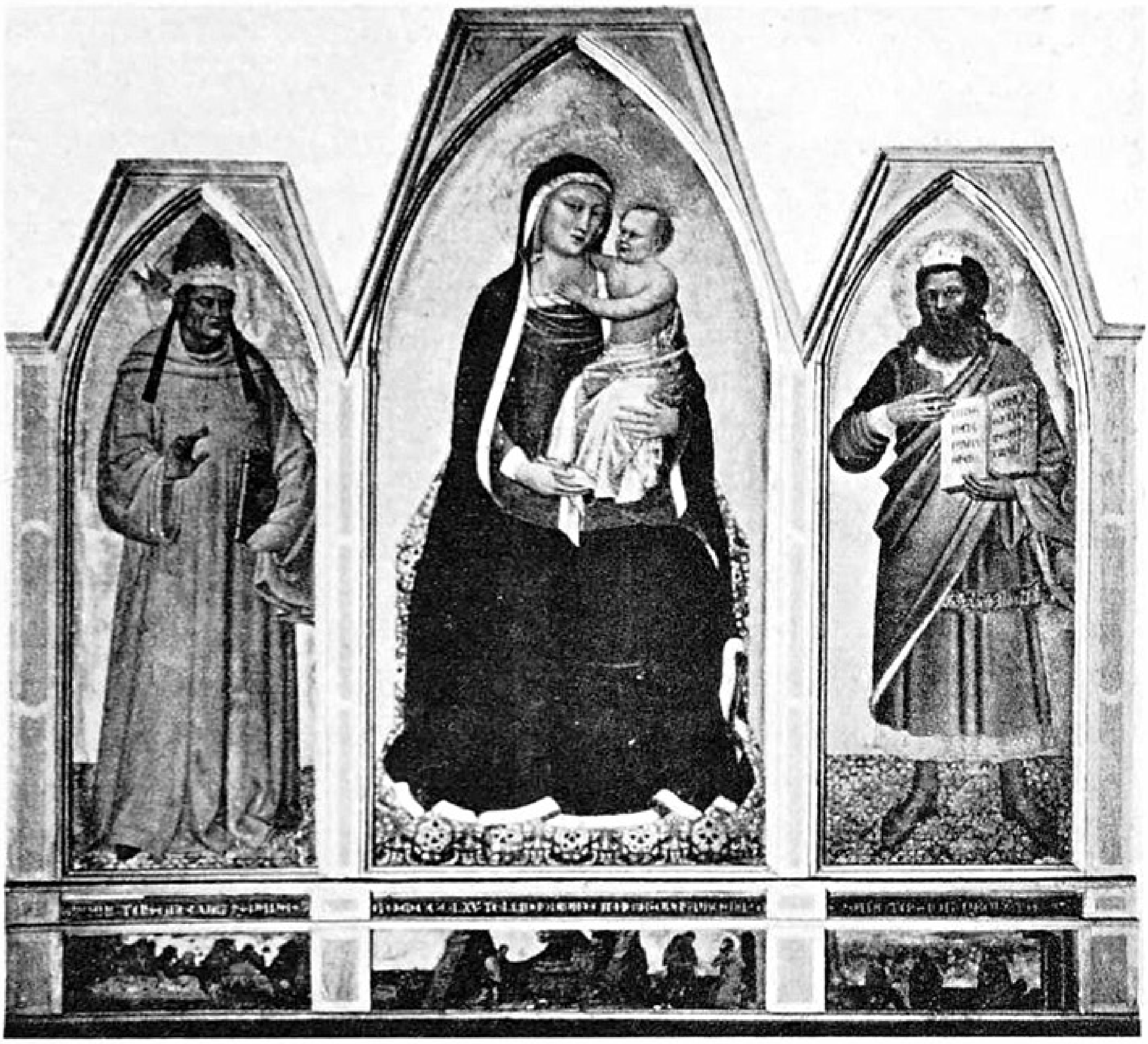


Fig. 289. Compagno dell' Orcagna, the Virgin between St. Gregory and Job, 1365. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

This polyptych leads the way to the two important triptychs, both dating from 1365, which Herr Suida included in the productions of his second Allegretto Nuzi. The first, which is found in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, Florence, represents the Virgin enthroned, holding the Child on her arm, between St. Gregory and Job (fig. 289). The features of the Madonna are very similar to those Andrea depicts in some of his works but the Babe is of a somewhat different type,resembling more the one we find in the altarpiece in Hungary. In the image of Job we see again the short robe ending abruptly above the ankles. The predella comprises three scenes from the legend of Job, below which we read the following inscription: "*A.D.MCCCLXV Tellinus Dini fecit fieri hoc opus pro anima sua*".

The other picture of the same date is preserved in the Accademia of Florence (no. 40, fig. 290). The central panel shows a representation of the Trinity. God the Father seated with one hand uplifted in benediction and holding a book in the other, supports the crucifix to which Christ is attached, while a dove flies down between the two figures. In the lateral panels we see St Romuald and St Andrew, but this latter though inscribed as St. Andrew, sooner suggests the image of St. John the Evangelist. The apices of the wings are each ornamented with a three-quarter figure of an angel swinging a censer while the central one contains a representation of the Lamb lying on the apocalyptical throne. In the predella we find three scenes from the life of St. Romuald. The inscription, evidently referring to the original site of the picture, runs: "*Istam capellam fecit fieri Johannes Ghiberti pro anima sua A. D. M. CCCLXV*". The entire painting is executed in that heavy manner which lacks the charm of the productions of Andrea and Nardo (1).

The peculiarities of this master will be found again in a few panels in American collections; they are all of a somewhat different nature, showing Orcagnesque figures, but rendered in a dry, hard manner (2). The first of these is an Adoration of the

---

(1) The attribution of these panels to Nardo (*Sirén*, Giottino and *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit.) is rendered very improbable by their date. In May 1365 Nardo "corpore languens" made his will (*Vasari-Milanesi*, p. 594, note 2) and died the following year. It hardly seems likely that the dying painter executed in the same year as he, already declining, made his testament, two altar-pieces of this importance.

(2) These pictures are only known to me from reproductions.

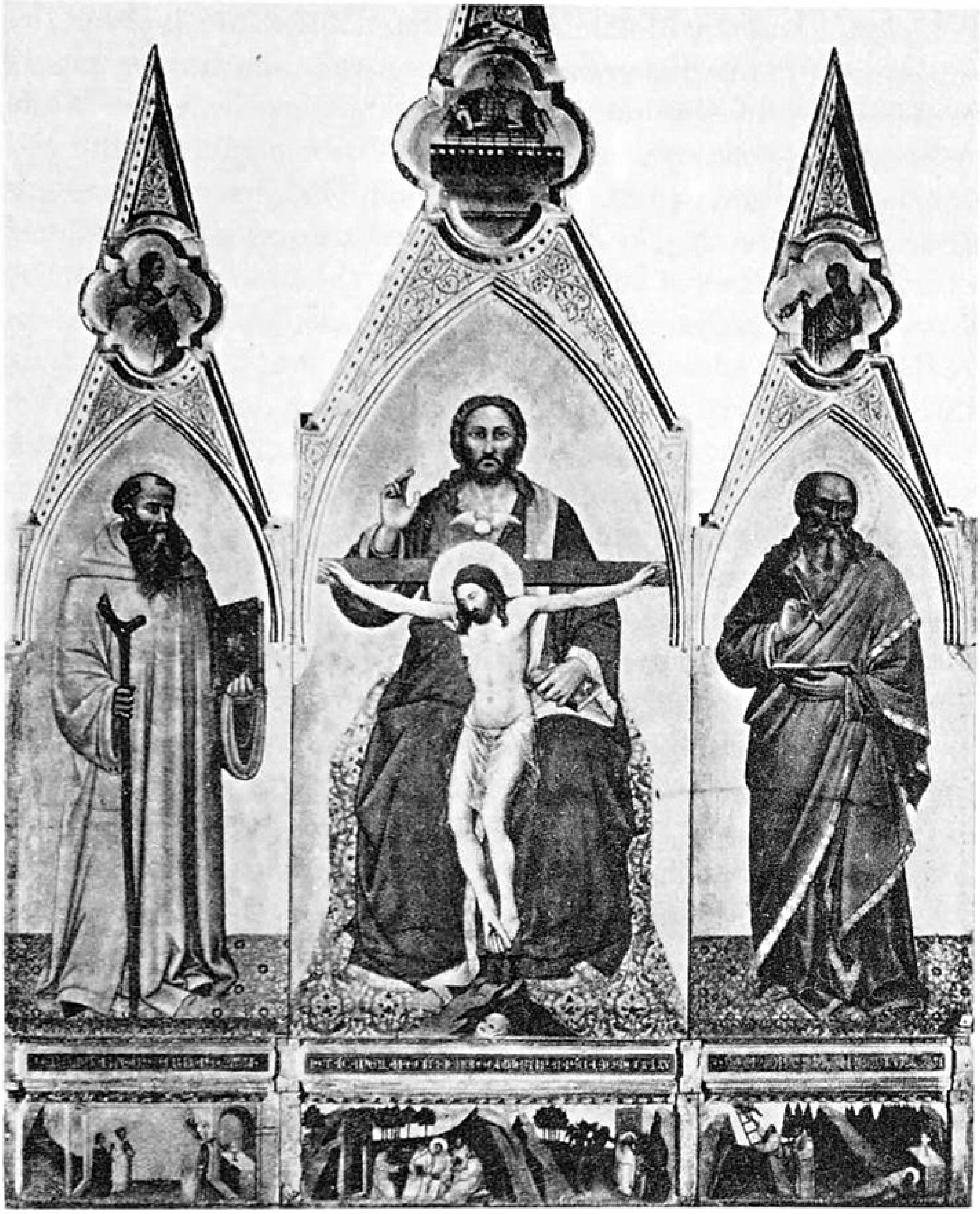


Fig. 290. Compagno dell' Orcagna, the Holy Trinity between two saints. Accademia, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Magi in the Jarves collection of Yale University (¹); it is a long narrow panel in which we see the shelter where the Nativity has taken place erected against a Gothic façade; just outside, the Madonna, near whom stand two women, sits on the ground

---

(¹) *O. Sirén*, Descriptive catalogue, p. 41, and Giotto and some of his Followers, pp. 227, 275 and pl. 193, attributes it to Andrea Orcagna.

holding the wooden looking Child before Whom kneels one of the Magi, the other two standing together await their turn to adore; lower down the servants are depicted holding the horses while one of them seems only with great difficulty to master a frightened camel, a detail that we have already found in Giotto's representation of this event. The base of this picture contains medallions of the two figures of the Annunciation. Another picture of the Adoration of the Magi by the same artist belongs to the collection of the late Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia; being a predella the event is here shown in a different manner but again the hut seems to be erected against another building in a rocky landscape. The Magi approach from the right, their servants and animals behind them; in the background we see two shepherds and their dog, partly hidden behind the rocks, coming towards the central group.

In the same collection, two other predella panels (¹) by the same artist, each consisting of two scenes, show us the martyrdoms of SS. John the Baptist, Lawrence and Bartholomew and another incident from the legend of this last saint.

Another predella panel belongs to Dr. Bashford Dean, New York; in this picture the characteristics of the painter are somewhat less obvious but all the same I believe we can ascribe it to the same master (²). It represents the Resurrection of Christ Who is depicted flying above His tomb — rather an Orcagnesque iconographical detail — while to the right and left the soldiers lie asleep on the ground.

Probably among the other works which are attributed to Andrea, Nardo or Jacopo, but which are unknown to me, there are some which I might ascribe to this artist.

Although the year 1365 — the only date we have concerning this artist — is one in which Andrea was still active, I feel quite certain that there is no justifiable reason to confound these two artistic personalities. That the "compagno" in certain cases cooperated with the greater painter seems to me very probable, but the difference remains very obvious.

---

(¹) *Sirén*, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 275 and pl. 194, ascribes them, as well as the previous panel, to Andrea.

(²) *Sirén*, op. cit., p. 276 and pl. 213, attributes it to Nardo.

The "compagno" did not possess that sense of handsome feature and elegant line which we find in Andrea's as well as Nardo's productions. He had a weakness for square, strongly built, short-necked figures with garments falling in straight folds. The heads are generally not oval but round, sometimes flat, the features are unrefined, the eyes staring without any trace of spirituality or idealization. This painter did not borrow anything from the Sienese current but remained purely Florentine. He adopted Andrea's light and shade effects, not to the extent Andrea used them himself but all the same not unskilfully. His greatest defect is coarseness of design, especially visible in the small scenes. It seems probable that the "compagno" was no longer under Andrea's influence when the Gothic element acquired such a preponderant importance in the latter's art, for there is no trace of it in any of this artist's productions.

The fact that two of his most characteristic works bear the date 1365 excludes the possibility — already very improbable — that the paintings we attribute to the "compagno" might be juvenile works of Andrea himself(¹).

---

(¹) Besides those enumerated on p. 508 note 1 as works of the school of Orcagna, *M. Salmi*, Spigolatura d'arte toscana, L'Arte, 1912, pp. 210 and 213, mentions: *Pescia*, SS. Sisto e Nicolao, Madonna enthroned and six angels; *Prato*, S. Spirito, Annunciation and six scenes on the predella (inferior late work); Uffizi store room, no. 5, polyptych, Madonna dell' Umilta and saints; no. 15, Madonna dell' Umilta; no. 4576, the Massacre of the Innocents and Adoration of the Magi; no. 4682, Madonna, two saints and the Annunciation, parts of an altar-piece, *Prato*, Cathedral, in the sacristy, Madonna between six saints and angels; *idem*, half-length figures of the two SS. John; Gallery, no. 9, Madonna between four saints. I should like to mention still the following: *Avignon*, Gallery, no. 322, the Coronation of the Virgin and six saints standing below; *Budapest*, Zichy Museum, the Coronation of the Virgin with four angelic musicians; *Ghent*, Gallery, the Coronation of the Virgin and below six angels playing musical instruments (the features of the Lord show some connection to the types we found in Antonio Veneziano's works); *Parma*, Gallery, nos. 424—426, triptych with the Madonna nursing the Child in the centre, two saints in either wing and the Lord and Annunciation in medallions (late work); *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, storeroom, no. 65, half-length figures of the Lord, the Virgin, St. John and the Twelve Apostles on fifteen panels; Rosini, pl. VIII, reproduces a Coronation of the Virgin, with eighteen saints and two angels making music, from his own collection which certainly must have been an Orcagnesque work.

### GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO (1).

Suida was the first to establish the artistic personality of Giovanni del Biondo but his name being unknown at that time, he called this painter after the most important work of art in which he discovered his hand the "master of the Rinuccini altarpiece" (2) and to him he rightly attributed eight paintings, suggesting even a ninth (3). Shortly after this, two works signed by this master came to light.

To the eight pictures attributed by Suida to this artist, Count Carlo Gamba has added eleven others (4), while Messrs. Khvoshinsky and Salmi mention twenty works by Giovanni del Biondo (5). Fresh additions have of late lengthened the list and I venture to make here a further attribution. In the meantime some documents which have been discovered enable us to follow his artistic career from 1356 until 1392.

Del Migliore in his notes on Vasari thought it possible that Giovanni del Biondo belonged to the Landini family and might have been a nephew of Jacopo Landini as his name was also Giovanni and his native province was the Casentino, probably Pratovecchio (6).

Documentary evidence affords us the following facts about the artist: in October 1356 he becomes a citizen of Florence (7), in 1360 he makes an altar-polyptych for Castelfiorentino (8); we find the date 1372 on an altar-piece — a Madonna and four saints — in the chapel to the left of the choir in Sta. Croce; the polyptych of S. Ansano, Fiesole, now in the Bandini Museum bears the date 1373, while in 1376 Giovanni appears among the taxpayers of the St. John's quarter, Gonfalone Vajo, popolo di S. Maria

---

(1) *Kurzwelly,* Giovanni del Biondo, Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, XIV, p. III.

(2) Florentinische Maler, p. 45.

(3) Coronation of the Virgin in the Gallery of Altenburg attributed by Schmarzow to Orcagna.

(4) *C. Gamba,* Giovanni del Biondo, Rivista d'Arte, V, 1907, p. 22.

(5) *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit., p. 33.

(6) *Vasari Milanesi,* I, p. 669 note 2.

(7) *Gaye,* Carteggio, I, p. 508.

(8) Arte e Storia, XXIV, 1905, p. 41 after *L. Giacomini,* Vita di S. Verdeana, Florence, 1692, p. 323.

Alberighi (1); the Madonna in the Gallery of Siena is signed and dated 1377, the Rinuccini altar-piece bears the date 1379, an Annunciation between two saints in the Innocenti Hospital of Florence that of 1385, altered into 1485 by the repainter of the frame, and a Madonna at San Felice a Ema near Florence, 1387. In 1389 his name is said to appear in the scroll of painters of Siena as "Giovanni de Biondi da Fiorenza pittore" and in 1392 he signed the panel of the Madonna at Figline in the Val d'Arno Superiore, about which the old records have been found (2).

Thus we possess a certain number of dated works which give us a clear idea of Giovanni's earlier as well as his later manner; besides these pictures already mentioned, we know the approximate date of a large polyptych in the Accademia of Florence because originally it adorned the chapel founded in Sta. Maria Novella by Mainardo Cavalcanti who died in 1378.

Only one of the critics who have dealt with Giovanni del Biondo has observed that a fragment of the altar-piece, which the painter executed in 1360 for Castelfiorentino, still exists. It was a polyptych representing the Madonna, SS. Francis, John the Evangelist, Sophia and Verdiana, made for the church of Sta. Sophia of this city and was signed "*Giovanni Biondi fiorentino.*"

In the sacristy of the church of Sta. Verdiana of Castelfiorentino we still find a panel representing this saint which no doubt formed part of this altar-piece (3). The much damaged picture shows us the saint standing between two snakes. Even if we did not find clear traces of it in his later works, this picture would prove that Giovanni's manner is an outcome of the art of Andrea and Nardo da Cione; this explains also its attribution to Andrea (4). Del Biondo's own manner is here still very much dominated by that of his two more gifted predecessors which would lead us to believe that at that time he was only a young artist; this supposition is corroborated by the fact that we find him still active more than thirty years after this date.

---

(1) *G. Poggi,* Documenti su Giovanni del Biondo, Rivista d'Arte. V, 1907, p. 26.

(2) *Idem.*

(3) It has been attributed to the school of Duccio. *I Vavasour Elder,* Spigolatura di Val d'Elsa, Rassegna d'Arte, 1909, p. 159.

(4) *Sirén,* Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 275, pl. 188.

A very characteristic work of the painter is the Coronation of the Virgin of 1373 in the Bandini Museum at Fiesole. This picture, although having three terminals which contain the Crucified and the two figures of the Annunciation, is not really a triptych as there is no actual division between that part formed by the central figures and the large group of saints at either side; below kneel thirteen angels most of whom play musical instruments. The absence of these divisions is, as we have already seen, an Orcagnesque peculiarity, Andrea for example shows us it in his polyptych of 1357, but it is not the only detail borrowed from this stream of influence; the attitude of the Lord and Virgin represented in profile, the form of the crown, the multitude of saints arranged in rows and the beautiful brocaded curtain behind the central figures are all Orcagnesque elements. There is also an obvious attempt to reproduce the relief which Andrea rendered so masterfully, but here, especially in the drapery of the principal figures, it is rather a failure. Giovanni del Biondo, however, succeeded better in depicting this plastic effect in the faces, but the features, although belonging to the Orcagnesque type, are rather disfigured by an exaggeration of their characteristics and a hard and angular design which gives the faces a fanatic and ascetic aspect.

This artist is not sufficiently important to make it necessary to describe all his works in detail. Two other polyptychs, however, are characteristic of this stage in his career. The first of these will be found in the sacristy of the oratory of S. Giovanni Valdarno and also represents the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 291) in a composition very similar to the previous one, but here divided above as if executed on five panels, while below the only divisions are between the central part and that on either side (¹). These latter each contain a large group of saints, many of whom are depicted kneeling. This painting may be somewhat earlier than the one mentioned above; it is a handsomer work in which the faces show a less linear design. The other picture of the same subject is divided between the Vatican Gallery which possesses the two lateral panels (nos. 104—105) containing large groups of saints (fig. 292), the upper part of each being again form-

---

(¹) *E. Baldi*, L'Oratorio della Madonna delle Grazie in San Giovanni Val d'Arno, Firenze, 1914, p. 64, attributes it to Gaddi (which ?).

ed by two arches, and the Jarves collection of Yale University which contains the central panel. Here the Lord and the Madonna, both crowned sit close together against a magnificently ornamented background; they are encircled by angels, while

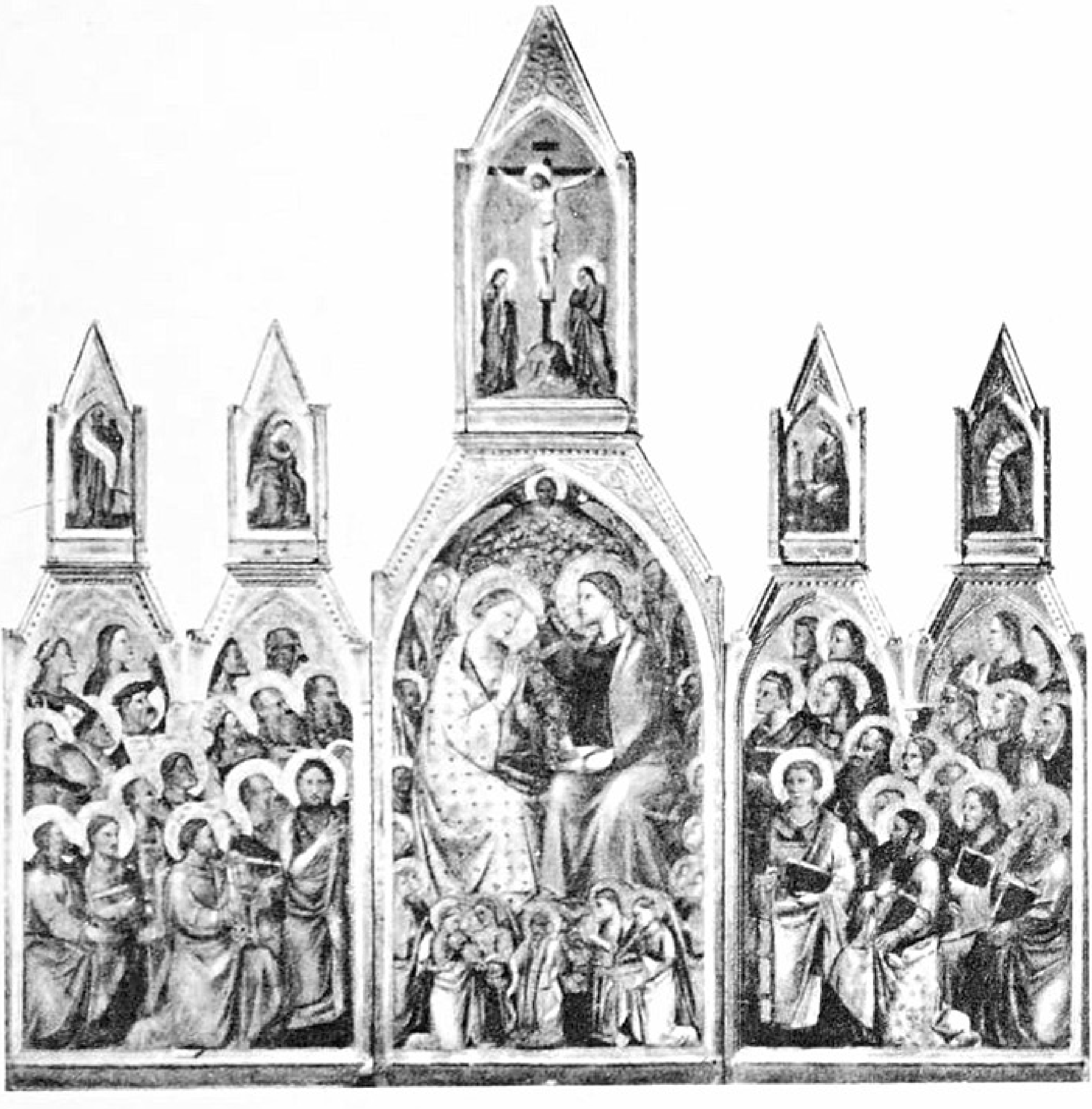


Fig. 291. Giovanni del Biondo, the Coronation of the Virgin and saints. San Giovanni, Val d'Arno. Photo Alinari.

below kneel eight other angels playing musical instruments, with two cherubim between, a celestial hierarchy repeated in many of the artist's works. Above, symbolic figures of the Church and the Synagogue are depicted. The characteristics noted in the picture in Fiesole are still more obvious here.

The Madonna and four saints dating from 1372 in a chapel of Sta. Croce is in this respect less typical, but on the other hand a good example of the artist's manner at this stage will be found

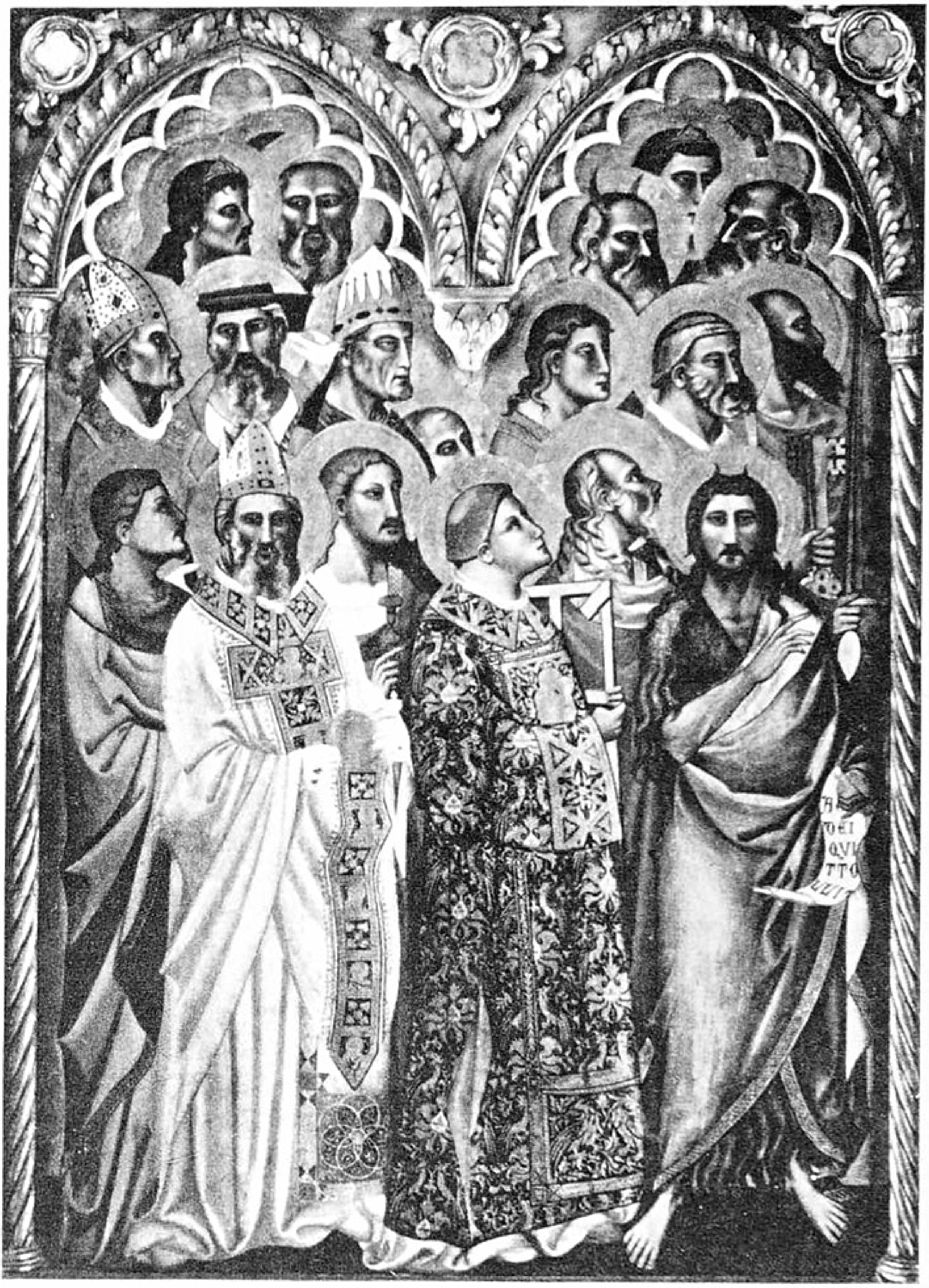


Fig. 292. Giovanni del Biondo, Saints. Vatican Gallery, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

in the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the Museum of the Cathedral of Florence (¹).

---

(¹) Attributed to this artist by *Khvoshinsky and Salmi*, op. cit.

More calm and less exaggerated in expression is the polyptych from the Cavalcanti chapel in Sta. Maria Novella which in all probability was executed before 1378, unless of course, and it was not at all unusual, the founder left the money for the painting to be made after his death. It is a very elaborate work; the centre is occupied by a representation of the Annunciation, seen inside a building the architecture of which is not at all in harmony with the crowd of figures which surrounds it.

The predella, the frame ornamented with figures, and the superimposed panels make of this picture such a complicated construction that the effect produced is not a very happy one, while the loud discordant colouring only heightens this disagreeable impression. His types seem to have undergone a certain change, this is especially noticeable in the faces of the Virgin and the angel which are more beautiful and less angular, and although the asceticism is not altogether absent, similar types will be found among the innumerable figures of this polyptych.

Two dated works help us to determine the period at which this change took place, for in them we find features more resembling those we found in the above panel than del Biondo shows us in his polyptych of 1373 and similar productions which may be of a somewhat earlier date. The two pictures which I refer to are the signed Madonna of 1377 in the Accademia of Siena and the Rinuccini altar-piece of 1379.

On the former which on account of the coat of arms may have been made for the Fantoni De Ricci family who settled in the neighbourhood of Pienza (¹), the signature reads: "*Johannes Biondi Pinsit Annis MCCCLXXVII*" (fig. 293). The Virgin is here depicted in half-length and one might imagine from the expression that the painter had been somewhat impressed by the sweet melancholy of the Madonnas which were at that time executed by his colleagues of Siena, but neither in the image of the Virgin nor in that of the healthy-looking Child is there any trace of the Sienese elegance; the weird ascetic aspect of his earlier productions has also disappeared. In the upper part the Lord is represented crucified between the seated Virgin and St. John.

The Rinuccini altar-piece is again of a rather elaborate con-

---

(¹) *A. Franchi.* Rassegna d'Arte Senese, 1907, p. 3.

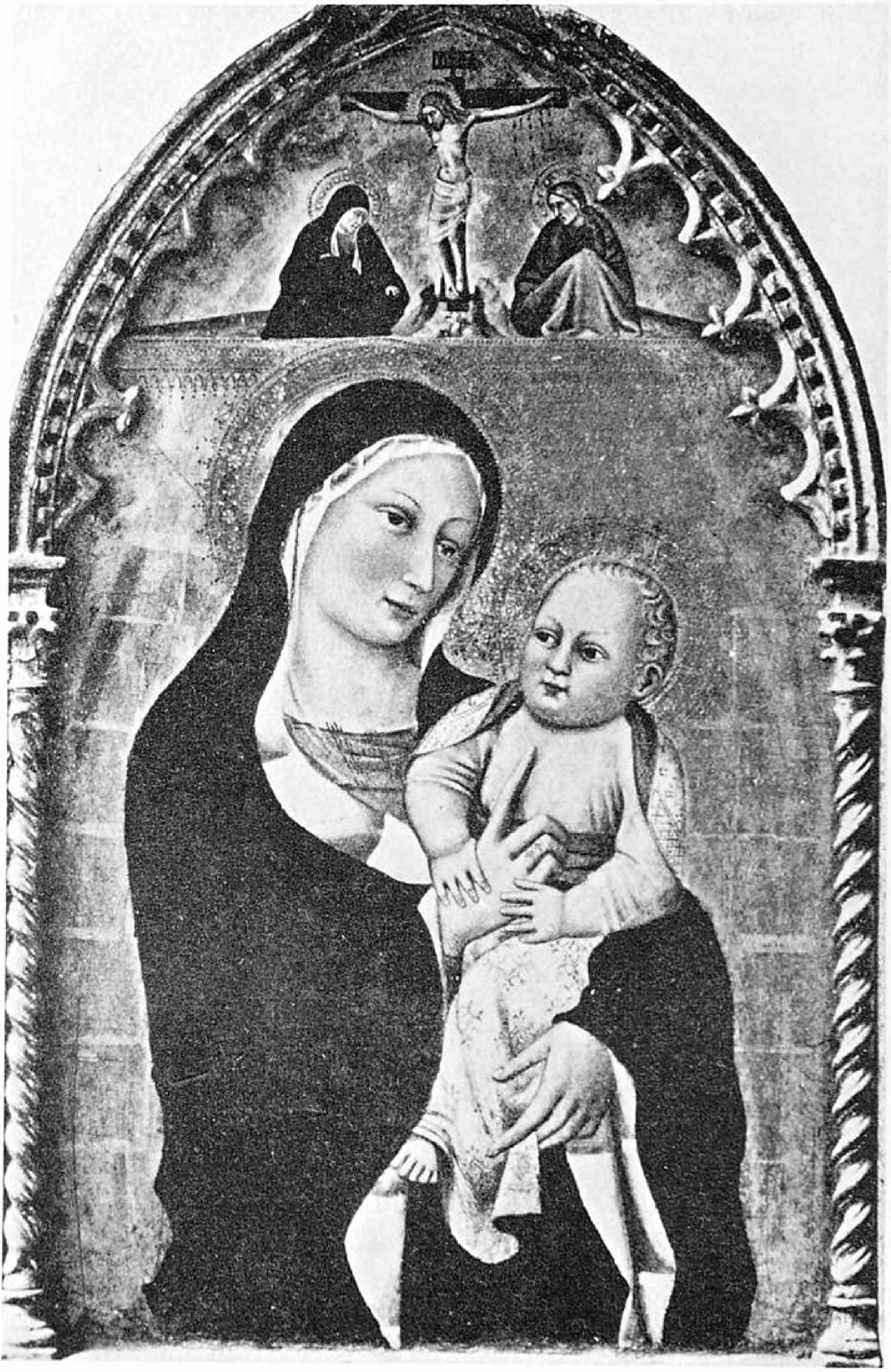


Fig. 293. Giovanni del Biondo, Madonna and Crucifixion, 1367. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Alinari.

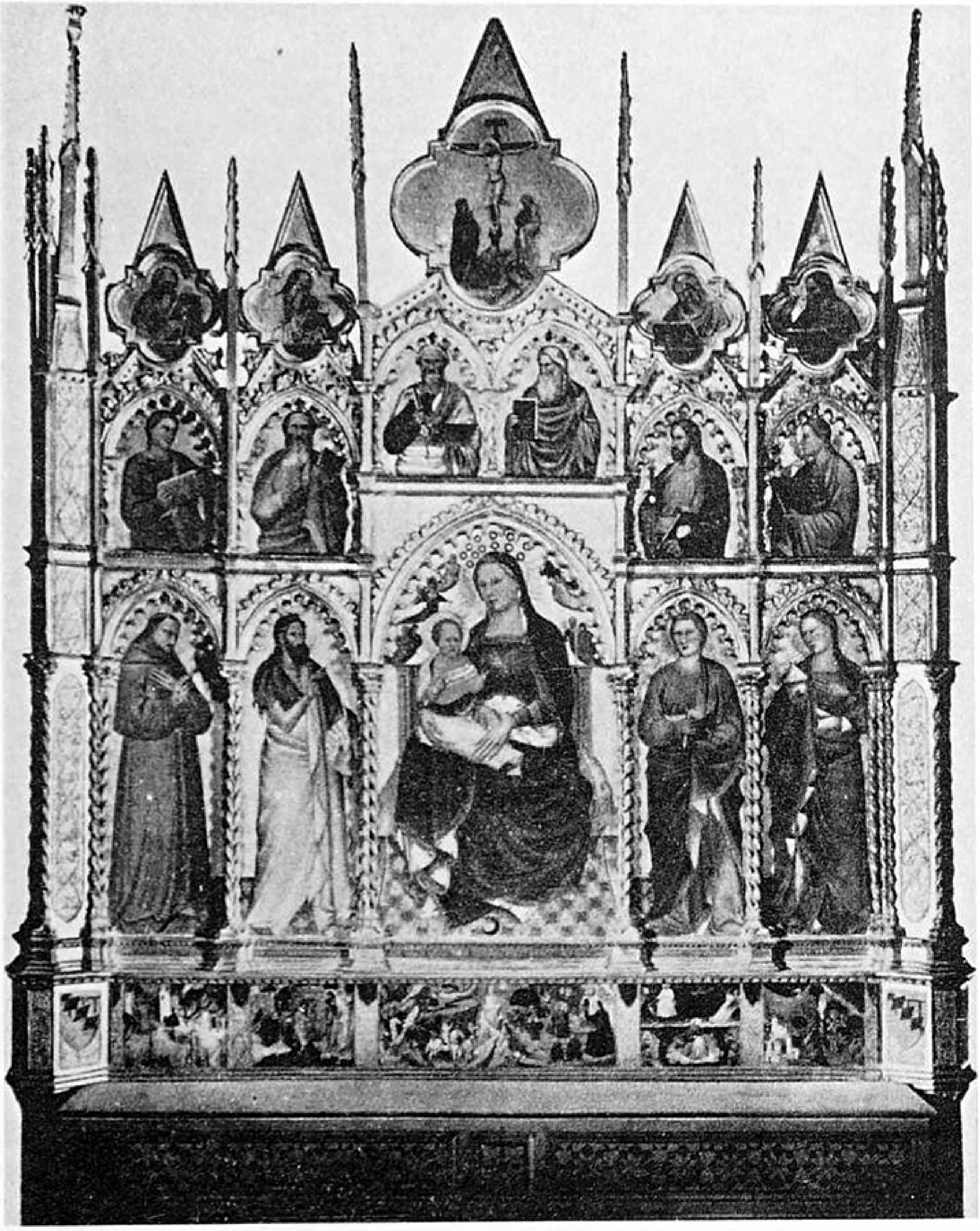


Fig. 294. Giovanni del Biondo, the Rinuccini altar-piece, 1379. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

struction (fig. 294). The Madonna and Child occupy the central panel, on either side are two saints, the Baptist and St. Francis to the left, St. John the Evangelist and the Magdalene to the right, the panel of the predella under each of these saints depicts an event from his or her life while the central part contains the Adoration of the Magi. Above the five principal panels are six

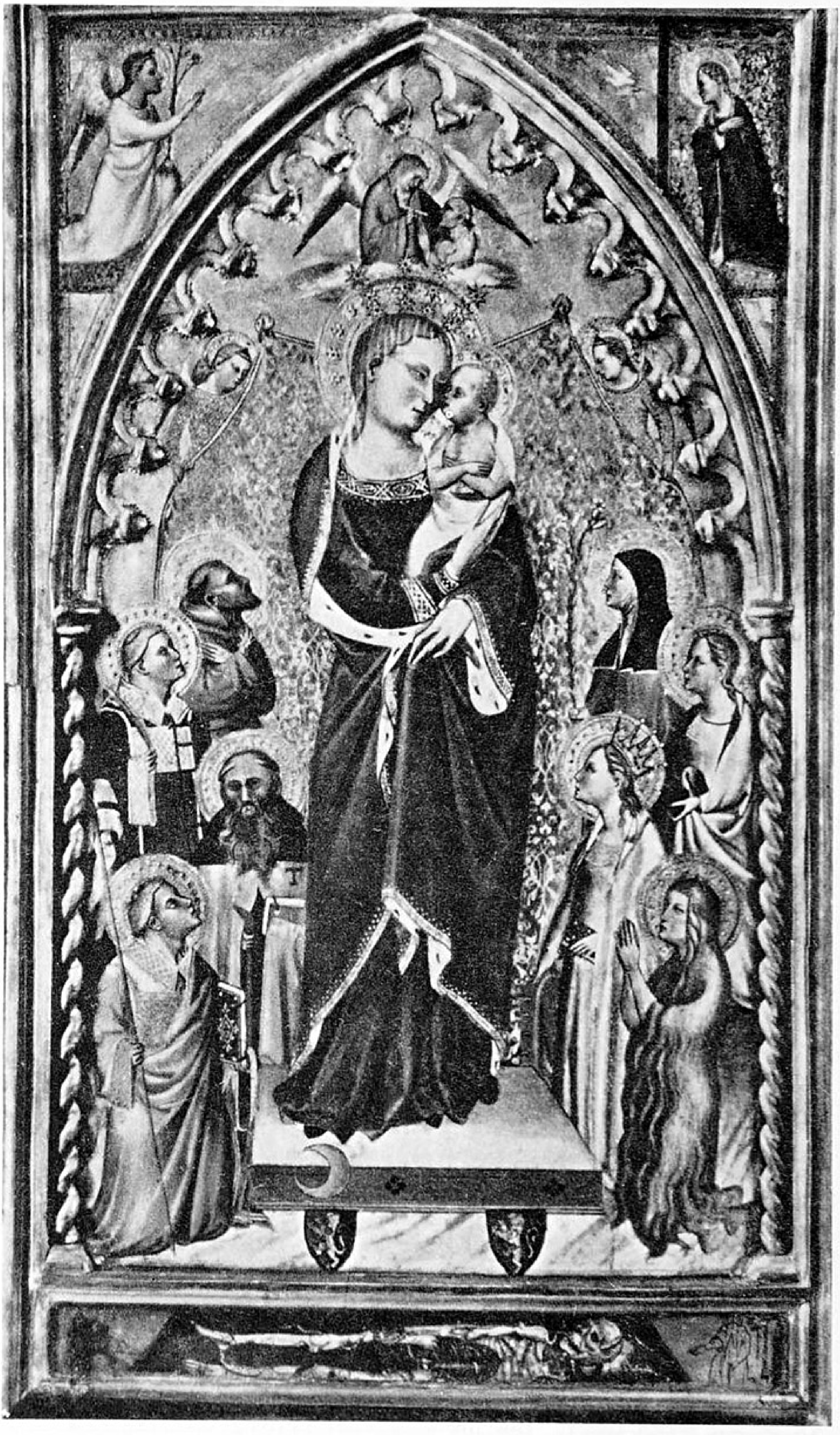


Fig. 295. Giovanni del Biondo, Madonna and saints. Vatican Gallery, Rome.
Photo Anderson.

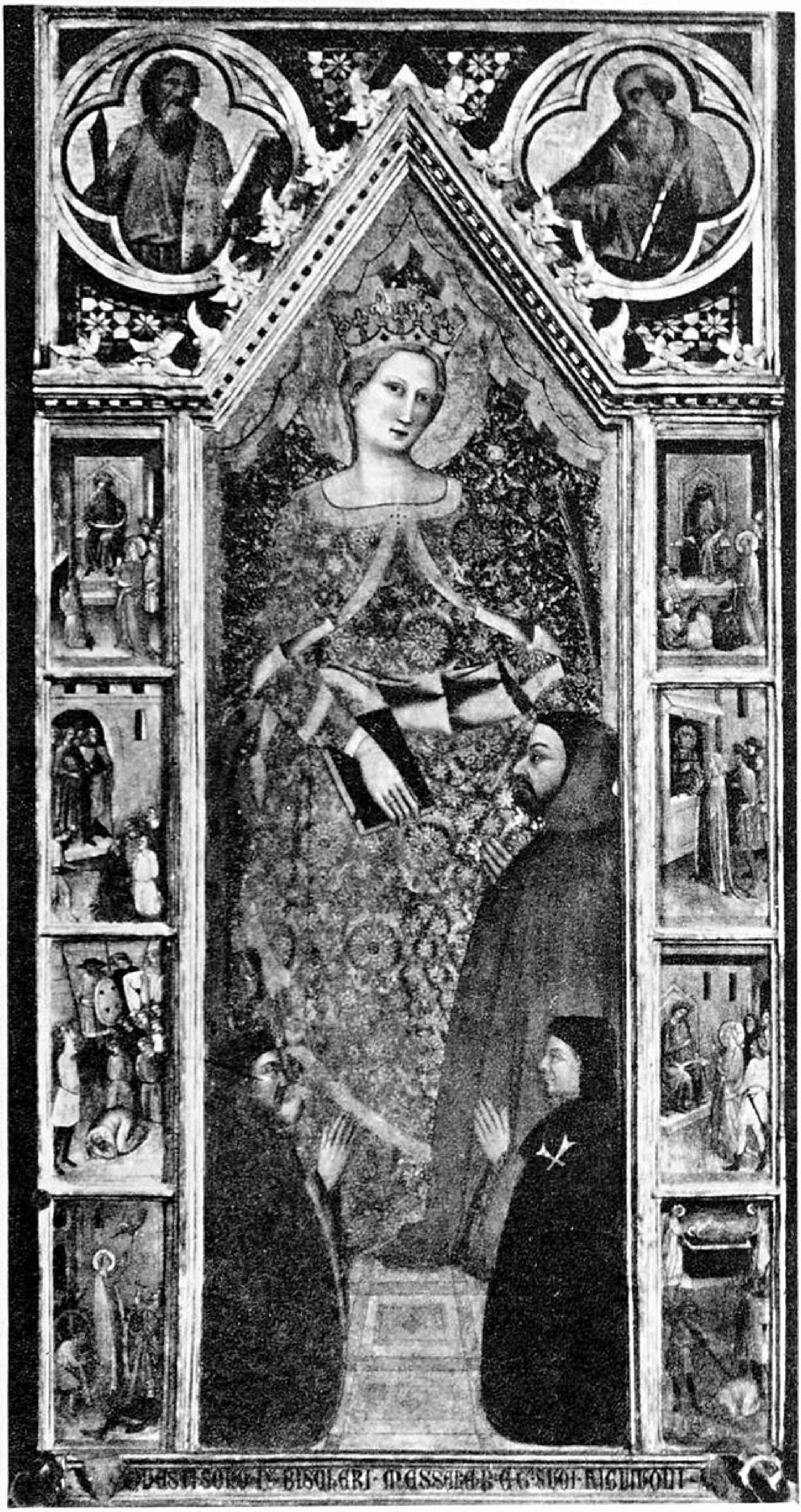


Fig. 296. Giovanni del Biondo, St. Catherine with adorers and scenes from her life. Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

smaller ones ornamented with half-length figures of saints — two above the central one — while in the terminals we find centrally a representation of the Crucifixion and at the sides the four Evangelists.

The design of the drapery is somewhat hard but nevertheless it is the work of a painter who, although possessing an unrefined execution, betrays in the expression and regularity of his features an obvious attempt to please. The head of the Child Jesus shows a decided connection to the Sienese model especially as found in the works of Andrea Vanni. The image of St. Peter in the upper part of this polyptych bears a strong resemblance to some of the figures of the Annunciation in the Accademia (1).

In a very similar manner the artist executed a small picture in the Vatican Gallery (no. 80, fig. 295) in which the upright figure of the Madonna is surrounded by eight standing or kneeling saints, while angels support the decorative curtain which forms the background; the spandrels contain the figures of the Annunciation and above we see the Virgin receiving a soul in Paradise.

In comparison with the artist who produced the thin and ascetic but agitated saints of the earlier polyptych, the author of the Rinuccini retable seems somewhat bourgeois.

The work which I should like to add to the list of this master's productions is a panel in the Museum of the Cathedral of Florence (no. 86) representing St. Catherine and three kneeling adorers with four scenes from the saint's legend to either side and the figures of St. Bartholomew and St. John the Evangelist (?) above (fig. 296). The ornamented cloak of St. Catherine is so fused with the background of a similar design that the outline of the body is hardly discernible, the features of the holy martyr are conventionally handsome and of a type reminding us more or less of Bernardo Daddi, but they are rather lacking in expression; the portraits of the donors are very individual.

Two other works in this manner, which seems to be an intermediate one in the artist's career, still exist at Florence. The one is a figure of St. Zenobius in the Cathedral (fig. 297), reminding us rather of the panel of the Church-Fathers by Jacopo da Cione in Sta. Croce; SS. Lawrence and Stephen kneel at his feet while the drapery in the background is held by personifications of Humility and Charity and the predella is ornamented with scenes from his life. This picture is very rich in ornamental detail. The second is a representation of St. John the Evangelist until recently in the Uffizi (no. 14, fig. 298); he is depicted enthroned holding an open book and pointing towards the Saviour and half-length figures of angels above; under his feet are three vices personified. Here also the decorative element is highly developed. The saint resembles very much one of the half-length figures in the upper part of the Rinuccini polyptych. The predella which contained the ascension of this saint once belonged to the same Gallery (no. 17).

---

(1) I do not think there is any reason to attribute to Giovanni del Biondo the frescoes in this chapel which Giovanni da Milano left to be finished by a pupil as is suggested by *Toesca*, Pittura e Miniatura Lomb., p.226 note 5 and *Sirén*, Descriptive catalogue, p. 47.

The style into which Giovanni's art developed in a later stage may be observed in the dated works of 1385, 1387 and 1392. In the two earlier panels we still see him under an agree-

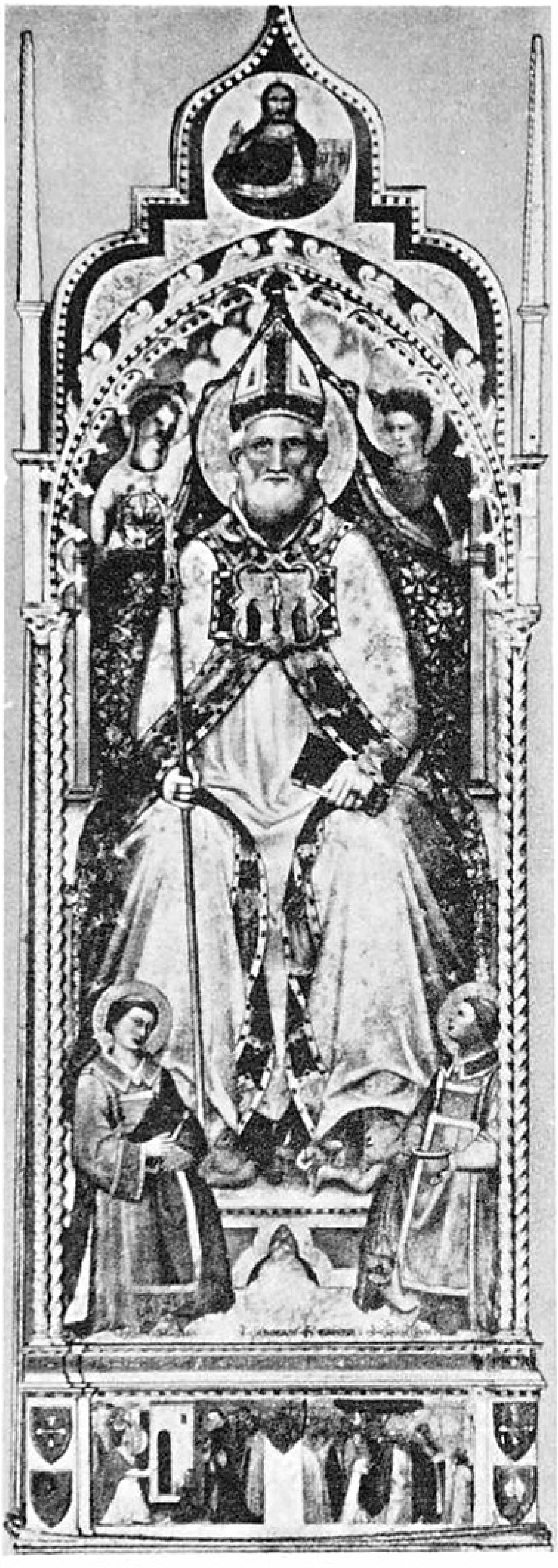


Fig. 297. Giovanni del Biondo, St. Zenobius. Cathedral, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

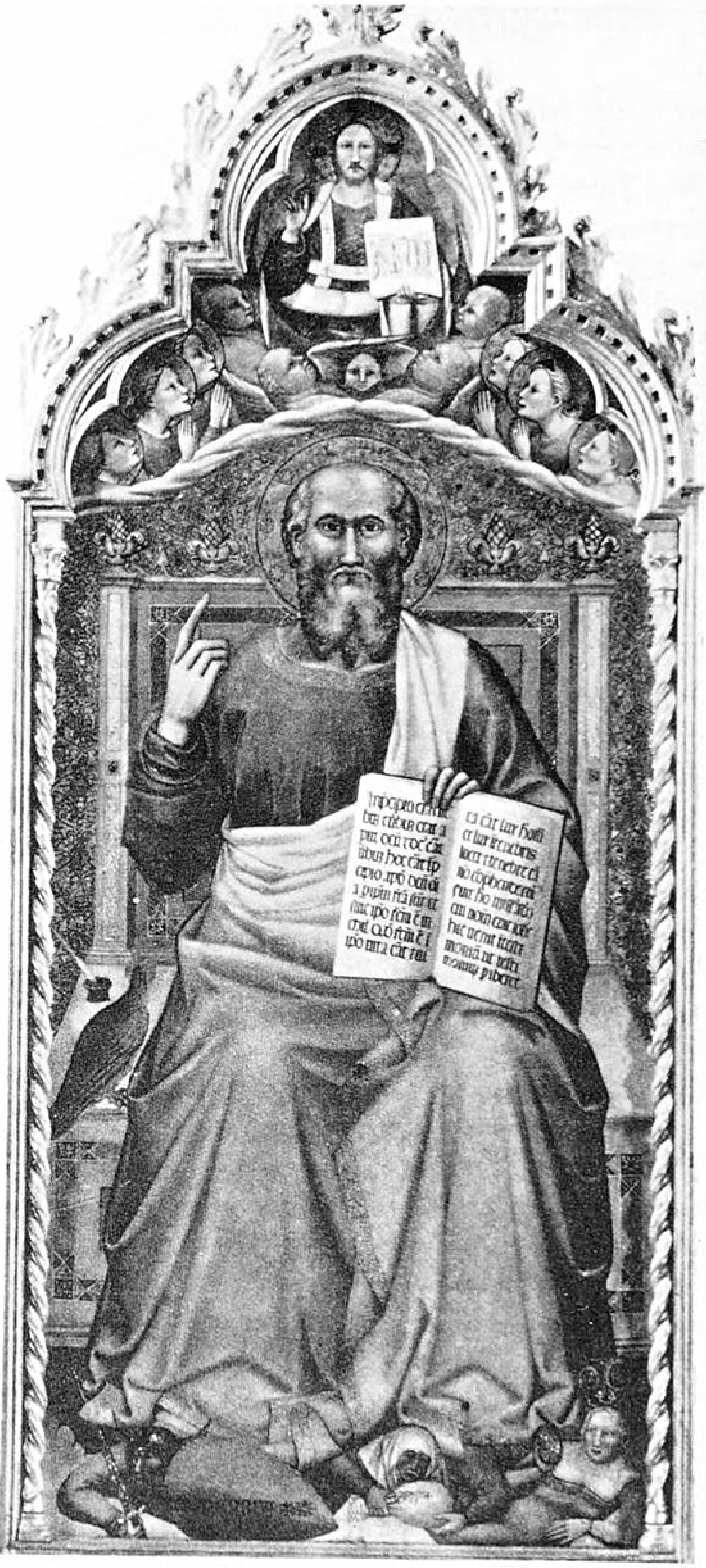


Fig. 298. Giovanni del Biondo, St. John the Evangelist.
Uffizi, Florence. Photo Alinari.

able aspect; the first of these is the Annunciation and two saints in the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence. That the date 1485 on the repainted frame should really be exactly a hundred years earlier is confirmed by the picture of 1387 at S. Felice a Ema in which the Madonna affectionately pressing the Babe to her, is adored by the donor and his family, in all sixteen figures, arranged in two groups. From above a crown descends on the Virgin's head; in the predella below the central panel we find a half-length figure of the Saviour and an inscription with the date 1387 and name, Bonacchorso Chompagni, of the donor. The other parts of this picture contain the figures of SS. Michael, Lawrence, Stephen and Catherine and below in the predella small scenes from their lives (1).

A thorough knowledge of the development of the art of Giovanni del Biondo is necessary in order to see in this picture, which Count Carlo Gamba rightly classes as one of his most pleasant productions, the hand of the artist. The painter seems more inspired than at any other moment, expression and movement are more animated but less conventionally beautiful, while the proportions have somewhat broadened out.

It is the decadence of this manner which characterizes the last stage of our painter.

A Madonna in Sta. Felicita, Florence, in which the Child stands on His Mother's knee, caressing her chin with one hand and holding a bird in the other, leads the way, although the features are still handsome and the design refined, to the signed and dated Madonna enthroned with the Infant on her left arm in a chapel of the Misericordia church at Figline in the Val d'Arno (fig. 299), under which we read "*Questa Tavola fece fare la compagnia dorto Sanmichele e di Sancta Maria Nuova chome reda di Messere Baldo da Fighine a onore di Dio e della sua Madre e per l'anima sua e de suo morti Anno MCCCLXXXXII. Giovanni del Biondo la fe*" (2). The forms are heavy and hard and

---

(1) *G. Garocci*, I dintorni di Firenze, II, Florence, 1907, p. 273 attributes this panel to the school of the Gaddi. This picture was stolen a few years ago. I recognized the central panel when it was about to be sold and it was returned to the church of S. Felice.

(2) Documents concerning the construction of the chapel and the payment of this picture have been published by G. Poggi.

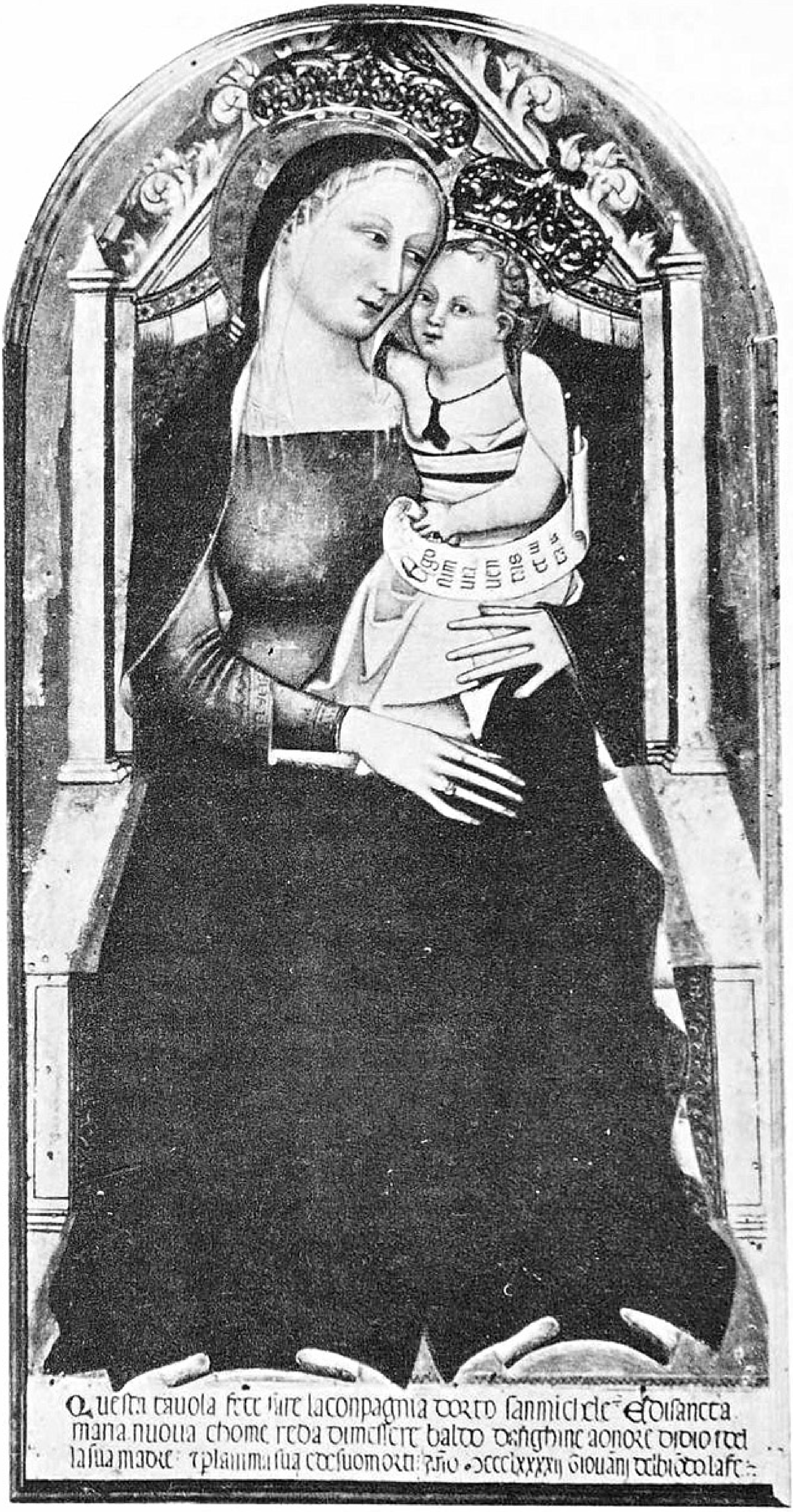

Questa tavola fece fare la conpagnia dorto sanmichele e di sancta
maria nuova chome reda di messere baldo da fighine a onore di dio e del
la sua madre e per lanima sua e de suo morti anno MCCCLXXXXII giovanni del biondo la fe

Fig. 299. Giovanni del Biondo, Madonna, 1392. Misericordia, Figline.
Photo Reali.

without any elegance, the hands especially are shapeless and very wooden.

These same characteristics are to be found in a three-quarter figure of the Madonna in the church of Sta. Agata at Scarperia in the Mugello (1); and in a Coronation of the Virgin and groups of saints in the Cook collection, Richmond, which certainly date from this same period which must be towards the end of the painter's life. At Aquila (Abruzze) the Paliti family possesses a large panel on which are represented God in benediction, the Lord and the Virgin surrounded by six angels, numerous groups of saints at either side and the figures of the Annunciation and two cherubs in the spandrels. Although Giovanni del Biondo's characteristics are manifest in this work, the painting is so inferior in quality that we can only attribute it to a follower of the master.

The works which we have dealt with above suffice to give us an idea of the career of this minor artist (2).

Giovanni del Biondo was anything but a great artist but very interesting on account of the fact that his works so faithfully reflect the different influences which affected him. His first dated work of 1360, the polyptych of 1373 and the altar-piece which he might have executed between these dates or immediately after the latter, indicate that the painter learned his art from neither Nardo nor Jacopo di Cione, but sooner from Andrea himself. These works demonstrate, at the same time, the artist's utter incapacity to follow his master closely, although he attempts to imitate all his characteristics in the form of his pictures as well as in the types of his figures, his technique and ornamental detail.

---

(1) Reprod. in *Khvoshinsky and Salmi*, op. cit., pl. 33.

(2) Other works attributed to the same artist are: *Cambridge*, FitzWilliam Museum, Coronation of the Virgin (Sirén, Burlington Magazine, XXXVII, 1920, p. 290; *Cologne*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Madonna (Khvoshinsky and Salmi); *Florence*, Carmine cloister, Madonna, saints and adorers (Venturi, Storia dell'Arte, V, p. 904, contested by Toesca, Pitt. e Miniat. Lomb., p. 226 note 5, who there attributes it to Giovanni da Milano); Uffizi magazines, Madonna and two kneeling angels (Gamba); *near Florence*, San Donnino Pieve, Madonna and two saints (Gamba); Vincigliata, S. Lorenzo, Madonna (Gamba, contested by R. Offner, Art in America, 1921, p. 240, who attributes it to a follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini); *Munich*, antique-dealer, Madonna and two saints (Kurzwelly); *New York*, antique-dealer, Coronation of the Virgin (Sirén, Burlington Mag., XXXVIII, 1921, p. V); *Rome*, Vatican, no. 58, Madonna and two saints (Sirén, L'Arte, 1921, p. 97, seems to me by a follower of Nic. di Pietro Gerini, v. p. 627); *Romena* (Casentino), Pieve, Madonna and saints, part of a polyptych (Salmi, L'Arte, 1913, p. 212).

That his second manner was a result of the influence of Giovanni da Milano seems again very problable, although I do not think he ever became anything but "a pale shadow" of this artist (Sirén). His Rinuccini altar-piece betrays in its construction more connection with Giovanni da Milano and the proportion of the figures also leads us to believe that it was on this example del Biondo based his work.

Still later his art undergoes another change and in his Madonna of 1387 in S. Felice a Ema I believe we can discover the influence of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. Here we suddenly meet with a survival of Giottesque elements which Gerini, apparently borrowing from Daddi, was the only one to represent at that time in Florence. This influence will be noticed again, although less marked, in the Madonna of Sta. Felicita, but something of it remained until the end of his career.

This constant change of style is a characteristic which can be observed in the works of several minor artists and it is only natural, for where the interior resources are feeble more has to be borrowed from outside. Giovanni del Biondo's greatest drawback is that, being incapable of raising himself to the height of others, he reduced the manner of greater masters to his own level. His chief mistake may be said to be lack of refinement. It seems on the other hand that he was of a more mystical disposition than any of the painters who influenced him; this we observe not only in the fanatic expressions of the figures in his earlier works but also in his taste for religious symbols which is completely absent in the productions of these other masters.

## NICCOLO DI TOMMASO.

Niccolo di Tommaso is one of the many painters whose advice was asked in 1366 for the construction of the Cathedral of Florence (¹) and in 1365 he was one of the witnesses in the drawing up of Nardo di Cione's will (²).

---

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p 583, note 2.

(²) *Idem*. p. 594, note 2.

His signature and the date 1371 appear on an altar-piece in the church of S. Antonio, Naples: "*MCCCLXXI Nicholaus Tomasi de Flore picto*" (¹).

In the centre of this painting is depicted the figure of St. Antony who blesses with one hand and holds a book in the other, behind we see two angels, while two others playing musical instruments kneel at his feet. SS. Peter and Francis are represented on the left lateral panel and SS. John the Evangelist and Louis of Toulouse on the right.

The painter was obviously inspired by Nardo but this influence is not perhaps sufficiently strong here for us to admit that Niccolo was a pupil. We can, however, notice the same artistic aspiration and attempt to produce beautiful faces with religious expressions; the drapery also to a certain extent reproduces the Orcagnesque plasticity and the taste for decoration seems to have been taken from the same source; but the proportions are somewhat more elongated.

I do not know any other work which can with certainty be attributed to this artist.

---

(¹) *L. Salazar,* La chiesa di Sant Antonio Abbate, Napoli Nobilissima, XIV, 1905, no. 5. *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit , p. 36.

# CHAPTER V.

## THE END OF THE GIOTTESQUE TRADITION.

### AGNOLO GADDI AND HIS FOLLOWERS (¹).

Taddeo Gaddi had four sons, Giovanni, Niccolo, Agnolo and Zenobi, of whom the first and third certainly learnt their art from their father and probably the second as well, for he too was a painter.

Vasari does not like Agnolo Gaddi; he tells us that he was very promising when young but later these expectations were not fulfilled. He did not paint on account of a natural taste for art but out of family tradition and his avariciousness seems to have been the chief motive of his great activity. Vasari on several occasions also criticizes his design.

The Aretin biographer informs us, as I have already remarked, that Taddeo charged Jacopo di Casentino with the artistic education of his sons. The two dates given by this authority for Agnolo's activities seem to me very early considering he died in 1396; in 1346 Agnolo should have restored the vault of the baptistery of S. Giovanni in Florence and in 1348 a group of angels around a Coronation of the Virgin in Sta. Maria Maggiore. That this information offered by Vasari is again erroneous is proved by the fact that Agnolo is mentioned among the painters employed in 1369 for the decoration of the Vatican as the assistant of his brother Giovanni and this suggests that he was not very old at that time.

---

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi,* I, p. 635. *Baldinucci,* op. cit., p. 225. *C. Frey,* La Loggia dei Lanzi *G. Poggi,* Il Duomo di Firenze, Berlin, 1909, pp. 10, 17 and 87 (for the documents concerning the statues and the windows of the Cathedral). *Sirén,* Giottino, pp. 57, and 92. *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op. cit., p. 44. *B. C. Kreplin* in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, XIII, p. 25.

Besides his activity there, Vasari attributes to this Giovanni frescoes in the S. Spirito monastery and we know that he died in 1383.

Agnolo must have been a well-known artist in 1380 when he was charged to make designs for the plastic decoration of the Loggia dei Lanzi. From 1383 until 1386 he is busy drawing and colouring the statues of Faith, Hope, Prudence and Charity which were executed in stone by Jacopo di Piero Guidi and Piero di Giovanni. Between 1370 and 1380 his name appears several times in the tax registers and in 1387 he becomes a member of the S. Lucca corporation (¹). That same year we find him first designing and afterwards painting a statue of an Apostle for the façade of the Cathedral, which was carved by Giovanni di Tedesco; in 1390 he is paid for the statues of two SS. John and in 1395 for four figures of Apostles all for the same façade, while in 1390 he made, together with Giuliano d'Arrigo, the design for a statue in wood of Pietro Farnese on horseback to be placed above one of the lateral doors of the Cathedral, and in 1394 he sketched the figures of six saints for windows of this church, which work was paid for two years later.

During the period that Agnolo worked in Florence we also find him active at Prato where he went for the first time about 1385 with Tommaso del Mazza in connection with some work which had to be executed for Francesco Marco Datini, a man who evidently did not part easily with his money, as pressing letters of 1391 clearly prove. On the other hand there exists a letter from Datini to a certain Stoldo di Lorenzo, full of complaints about the painters who were working for him, and ending with the melancholy phrase "...... mai non farò piu dipignere", which would lead us to believe that the artists had little consideration for their employer (²).

Agnolo, however, returned to Prato in 1393 for a more prolonged stay as may be concluded from the fact that the same Datini provides him with household utensils. The frescoes, representing the legend of the cintola in the Cathedral, were finish-

---

(¹) *Gualandi*, op. cit., VI, p. 176.

(²) *J. B. Supino,* Una ricordanza inedita di Francesco di Marco Datini, Rivista d'Arte, V, 1907, p. 134.

ed before 1396; various payments for these paintings were made during 1395. Helping the artist in this enterprise we find mention of Gherardo di Bartolo, Neri d'Antonio, Vittorino and il Massaio. Richa in his "Chiese fiorentine" and after him Cavalcaselle admit that Agnolo executed the frescoes in the choir of Sta. Croce in 1394 but their style points to an earlier period. His death took place in 1396 while he was working in S. Miniato al Monte; the payment for this was made after his decease to his brother Zenobi Gaddi who was a banker, and in 1381 envoy of Florence at Venice and who died in 1400. Agnolo's wife, Giovanna di Landozzi di Andrea Lodi and his son Niccolo, who did not follow his father's career, still appear in the list of rate-payers of 1404 and 1415 (¹).

No doubt the picture he was working on at the moment of his death, is the large panel still found on the Crocifesso-altar of S. Miniato, representing scenes of the Passion and two figures of saints. According to Vasari, Agnolo left over 50,000 florins and was buried in Sta. Maria Novella; he also informs us that the portrait of the artist appears in one of the frescoes that he executed in this church.

We have then two authentic works made during the last year of his life as well as the documented frescoes which Agnolo made for the degli Alberti family in the choir of Sta. Croce, for in January 1395 a certain Niccolo di Bernardo took measures of the frescoes in this chapel of Sta. Croce "che dipinse il Maestro Agnolo". These paintings were executed no doubt after 1374 in which year Jacopo di Caroccio Alberti made a testamentary declaration to the effect that his tomb and that of his son should be removed from this church.

The works which Vasari quotes (²) as having been made by Agnolo are: a remarkably realistic Resurrection of Lazarus in S. Jacopo fra i Fossi; scenes from the life of the Virgin in the choir of the Carmine; the paintings still existing in Sta. Croce and those representing the history of St. Louis in the Bardi

---

(¹) Most of these documents are to be found in *Milanesi's* notes on *Vasari* and in *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*.

(²) *Antonio Billi* only mentions the Resurrection of Lazarus in S. Jacopo the frescoes in Sta. Croce and those at Prato. *Ghiberti* does not even speak of Agnolo.

chapel of the same church; a Madonna and two saints above the gate of the S. Spirito monastery; the altar-piece in the church of S. Brancazio; the frescoes at Prato; the Lord disputing with the Doctors in Or San Michele (¹); others of which no further description is given, in S. Romeo or Remigio and many other panels in Florence.

The architectural activities of Agnolo in the Palace of the Podesta and the church of S. Romolo are, no doubt, inventions of Vasari. On the other hand Milanesi mentions a document according to which the hospital of the Bigallo paid Agnolo ten golden guilders for an Annunciation with the portrait of Giovanni di Buchero, who had made a large bequest to this institution (²).

Vasari tells us that Agnolo's pupils were Antonio da Ferrara, Stefano da Verona, who must be identified with Stefano da Zevio and who belongs to an entirely different artistic current, and Cennino di Drea Cennini, who may be called an imitator of Agnolo and who, moreover, mentions, himself, that he worked twelve years with this master.

We find Agnolo's most important series of frescoes in the choir of Sta. Croce. I have already mentioned that Cavalcaselle maintains the tradition that these paintings were executed in 1394, but it is now generally admitted that we have here a production of an earlier stage in the artist's career. We are practically certain that this decoration was made after 1374. Comparing these paintings however with those he depicted at Prato, we notice that in the latter Agnolo is more influenced by Sienese art, while in Sta. Croce certain Giottesque elements are manifest, which difference would lead us to admit a considerable interval between the two cycles. Other productions of Agnolo's prove that he had still an earlier manner and considering that the frescoes of Sta. Croce come midway between these and the paintings of Prato, the date of 1380 proposed for them by Mr. Sirén seems about right.

The eight events represented are taken from the story of the Cross and begin with the scene of the archangel handing Seth a

---

(¹) *Milanesi* remarks that the name of Agnolo does not appear in the ledgers of Or San Michele.

(²) *Vasari-Milanesi*, p. 643, note 2.

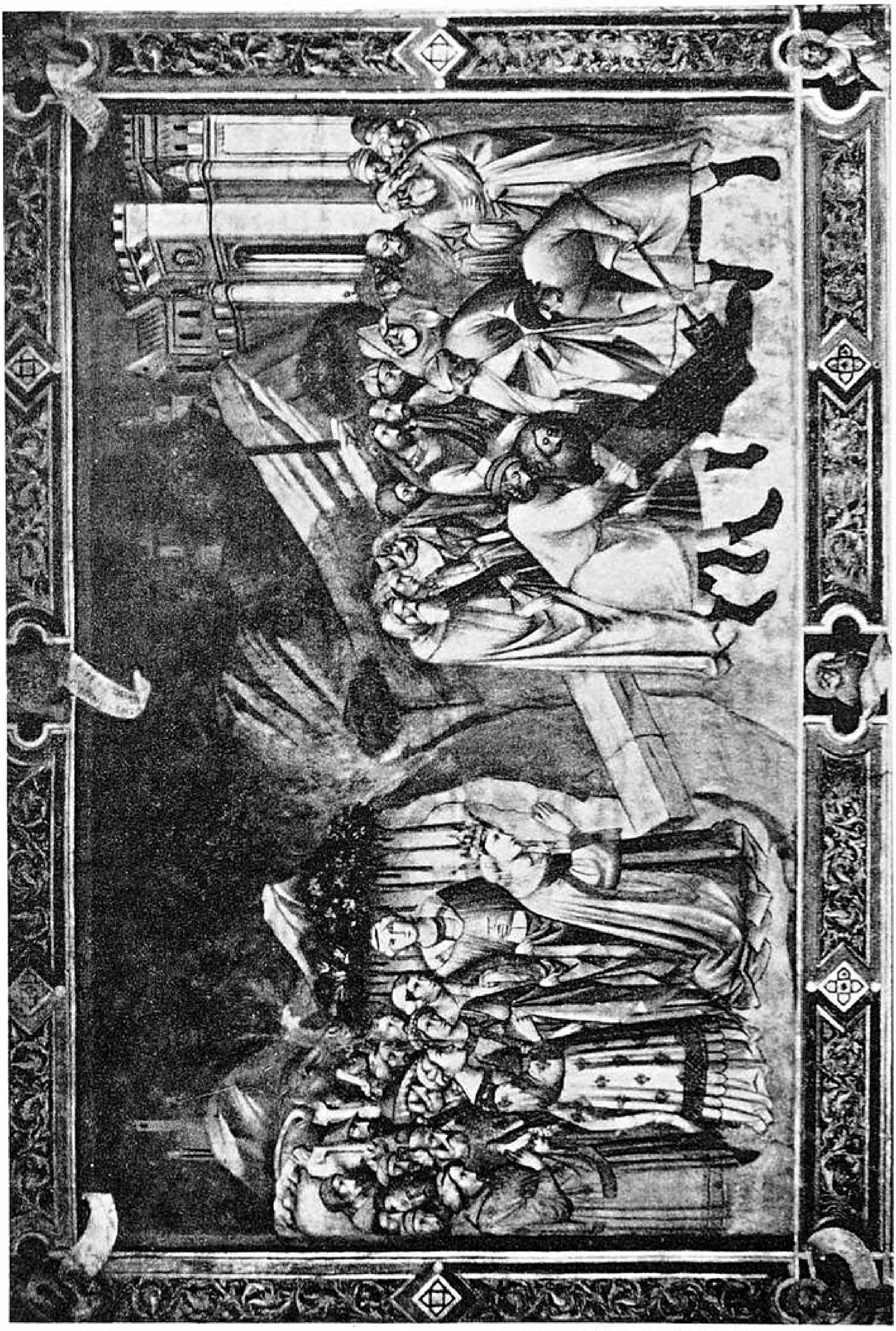


Fig. 300. Agnolo Gaddi, the Queen of Sheba adores the sacred wood. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

branch of the tree of knowledge to be planted on Adam's grave. In the fresco Seth seems rather to place it on Adam himself while groups of relations are arranged at either side betraying their interest by their gestures.

We then see the Queen of Sheba adoring the sacred wood which Solomon orders to be buried (fig. 300). A stream separates the two groups; on the left the queen is depicted kneeling with clasped hands, she is attended by a number of handsome courtiers some of whom resemble certain figures at Prato; on the other side many people witness the placing of the wood in a hole which has been dug in the ground, only three men take an active part while the others look on or give directions. The background is formed by a rocky landscape and on the right the gates of a town are represented. Next the Jews take the wood out of a pond — the water of which had a curative effect — which had developed out of the small pool in which the Jews had thrown the wood. The Jews then bring it to Jerusalem where the Cross, which is required for the Crucifixion of Christ, is made of it. The two incidents, the dredging for the wood and the making of the Cross, are depicted together.

A great number of people are present at both events and elaborate buildings are seen in the background. Many sick persons lie on the ground, no doubt to indicate the healing quality of the water. The composition is rather confused and the story is not easily understood, but there are several examples in which the action is well expressed.

The finding of the Cross is dominated by the representation of two crosses held by the assistants (fig. 301). A Jew, under the menace of being buried alive, reveals to Queen Helena the spot where the Cross had been hidden in the ground but the two crosses of the criminals were found with that of the Lord's and it was only by the resurrection of a dead person at the approach of one of the crosses that it became known which was the sacred one. Agnolo Gaddi combines all these details on one fresco. Against a beautiful hilly background we see the queen kneeling in the midst of a crowd, one cross is held over the dead person who at once sits up on the bier while another is being taken out of the ground. The arrangement of the groups is more worthy of praise than the clearness of the composition. On the wall opposite we find represented in the highest part — a lunette — a procession led by Queen Helena and a man carrying the Cross and followed by male courtiers; they are met by a group of people who all kneel in veneration. The next scene shows how the Persian King Cosroës and his followers steal pieces from the Cross and escape, some on foot, others on horseback, from Jerusalem which forms the background on the right; several are seen holding the stolen parts of the Cross in their hands. This composition is full of movement and action but there is too great a contrast between the figures on the galloping horses and those walking calmly in the foreground. Some curious head-dresses and one very curved sword convey to us the Oriental nationality of the soldiers. Cosroës is then vanquished by Heraclius; they are depicted fighting together on a bridge while on the same fresco, Heraclius, sleeping in his tent, in which the Cross, is placed guarded by knights, sees an angel who has come to inform him of his approaching victory over the heathen king, who is also represented, enthroned in a building with many figures kneeling around him in adoration.

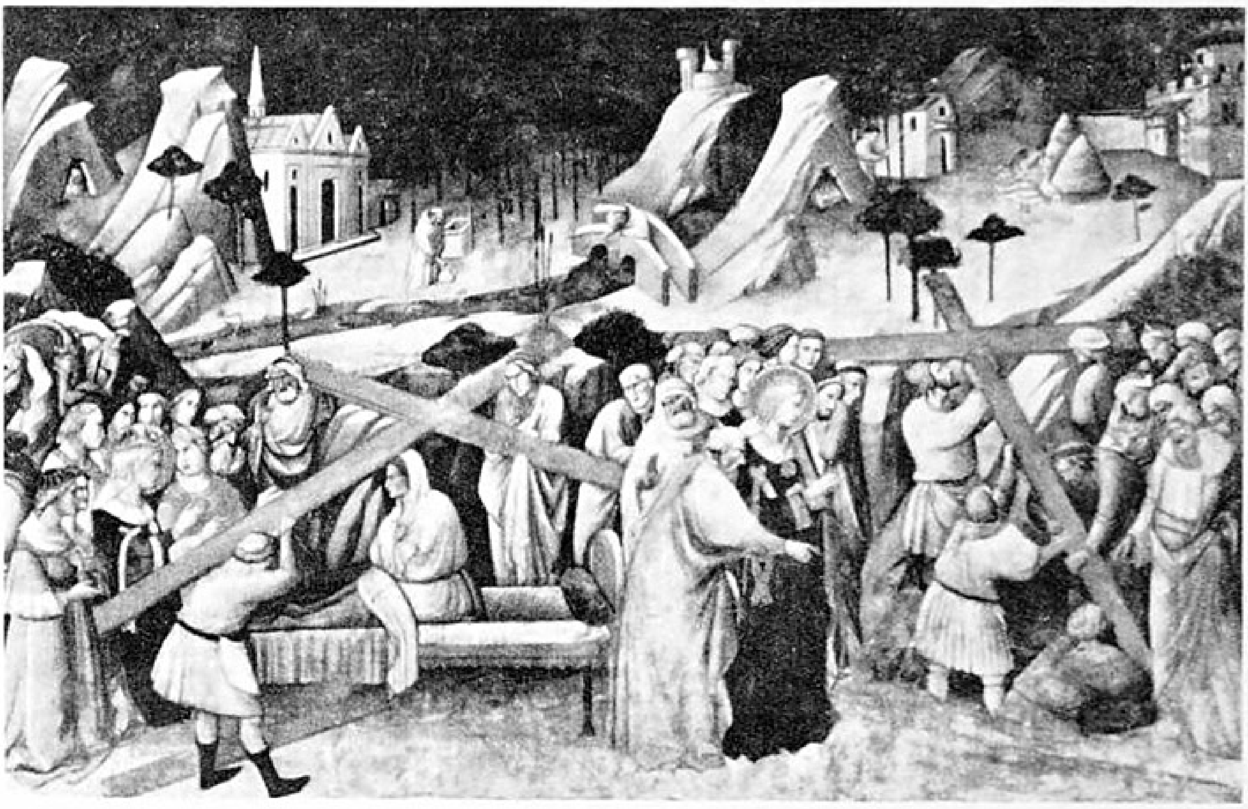


Fig. 301. Agnolo Gaddi, the Finding of the Cross. Sta. Croce, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

The last composition is a very confused one (fig. 302). Near

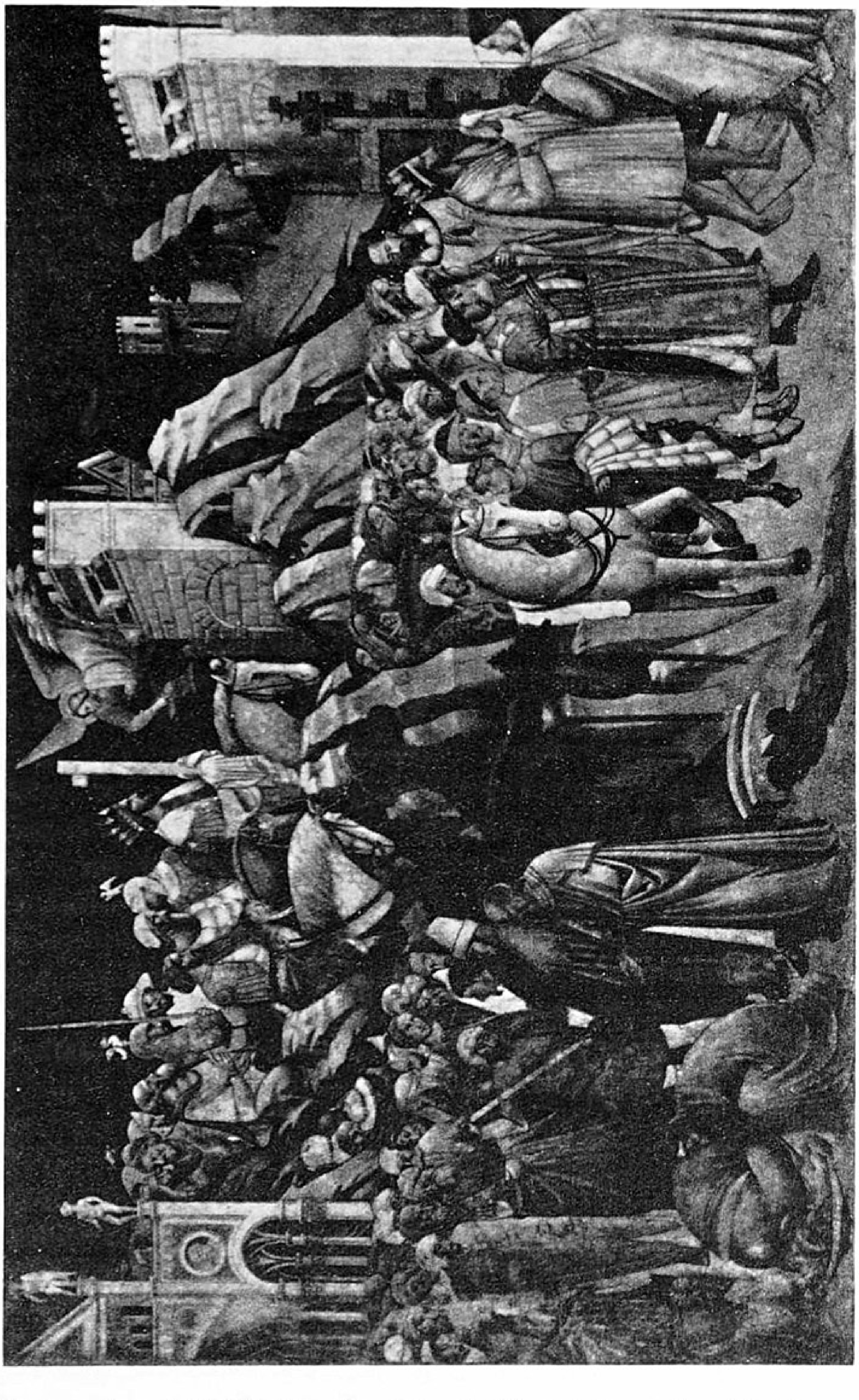


Fig. 302. Agnolo Gaddi, Heraclius takes the Cross to Jerusalem. Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Alinari.

the building in which Cosroës was enthroned he is now seen beheaded; the execution has just taken place and many people surround the body. In the background Heraclius on horseback carrying the Cross and followed by an important suite, is about to enter Jerusalem but an angel interferes and does not allow him to pass with so much pomp the gate through which the Saviour had come so humbly. More to the right and separated by a sort of wall from the place where Cosroës was executed, Heraclius, bare-footed and dressed only in a shirt but wearing his crown to distinguish him; enters with his followers, now all on foot, the same gate, but at another place, carrying the Cross in his covered hands. The painting is crowded with figures, some very pleasing, but apparently placed without any system.

This fresco-series, like the cycle which we shall find at Prato, is obviously a production of the enormous pictorial industry which existed in Florence at the end of the 14th century when the great demand resulted in a hasty and somewhat superficial manner of execution. Series of mural paintings were only conceived as a decorative ensemble, and when the stories represented were only a motive for the ornamentation of a wall — a particular form of painting perhaps introduced in Florence by Agnolo's father — as was later the case for tapesteries, the decorative effect of the work was the first and principal aim, the significance of the figures and the comprehension of the subject quite secondary considerations. We are here a long way from the psychological value of Giotto's figures and the synthetical compositions and clear narration of this great master.

Although purely Sienese in its decorative compositions, we find, in the figures of this cycle, traces of the Giottesque tradition; this is especially marked in the drapery with its good plastic effects, the animated expressions, the types and the realism of the isolated figures. This latter is entirely absent in the confused crowds among which we seldom find a deeply felt dramatic image. Vasari's criticism of these paintings shows that, whatever his shortcomings may have been, he was capable of seeing the deficiencies in a work of art (¹).

---

(¹) He remarks that these frescoes were executed "con molto pratica ma non con molto disegno perche solamente il colorito fu assai bello e ragionevole".

These elements and a peculiar sharpness of feature are characteristic of Agnolo's early manner, and as little trace can be found of them in the frescoes of Prato or the panel in S. Miniato al Monte, it may be concluded that a considerable number of years separates the one from the other (¹). The difference in style between these two cycles is not, however, only due to the length of time which divides them but to the presence of another hand because I think there is no doubt that Agnolo was assisted in the execution of this decoration by the painter who worked in the Castellani chapel and who is considered by many to be Starnina, with whom we shall deal later on. The peculiar sharp design and strange features of this artist will be found throughout the Sta. Croce frescoes and some, such as the planting of the tree by Seth, seem to be entirely by the hand of the so-called Starnina. We find a certain number of works which may be attributed to this particular period in Agnolo's career.

I think that among the best of his earlier creations we should mention the Madonna of the Misericordia in the Accademia of Florence (no. 272). The Virgin stands with her arms slightly away from her body, her cloak a little out-spread and held by two angels, three others are seen on the left flying one above the other while on the right the Lord, also in mid-air, holds a book and looks down blessing the crowned Virgin under whose cloak some rows of kneeling nuns and four small donors seek protection. It is especially the central figure which is remarkably handsome and well shaped though not too plastic, with an extremely beautiful face which makes of this panel such a pleasing picture, but all the details also show a careful execution absent in Agnolo's later large mural paintings. Besides being one of his most charming productions we may also consider it the one in which the Giottesque tradition is still most evident.

The Annunciation in the Accademia (figs. 303 and 304) previously in the Uffizi (no. 28) resembles this in manner but sometimes a doubt is expressed if it really be a work of Agnolo's (²); although the forms are somewhat weaker and the design harder

---

(¹) I see no reason why Mr. Kreplin supposes that only a short interval separates these two fresco series.

(²) *Khvoshinsky e Salmi*, op. cit., II, p, 45 and *Sirén*, p. 92, attribute it to Agnolo.

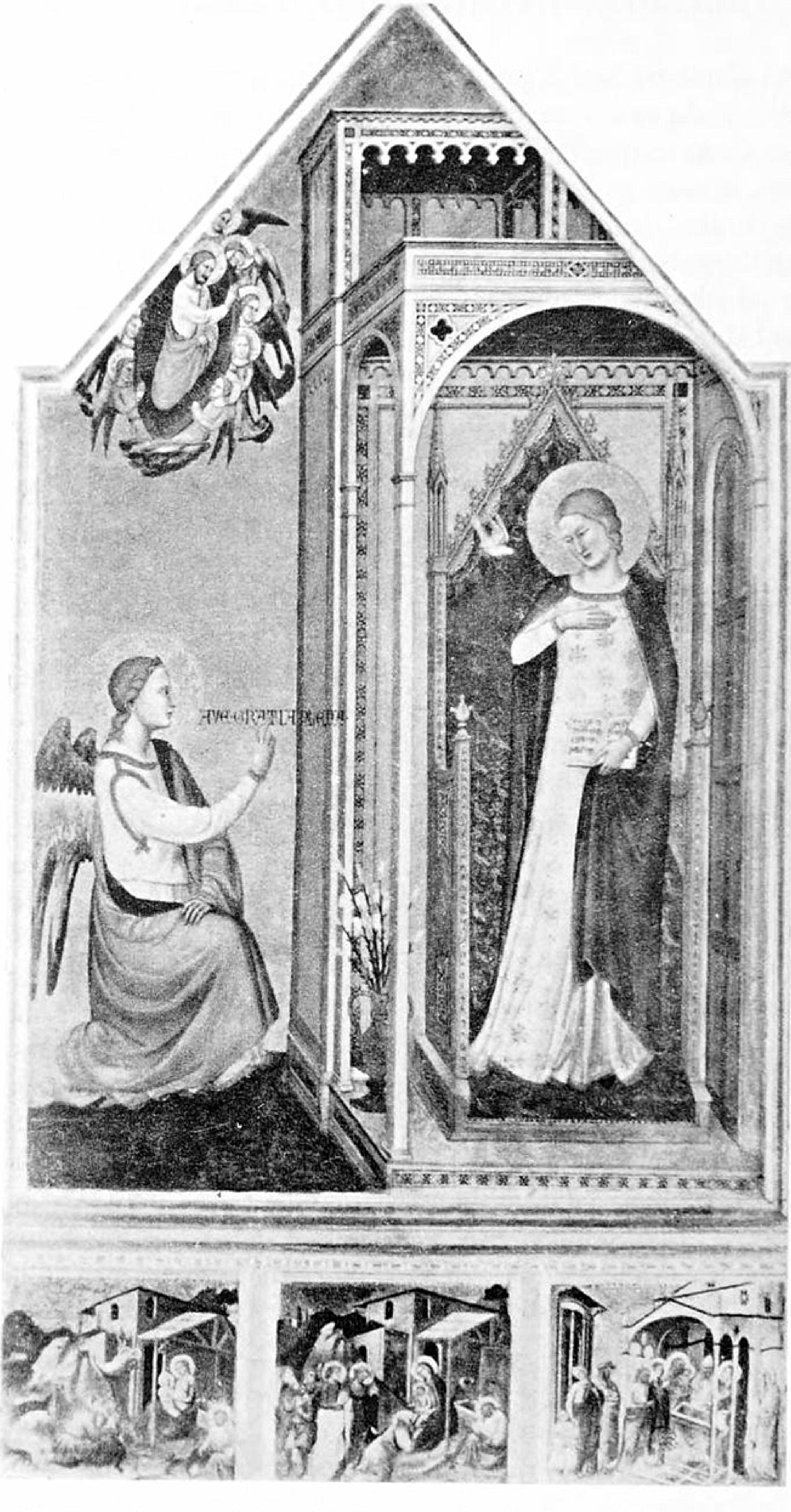

AVE GRATIA PLENA

Fig. 303. Agnolo Gaddi, the Annunciation. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

than in other early works, I see no reason for this uncertainty. The young Madonna with a book in her hand has risen from her Gothic seat, the back of which is ornamented with a design of

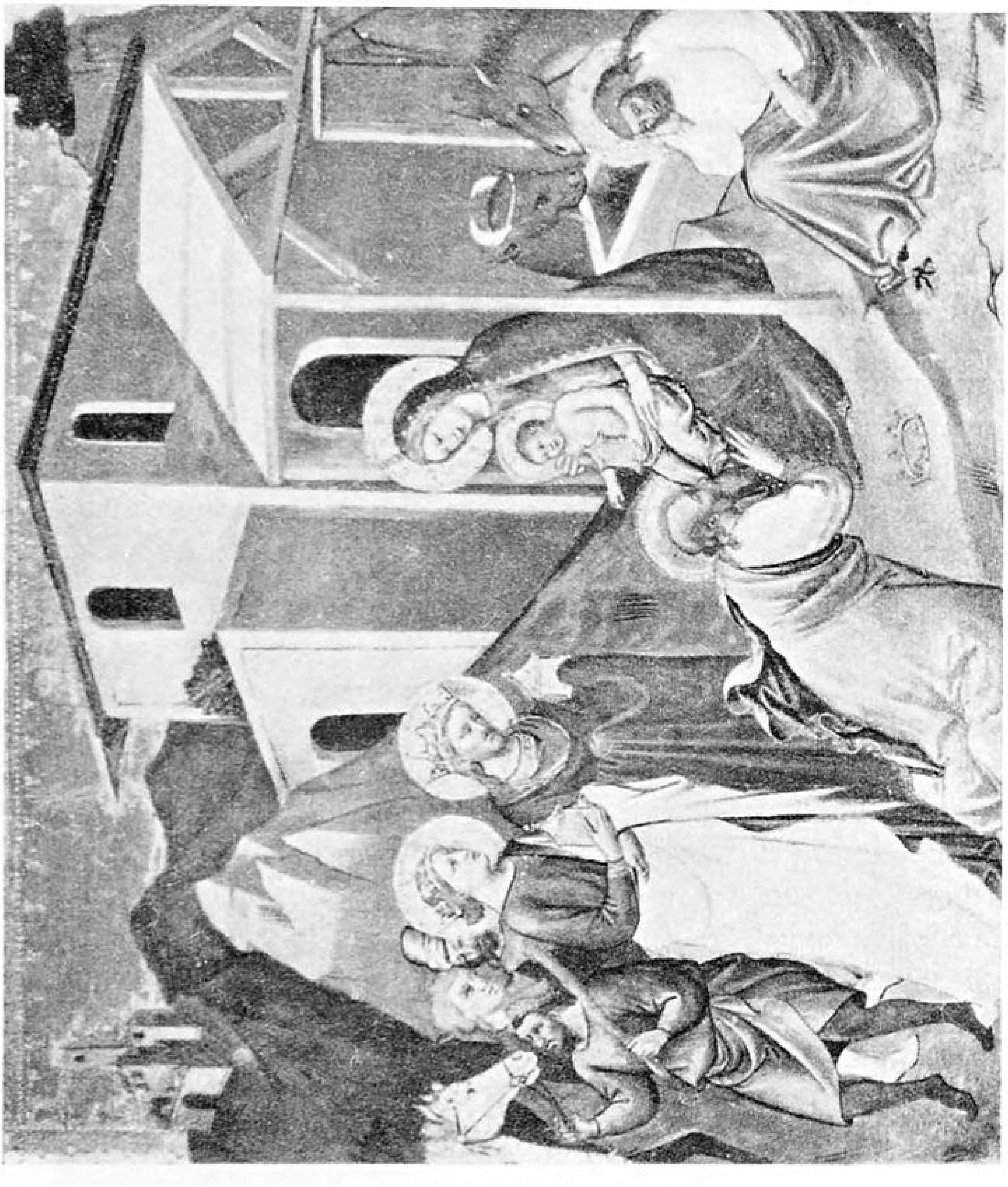


Fig. 304. Detail of fig. 303.

Photo Alinari.

birds, we see her in a high narrow portico, with mosaic ornaments, outside which the angel kneels, while above God the Father appears in a mandorla, carried by angels, a dove descending from Him towards the Virgin. Three small scenes in the predella represent the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi and the Presentation in the Temple, the last with an unusual number of figures, some of which are destroyed by repainting; the summary architecture in the background of this scene has something of the Giottesque synthesis.

The early works of Agnolo seem to be recognisable from those of a later date by their more elongated proportions, sharper design, deeper relief and a Giottesque concentration in the aspect of the figures which, especially in the Prato frescoes, are totally absent.

I think we can consider the Coronation of the Virgin in the National Gallery (no. 568, fig. 305) (1) contemporary with the above Annunciation; it was originally in S. Miniato where, as we have seen, Agnolo also worked at the end of his life. The Saviour and the Virgin seated on the same throne are turned towards each other so that their faces are seen in profile, as also the four angels kneeling below. The general disposition and details in dress remind us of the same representation which forms the centre of the polyptych with Giotto's signature in the sacristy of Sta. Croce and which it will be remembered I attributed to Agnolo's father. The decorative details and the form of the crown resemble those of Orcagna's works.

Executed after the same manner is an Assumption of the Virgin in the Vatican Gallery (fig. 306) in which the Madonna is depicted in a mandorla carried to heaven by six angels; it is there catalogued as belonging to the Florentine school, but it has been claimed by Mr. Sirén as a work of Agnolo's (2) and although perhaps not one of his most typical, I agree with this attribution.

A predella panel, no. 57 of the same collection, is also an early work and shows obvious stylistic connections with the Annunciation of the Accademia. We find represented here three events from the life of St. John the Evangelist, his ascension, the miraculous recovery of two poisoned men whom the saint has covered with his cloak while he stands by drinking from the cup of poison; and his martyrdom in boiling oil.

---

(1) *Kreplin*, op. cit., considers it a late work. The only critic who does not ascribe this picture to Agnolo is *Venturi*, op. cit., p. 532, who finds that it is executed sooner after the manner of Bernardo Daddi.

(2) *Sirén*, Alcune note aggiuntive, p. 97.

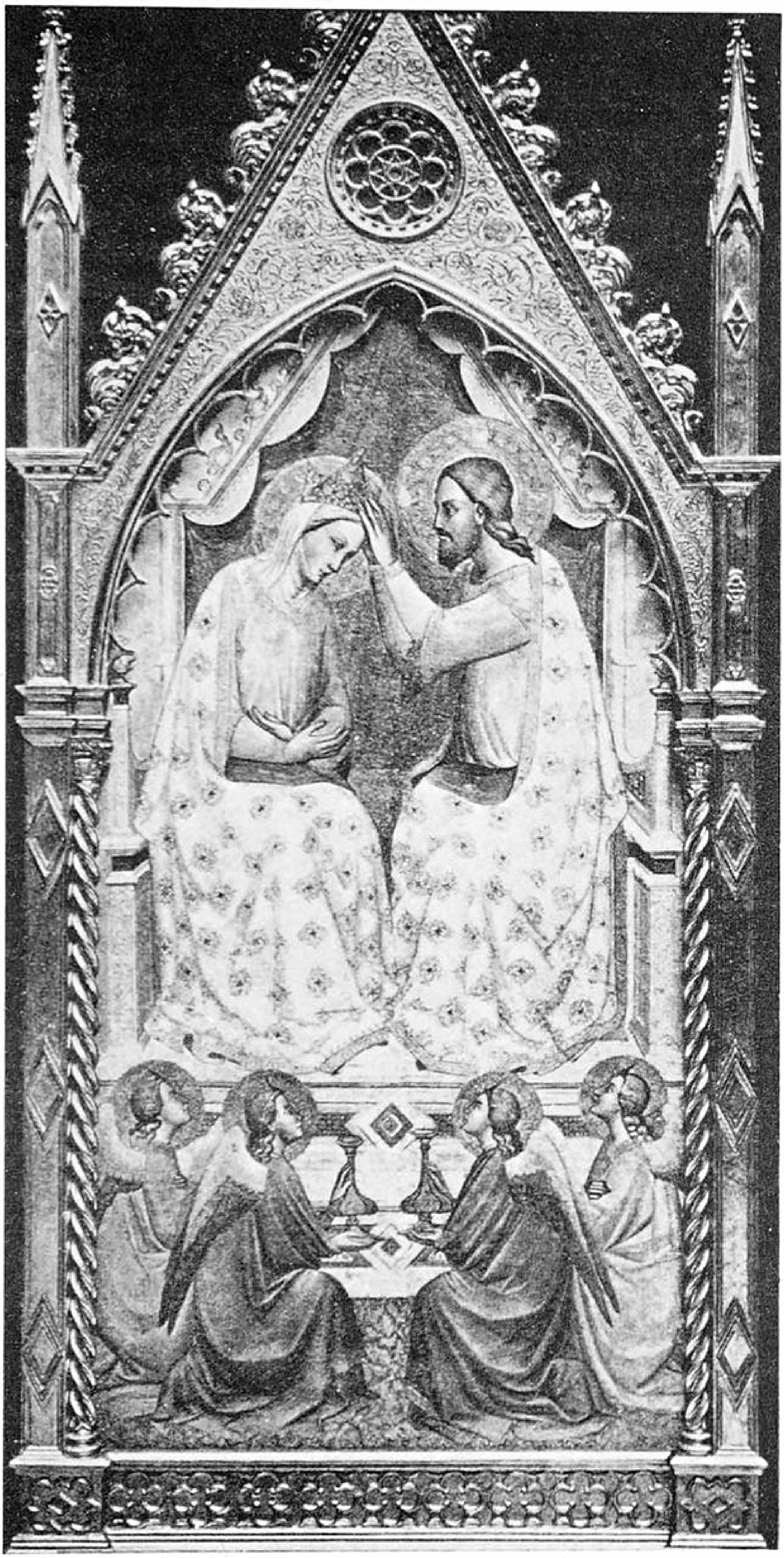


Fig. 305. Agnolo Gaddi, the Coronation of the Virgin. National Gallery, London.

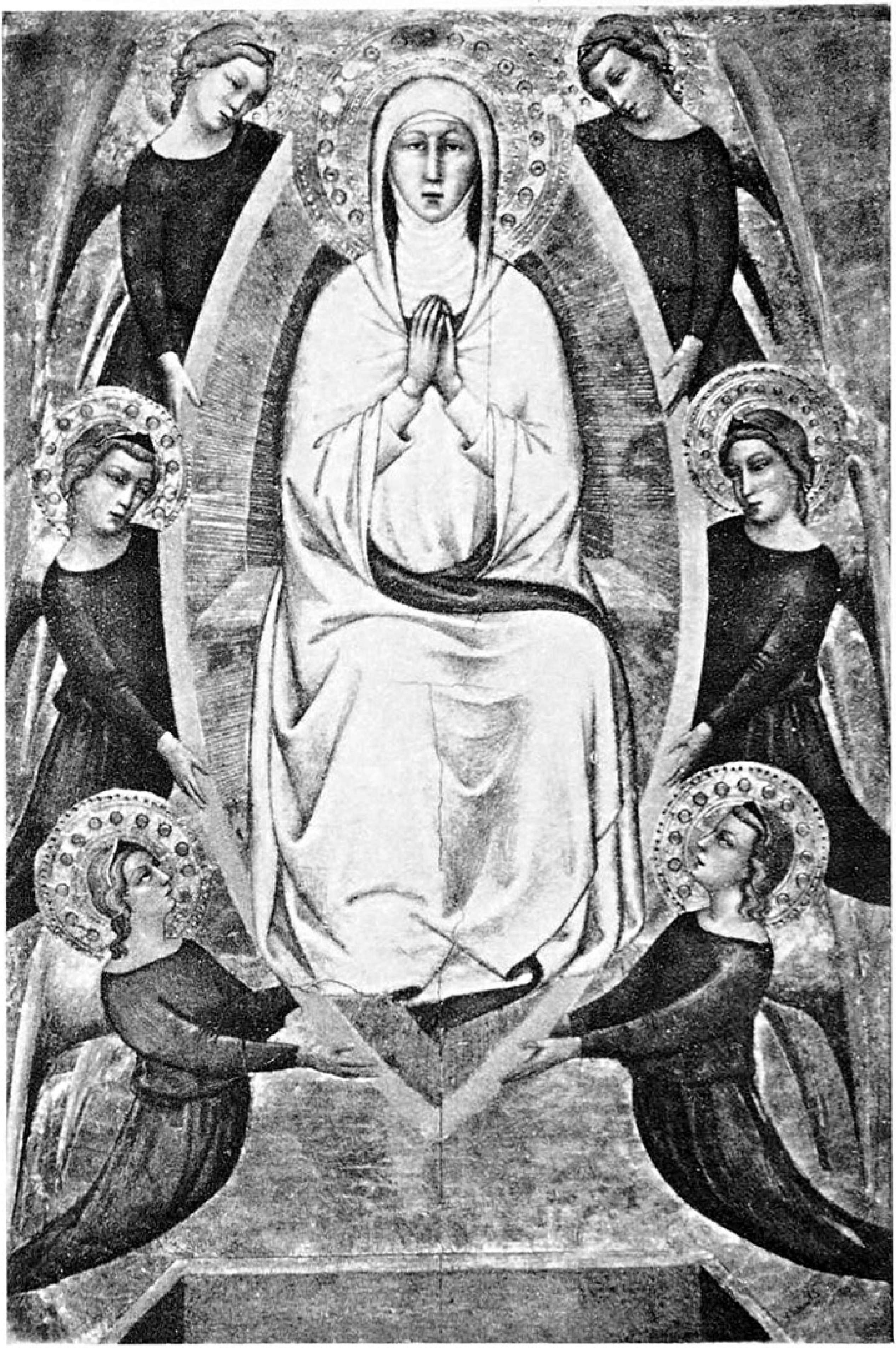


Fig. 306. Agnolo Gaddi, the Assumption. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

I venture to attribute to this early stage of Agnolo's career a very much damaged fragment of a fresco in a tabernacle in the Piazza del Carmine where the Virgin is enthroned between four saints one of which has been almost completely effaced, the others are SS. Bartholomew (?), Peter and Paul. The two small female adorers kneeling below are additions of the 16th century at which time the figure of the Child Christ was entirely repainted.

I think all these paintings are anterior to the frescoes in the choir of Sta Croce.

More nearly approaching Agnolo's manner at the period when he executed these frescoes are the important designs in the Museum of the Sforza Castle in Milan (1). They are brush drawings in grisaille on parchment and represent five men's heads.

A fresco, more or less after the same style, will be found at Figline in the Val d'Arno in the Casa Pacetti, where in a niche St. Anna is represented with the Virgin and the Child Jesus, SS. Proclus and Leonard, with the angel and the Madonna of the Annunciation at either side. Farther to the sides three half-length figures of saints are depicted.

If the representations of the legends of SS. Nicholas and Sebastian in Sta. Maria Maggiore, Florence, be really works by Agnolo, they must have been executed about this period, so also a small panel in the Accademia (old catalogue no. 77) on which the Nativity, the conversion of St. Paul and St. Francis receiving the stigmata are depicted.

Of the transition period between the frescoes of Sta. Croce and those of Prato, which is characterised by a broadening of the forms and more loosely flowing draperies, we find an interesting example in the predella of the Louvre (no. 1302) on which are represented the Herodiade, a Crucifixion with many figures and two scenes from the life of St. James Major (fig. 307). We see Agnolo at his worst in these small panels; they are hastily and carelessly executed and many of the features are far from pleasing. If we compare the principal figures of the Annunciation in the Accademia with those of the predella, the same will be found to be the case in the earlier period as well.

A panel of much better quality is that of a Crucifixion, depicted

---

(1) *Sirén,* Jahrbuch der Preus. Kunstsamml., XXVII, 1906, p. 212.

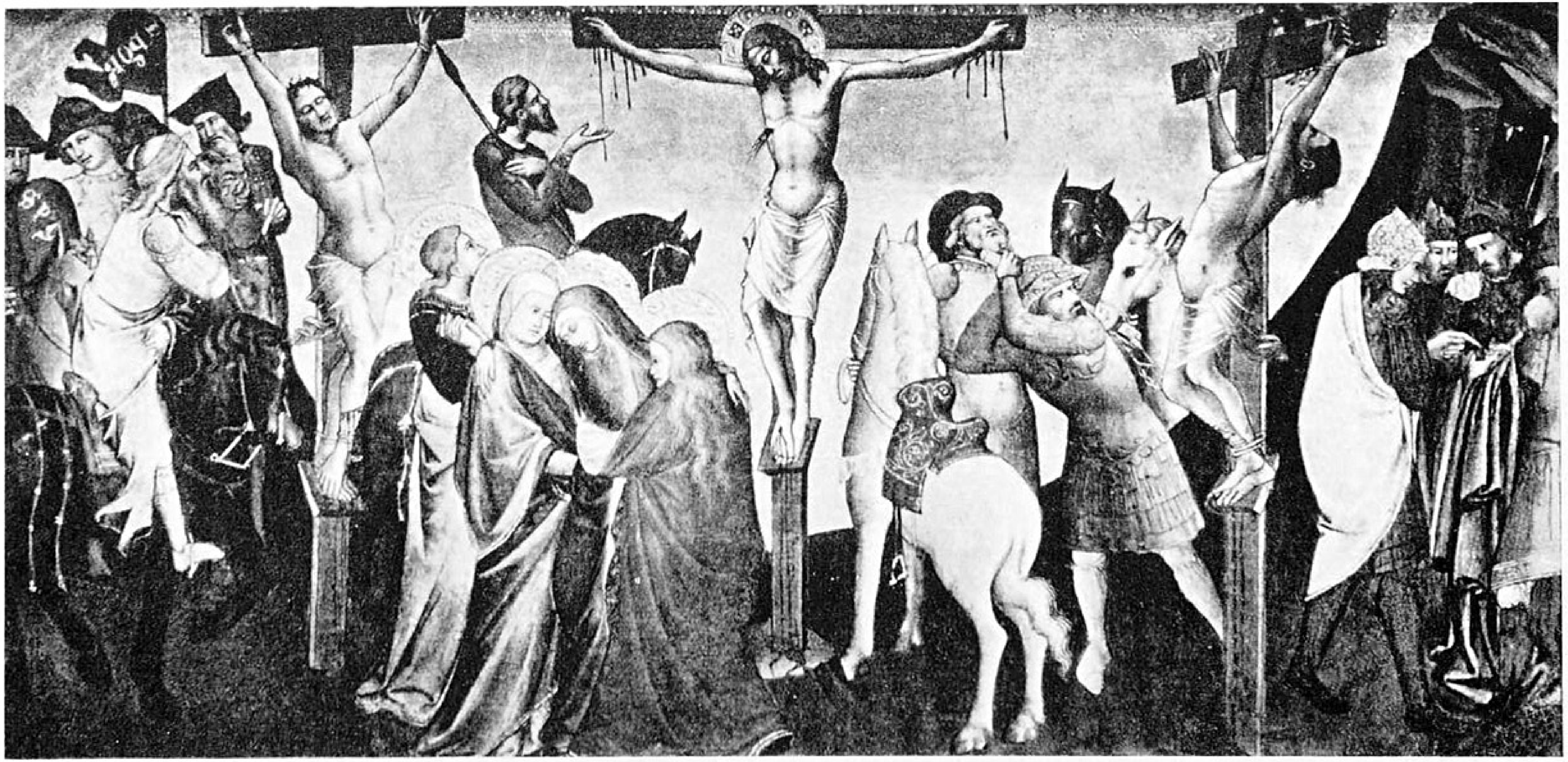


Fig. 307. Agnolo Gaddi, the Crucifixion. Louvre, Paris.

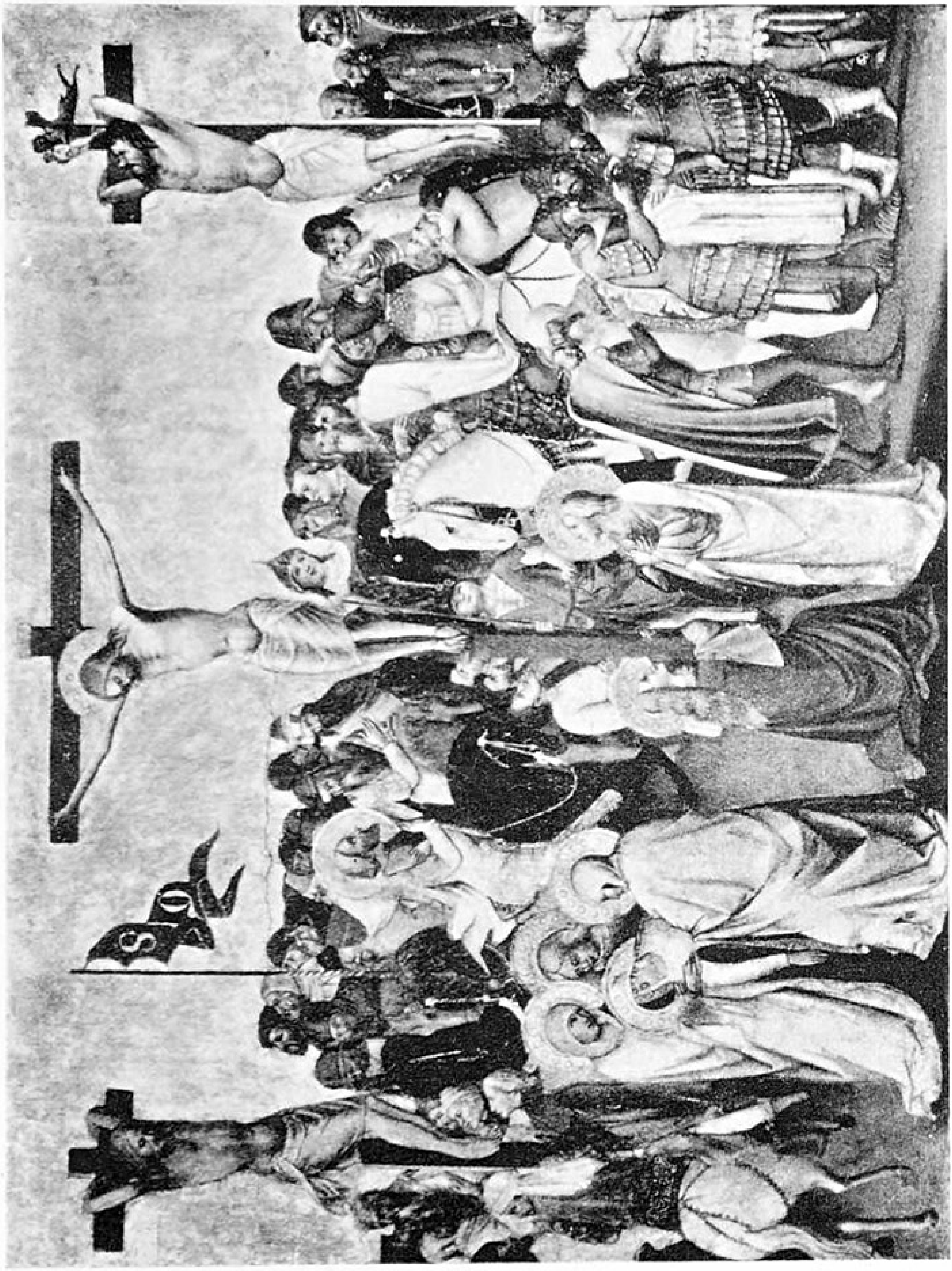


Fig. 308. Agnolo Gaddi, the Crucifixion. Uffizi, Florence.
Photo Anderson.

in a crowded composition, until lately in the Uffizi (fig. 308).

It shows too many points of contact with the one in Paris to attribute it to anyone but Agnolo, although it is very superior to most of this artist's small pictures, in design especially.

To the same period may be attributed a mystical marriage of St. Çatherine in the collection of the late Mr. J. G. Johnson in

Philadelphia. Here the event is represented in a manner sooner met with in Siena; instead of the Babe seated on His Mother's knee, the adult figure of the Lord is depicted standing while the Virgin unites His hand with that of the saint. St. Louis of Toulouse stands to one side and a nun, no doubt the donor, kneels to the other (1).

The frescoes in the Cintola chapel of the Cathedral of Prato show scenes from the life of the Madonna, the story of the Holy Girdle, the Twelve Apostles and the four Evangelists and principal Fathers of the Church in the vaults. The scenes are very numerous and I will abstain from describing them in detail. The arch through which we enter the chapel is ornamented with medallions containing the Twelve Apostles and on the entrance wall we find the Lord in benediction and the first scene — Joachim driven from the Temple — of the series from the life of the Virgin. The cycle continues on the left wall where in four divisions, one above the other, the following events are depicted: the Meeting at the Golden Gate, the Nativity of the Madonna, the Presentation in the Temple, the Marriage of the Virgin, the Annunciation, and the Nativity of Christ. The wall opposite the entrance is ornamented with paintings of the Death of the Virgin (fig. 309) with her Assumption while St. Thomas receives the Holy Girdle, and with the Coronation of the Virgin. The frescoes on the right wall illustrate the story of Michele Dagomari, already known to us through the panels by Daddi in the Municipal Gallery. We see St. Thomas giving the girdle to a disciple, the marriage of Michele Dagomari who receives the holy relic, his sailing to Italy and how he falls asleep on the sacred object and angels come and place him on the ground, while in the last scene he is seen on his death-bed and the cintola brought in a procession to the Cathedral. The first of the two vaults contains the four Doctors of the Church, the second the Evangelists.

These frescoes are not at all uniform in character; those in which large groups are depicted are superior to those composed of only a few figures, such, for example, as the Nativity which, even taking into consideration its poor state of preservation, has never been a work of great value.

---

(1) Reprod. in *Sirén*, Giottino, fig. 27.

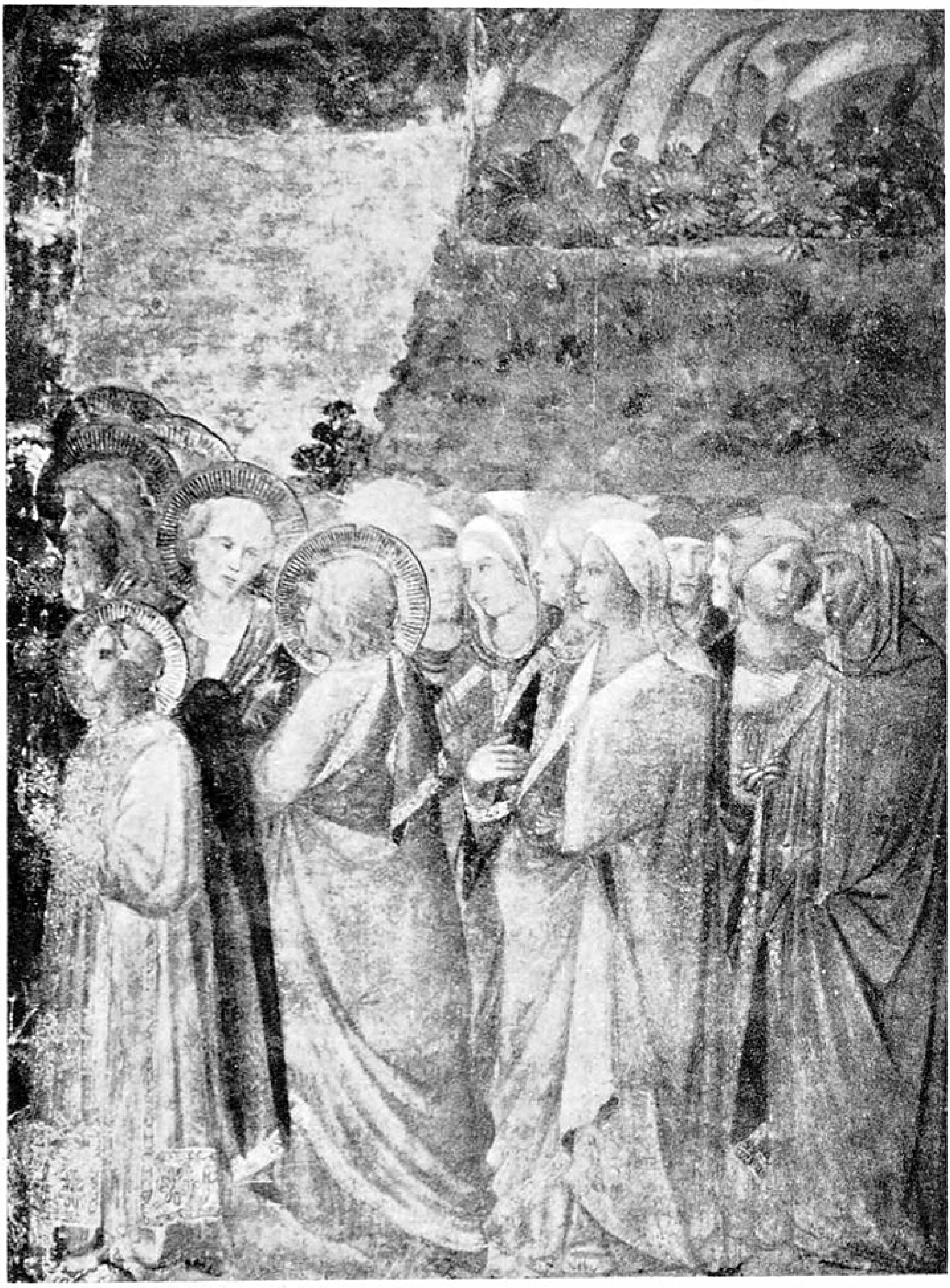


Fig. 309. Agnolo Gaddi, detail of the Death of the Virgin. Cathedral, Prato.
Photo Alinari.

The groups are less confused than those in Florence, there is even sometimes an over-symmetrical arrangement or a scarcity of figures. They are all very phlegmatic and no attempt at realistic narration has been made.

Agnolo was obviously inspired by his father's frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel of Sta. Croce; in the Marriage of the Virgin, for instance, he almost copies him, but the number of figures in all his representations has increased and the Giottesque conciseness of action, which Taddeo observed, has disappeared. The most appreciable element in these productions is the number of fine figures which can be discovered when each one is studied separately. In the features we frequently notice an attempt to produce the serene, spiritual beauty of the Sienese artists, while the design of some of the bodies, very different from what we found in Sta. Croce, seems influenced by the same school.

The work that Agnolo executed for S. Miniato and for which he received one payment in 1393, the rest being handed to his brother after his death, is no doubt the panel which still ornaments the Crocifisso altar of this church (fig. 310). Besides the figures of S. Giovanni Gualberto and St. Miniatus, we find here the Annunciation, the Ascension, the Flagellation, the Resurrection, the Mocking of Christ, the Betrayal of Judas, the Last Supper and the Feetwashing, and in the predella the Madonna and the Twelve Apostles. We have no proof of Agnolo's having ever finished this picture, in fact the contrary is generally admitted. I think that probably both the figures of saints, certainly that of St. Miniatus, have been painted by the follower to whom we owe the decoration of the Castellani chapel; but the small scenes, although they are executed with more care than we usually find in his works of this size, may very well be a production of Agnolo's. The manner is somewhat less Sienese than in the frescoes of Prato, certain traces of Giottesque concentration being noticeable (1).

---

(1) The following works can still be attributed to Agnolo Gaddi: *Amsterdam*, Lanz coll., the Flagellation; idem, the Annunciation on two panels (?); *Edinburgh*, Gallery, small Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John seated, from the coll. of the Earl of Southesk (?); *Gloucester*, Parry coll., Coronation of the Virgin (R. Fry, The Burlington Magazine, 1903, p. 117); *London*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 154—1869, a painted box but probably made up of predella panels representing the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents; the picture of St. Jerome which forms the lid seems to be from a different hand; *Rome*, Stroganoff coll., half-length figure of the Madonna (A. Muñoz, Pièces de choix de la collection Stroganoff, pl. VII); private coll., half-length figure of the Madonna (early); idem, Annunciation against a background of architecture (doubtful, but if by Agnolo then

The category of painters to which Agnolo Gaddi belonged and to the propagation of which he largely contributed was the decadence of the Giottesque tradition which unfortunately took a general hold of Florentine painters at the end of the 14th century.

The realism as well as the value of design and form had been ruined by the changed aim of the art of painting which had become more and more decorative and ornamental instead of narrative, as we shall have occasion to see to a still greater degree in the works of Spinello Aretino. The psychology and deep feeling of Giotto's art has been replaced by a handsome superficiality.

The enormous demand for his works obliged the artist in his later years to adopt a new and easier manner of painting than that of the well-designed productions of Giotto's immediate followers or even of the Orcagna; the majesty of these earlier artists is also entirely abandoned. Agnolo however possessed certain qualities which make of him always a charming artist; many of his figures are extremely elegant, his faces pleasant, his colouring frequently warm and bright and the lines of the design flow gracefully, perhaps even with too great a facility. But in his frescoes these qualities are sometimes lost in the huge masses of weak and feebly designed figures lacking energy and personality and all so similar in form that our eyes glance over the surface of his frescoes without being struck by one out-standing image. His compositions which are often limited to packed masses emphasize this mistake, his figures frequently lack relief, his perspective is reduced to the most elementary principles, buildings are placed in the background apparently without any system and certainly

---

one of his earliest works in which his father's influence is very marked); idem, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, predella panel (a feeble late work): *Vienna*, Lanckorowski coll., Adoration of the Shepherds, predella panel, a beautiful early work. Other works that I find attributed to this artist are: *Florence*, Uffizi, no. 37 (now in the Accademia), Crucifixion, attrib. to Spinello (Kreplin); *London*, Wagner coll., a Baptism of Christ (Sirén, Giottino): *Lützschena* (near Leipzig), Speek von Sternburg coll., part of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence (idem); Becker, Zeitschr, f. Bild. Kunst, XVII, 1906, p. 262 attributes this panel to Spinello Aretino); *New-York*. Kahn coll., Charity, SS. Cosme and Damian and two donors (Kreplin); *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, a female saint with eight allegories of virtues (Sirén. Giottino). An Annunciation in the Gardner collection, *Boston*, is wrongly attributed to Agnolo Gaddi.

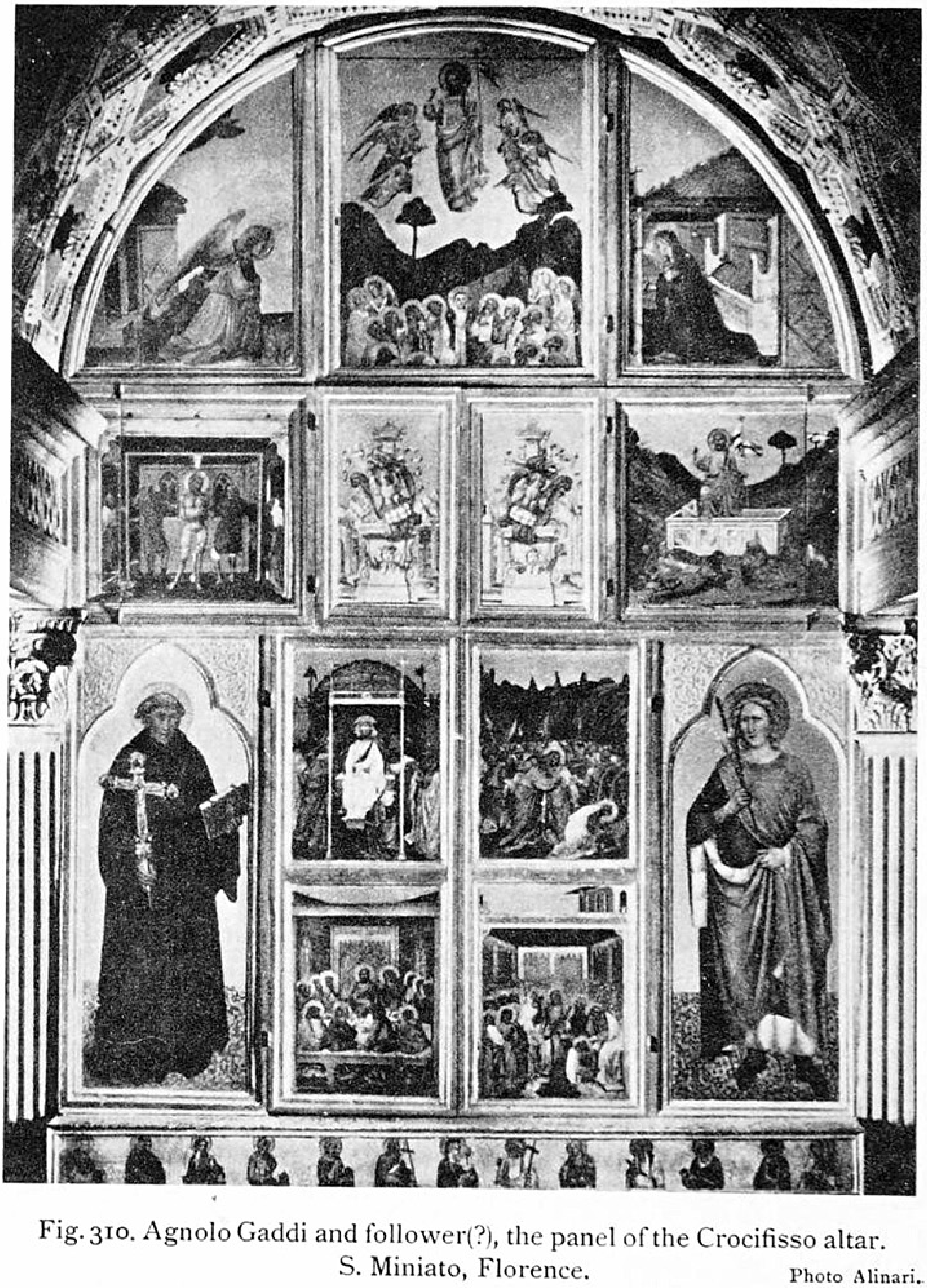


Fig. 310. Agnolo Gaddi and follower(?), the panel of the Crocifisso altar.
S. Miniato, Florence. Photo Alinari.

no attempt is ever made to produce the effect of space or distance.

Among the decadent artists of Florence at the end of the 14th century, however, Agnolo was a leading figure and one who not only influenced most of his contemporaries and followers but seems also to have directed a group of pupils and helpers in his immediate surroundings who have left us a considerable number of inferior works, especially in and around Florence itself. It would be useless to give a complete list of them here (¹) and I shall limit myself to those whose personalities can be identified.

Pietro di Miniato is known to us through a large altar-piece which he painted in 1413; he was born in 1366 and is mentioned in documents of 1409, 1411, 1418 and 1427. We find him always active in the vicinity of Prato and as far as we know he never left this town. The tabernacle which he made for the monastery of S. Matteo is now in the Pinacoteca of Prato (no. 6, fig. 311); it shows in the centre a not ungraceful Coronation of the Virgin with two cherubs above the throne and two angelic musicians kneeling at the foot; on the side panels are represented the somewhat heavy figures of SS. Matthew and Mattias; the two others, SS. Peter and Paul, have disappeared. The twelve handsome little panels of the predella show, still more than the larger figures, the artist's dependence on Agnolo Gaddi especially in their diffuse action and decorative graceful figures. Apart from the Adoration of the Magi all the other panels illustrate incidents from the lives of the saints who figure on the picture above.

---

(¹) I should just like to enumerate school works of more or less importance: *Florence,* Sta. Maria Novella, entrance wall, Annunciation with the Baptism, Adoration of the Magi and Nativity below; *S. Martino a Mensola near Florence,* triptych of 1391 with the Madonna, two saints and the donor in the centre, three saints at either side and the Pieta and four scenes from the legends of the saints in the predella; *Rome,* Spiridon coll., the centre of a triptych representing the Madonna between four saints; *Gloucester,* Parry coll., an Annunciation (Sirén, Giotto and some of his Followers, p. 277, attributes it to Jacopo di Cione); *Liverpool,* the Walker Art Gallery, 11ª, Descent of the Holy Ghost. We find in the above works a distinct reflection of Agnolo's earlier manner while the following more closely approach the style in which he executed the frescoes of Sta. Croce: *Florence,* S. Ambrogio, the martyrdom of St. Sebastian; via Michelangelo, a repainted tabernacle of the Virgin between SS. Antony, James major and an adorer; *Signa near Florence,* in the church of S. Lorenzo, the same subject between SS. Lawrence and Antony; *Rosano near Florence* in the church, an Annunciation (Vavasour Elder, Rassegna d'Arte, 1916, p. 258). Sooner resembling the frescoes of Prato we find: *Palermo,* Chiaramonte Bordonaro coll., no. 43, a Crucifixion with many figures; *Florence,* S. Marco Museum, no. 5, an Annunciation. There exist a great many similar Annunciations in the Florentine school, reminding us to a certain extent of Agnolo's manner, perhaps the model was taken from his fresco of this subject at Prato.

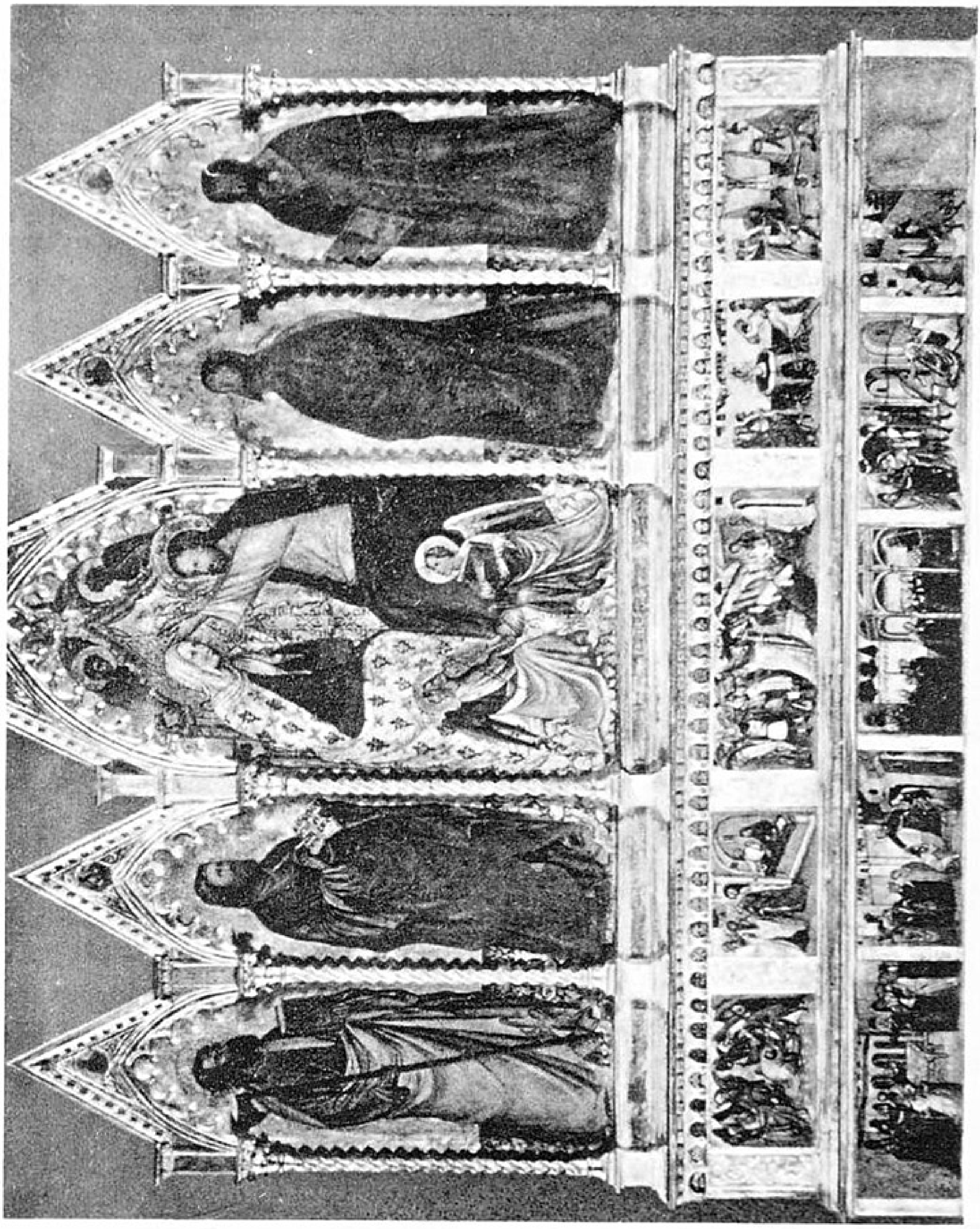


Fig. 311. Pietro di Miniato, polyptych. Gallery, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

Pietro di Miniato died between 1430 and 1446.

Cenni di Drea Cennini(¹) is far better known as the author of his "Libro d'Arte" than as a painter. He informs us himself that he

---

(¹) *Cennino Cennini,* Il libro d'Arte, ed. *Milanesi,* Firenze, 1892. English ed. by Mrs. *Herringham,* The Book of Art of Cennino Cennini, London, 1899. *U. Nomi,* Della vita e delle opere di C.C., Siena, 1892. *Bernath* in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, VI, p. 282.

worked for twelve years with Agnolo Gaddi (1396) and after the death of his master went to Padua where he and his wife are mentioned in 1398, and where he worked for Francesco Carrara and perhaps passed the greater part of his life. Vasari attributes to him a Virgin and saints in the portico of the hospital of St. John the Baptist in Florence which might be the same work that Cavalcaselle saw detached in the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova.

The latter historian has confused this painter with Cenni di Francesco, while Mr. Langton Douglas is of opinion that he can be identified with the artist from Colle who, in 1388, painted in a chapel of S. Lucchese at Poggibonsi and left there a long, now somewhat damaged inscription (1). No work of Cennino Cennini's however has come down to us.

Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (2), inscribed in 1415 among the painters of Florence (3), is of more importance to us because we have at least one large work from his hand which shows him to have been a faithful follower, almost an imitator of Agnolo Gaddi, but not a great artist.

In the chapel of the Compagnia della Croce di Giorno in the church of S. Francesco at Volterra, this artist decorated the walls with scenes from the life of the Madonna, the youth of the Saviour (fig. 312) and with some frescoes freely copied from Agnolo's legend of the Cross (fig. 313). The work is signed and dated 1410; the inscription also mentions the part that Jacopo di Firenze took in the decoration (4).

Of Agnolo's art this painter has preserved some of the types, the hardness of design and the decorative tendencies which he exaggerates into still more confused and obscure compositions. His designs and colours are coarse, his figures flat and his details and expressions vulgar.

A Madonna amidst the figures of seven virtues in the Palazzo Comunale of S. Miniato al Tedesco is hesitatingly ascribed to

---

(1). *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, pp. 139 note 4, 249 note 2.

(2) *G.D.*, Un paesaggio realista dell Cenni, Vita d'Arte, 1910, p. 149. *Bernath* in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, VI, p. 281.

(3) *Gualandi*, op. cit., VI, p. 179.

(4) Nel MCCCCX Alogorono questi della chompagnia tutte queste istorie a Cienni di Francesco di Ser Cienni da Firence eccietto quattro vangielisti, sono di Jacopo di Firenze.

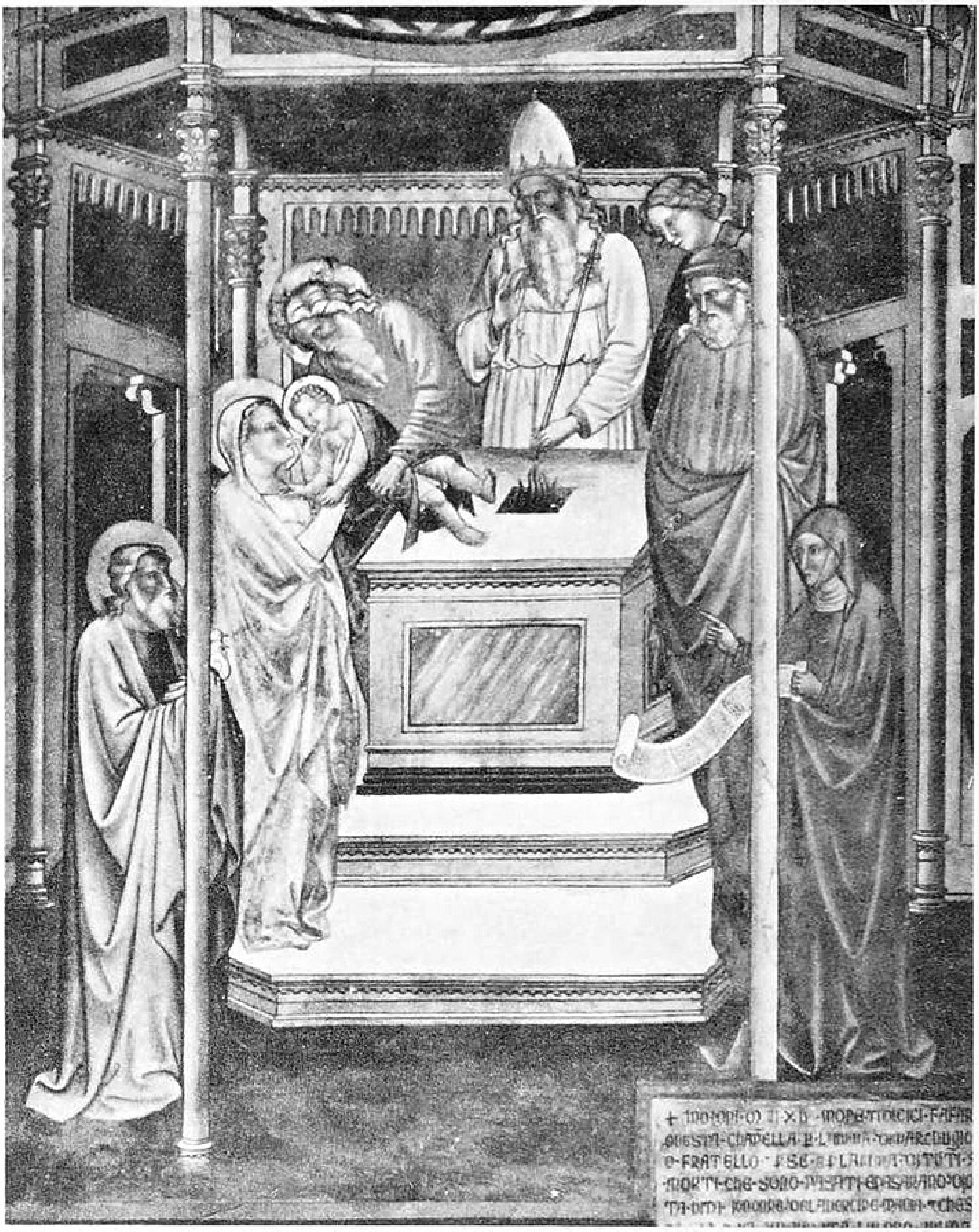


Fig. 312. Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, the Presentation in the Temple, 1410. S. Francesco, Volterra.

Photo Brogi.

him by Khvoshinsky and Salmi, but it seems to me to be by a follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

The works which Cavalcaselle still enumerates as his are the remains of frescoes in the ex-church of S. Lorenzo, a Crucifixion and saints in the oratory of S. Lorenzo and a Virgin and Child in the Town Hall, all in San Gimignano, and in Castel Fiorentino a fresco of SS. Francis, Clare, angels and representations of the

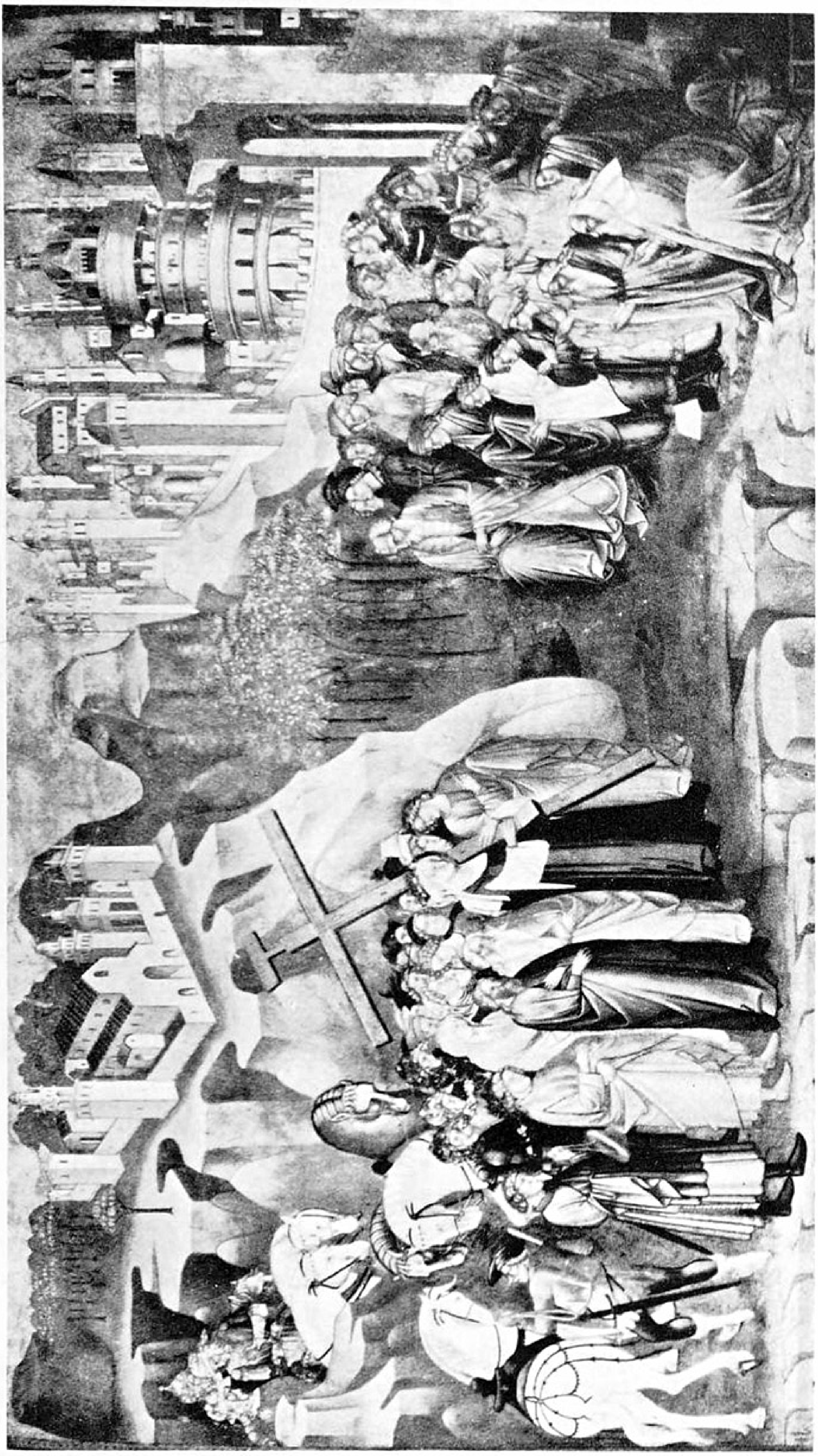


Fig. 313. Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, a scene from the legend of the Cross, 1410. S. Francesco, Volterra. Photo Brogi.

virtues in the church of S. Francesco. This last work, which still exists, is executed in quite a different and superior manner while the signature of Cenni and the date 1408, on a picture of the Madonna bought by the Uffizi from the Toscanelli collection, are false.

Jacopo di Firenze is only known to us from the signature in S. Francesco at Volterra where he executed, probably in the capacity of Cenni's helper, the ugly and ill-proportioned figures of the Evangelists with their symbols in the vault. He only very faintly reminds us of Agnolo.

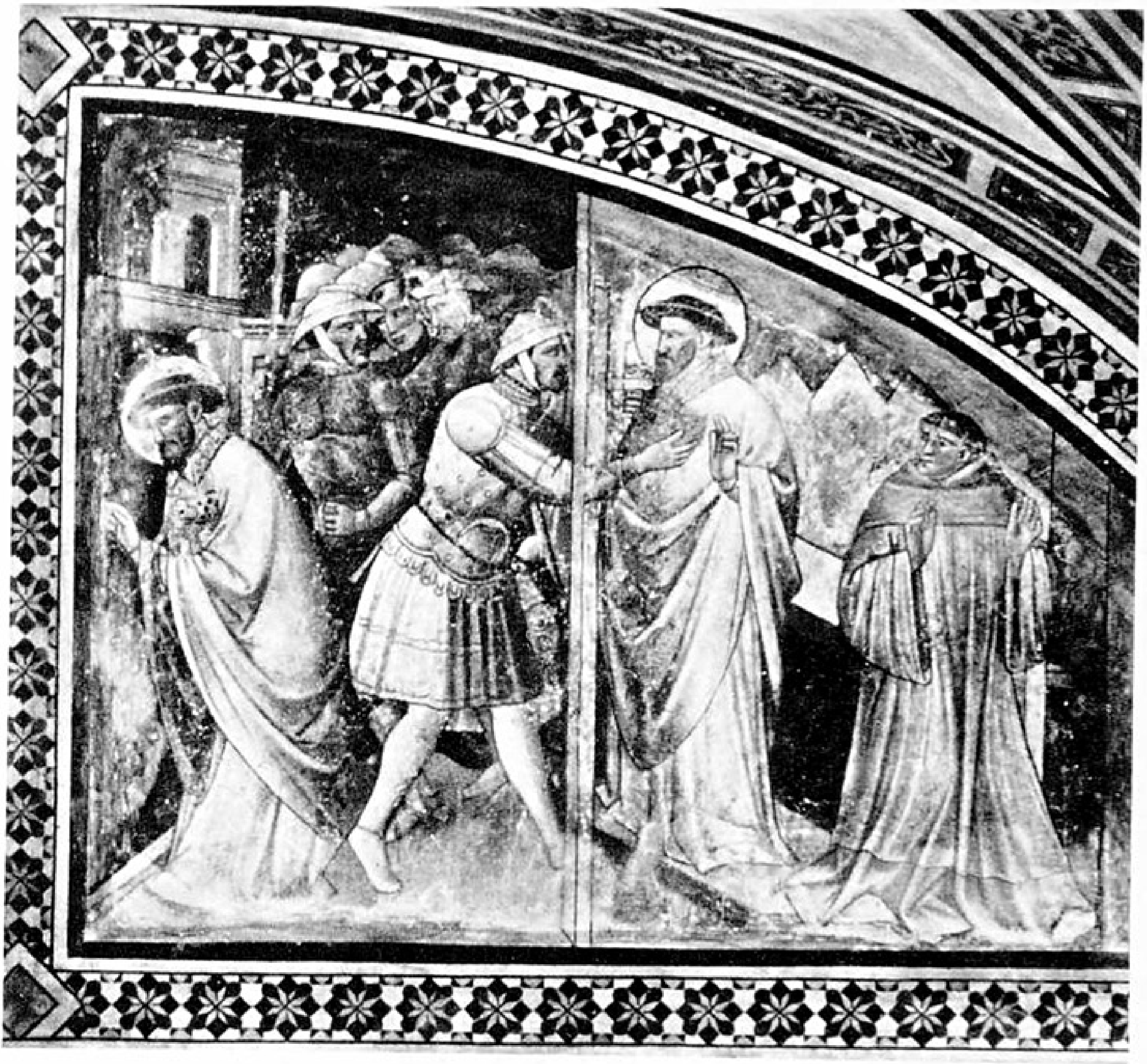


Fig. 314. School of Agnolo Gaddi, scene from the life of St. Bernard. Castle of Vincigliata (Florence). Photo Brogi.

In the Castle of Vincigliata in the neighbourhood of Florence, an anonymous follower of Agnolo Gaddi has left some frescoes of scenes from the life of St. Bernard (fig. 314). Although somewhat broader in the proportions, the peculiar features and design of the drapery can leave no doubt as to the source of this artist's inspiration; we can even say that he followed Agnolo's first manner on account of the aspect of the work as well as the fact that the paintings can hardly be later than Agnolo's early period. The execution is somewhat crude but the artist seems to have had a more dramatic temperament than his master.

The so-called Starnina is the most important figure among the adherents of Agnolo Gaddi and no doubt the one who most closely co-operated with him.

That this otherwise anonymous painter whose principal work is the decoration of the Castellani chapel in Sta. Croce might be Gherardo Starnina, as Vasari alone affirms, is far from certain. Two documents, however, guarantee the existence of a painter of this name. He is found first in 1387 in the register of the guild of S.Lucca as "Gherardo d iacopo Starna dipintore" (1) and in February of 1408 the Compagnia della Nunziata charge him with the decoration of a chapel in the church of S. Stefano at Empoli (2).

Vasari tells us that he was born in 1354 and was the pupil of Antonio Veneziano; in 1378 he fled to Spain (3) because he was implicated in the strife of the Ciompi. When asked to return to execute certain works in Pisa he sent Antonio Vita in his place. He was the master of Masolino, died in 1408 and was buried in S. Jacopo Sopra Arno. Besides the frescoes in the Castellani chapel, old authors, like Richa and Baldinucci as well as Vasari, speak of his paintings in the chapel of S. Gerolamo in the Carmine church in which he introduced Spanish costumes and which betray the versatility of his character, and of the fresco he depicted in the Palace of the Guelf party in remembrance of the sale of Pisa to the Florentines, in which St. Dionysius and two angels were to be seen above the purchased city.

It cannot be contested that the same painter who worked in the Castellani chapel of Sta. Croce assisted Agnolo Gaddi in the decoration of the choir. Once we have thoroughly grasped the types of Agnolo's personages we notice the difference between them and these other figures on the same wall shown in a much more sharply outlined design, peculiar features, penetrating eyes and the frequent drooping mouths, especially in the faces of the old men, whose long moustaches mingle with their beards and accentuate this particularity.

---

(1) *Gualandi*, op. cit., VI, p. 182.

(2) *O. H. Giglioli*, Su alcuni affreschi perduti dello Starnina, Rivista d'Arte, III, 1905, p. 19; *the Same*, Empoli artistica, Florence, 1906, pp. 156 and 203.

(3) It has even been said that frescoes by Starnina are to be found in the Escurial, *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 7, note 1. There is nothing, however, in this immense palace which could pass as such.

The Castellani chapel was founded by a testamentary disposition of Michele di Vanni di Ser Lotto who died in 1383; the paintings were consequently made a few years later. It is no doubt on account of this artist having assisted Agnolo in the choir that many critics have attributed the decoration of this chapel also to Agnolo, even praising its superior pictorial qualities (¹). To me, however, it seems obvious that the paintings here are from another hand although the presence of an assistant can be discovered in some of the decorative details, such for example as the female heads in medallions in the ornamental frames.

Whether the artist we find here be really Starnina, as Vasari pretends, is a question that no one can answer as long as we have no really authentic work by this painter (²). That the author of these frescoes and many panel paintings should have been Agnolo's elder brother Giovanni, as has been believed, is rendered impossible by the fact that Giovanni died in 1383 and the Castellani chapel was made after that year.

The frescoes of the Castellani chapel were for many years covered with whitewash; they were partly revealed in 1869 and at the present moment further work is being undertaken to disclose them (³).

Originally this chapel was ornamented with a great number of representations, many of which, however, are now very fragmentary. The principal cycles illustrated the histories of SS. John the Baptist, Nicholas (figs. 315 and 316) and Antony,

---

(¹) e.g. *Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 291.

(²) This hypothesis has been accepted by *A. Schmarzow,* Wer ist Gherardo Starnina?, Abhandl. der K. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch., Leipzig, XXIX, 5, 1912.

(³) Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 2nd series, I, 1922, p. 342.

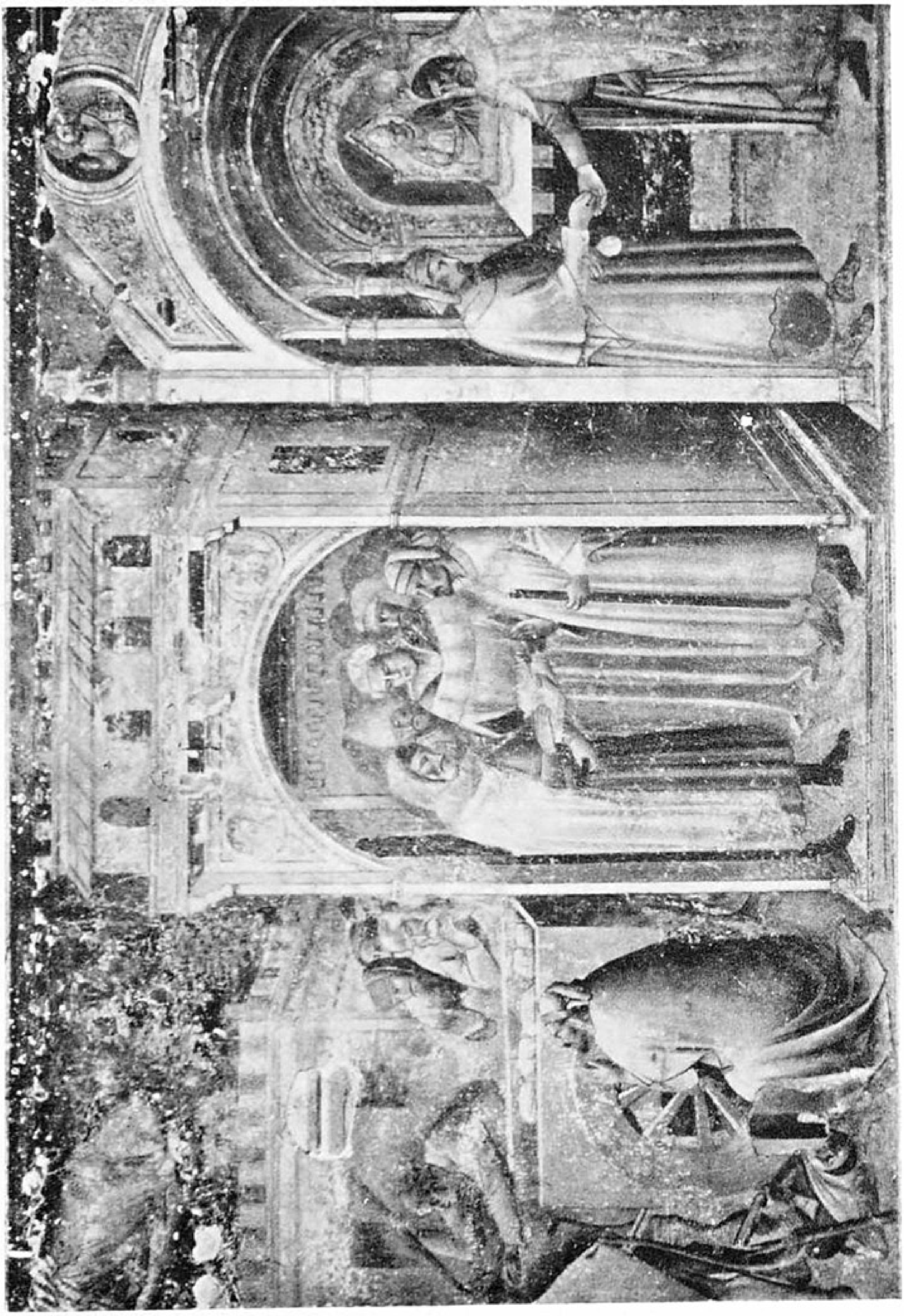


Fig. 315. Starnina, Scenes from the legend of St. Nicholas. Castellani Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

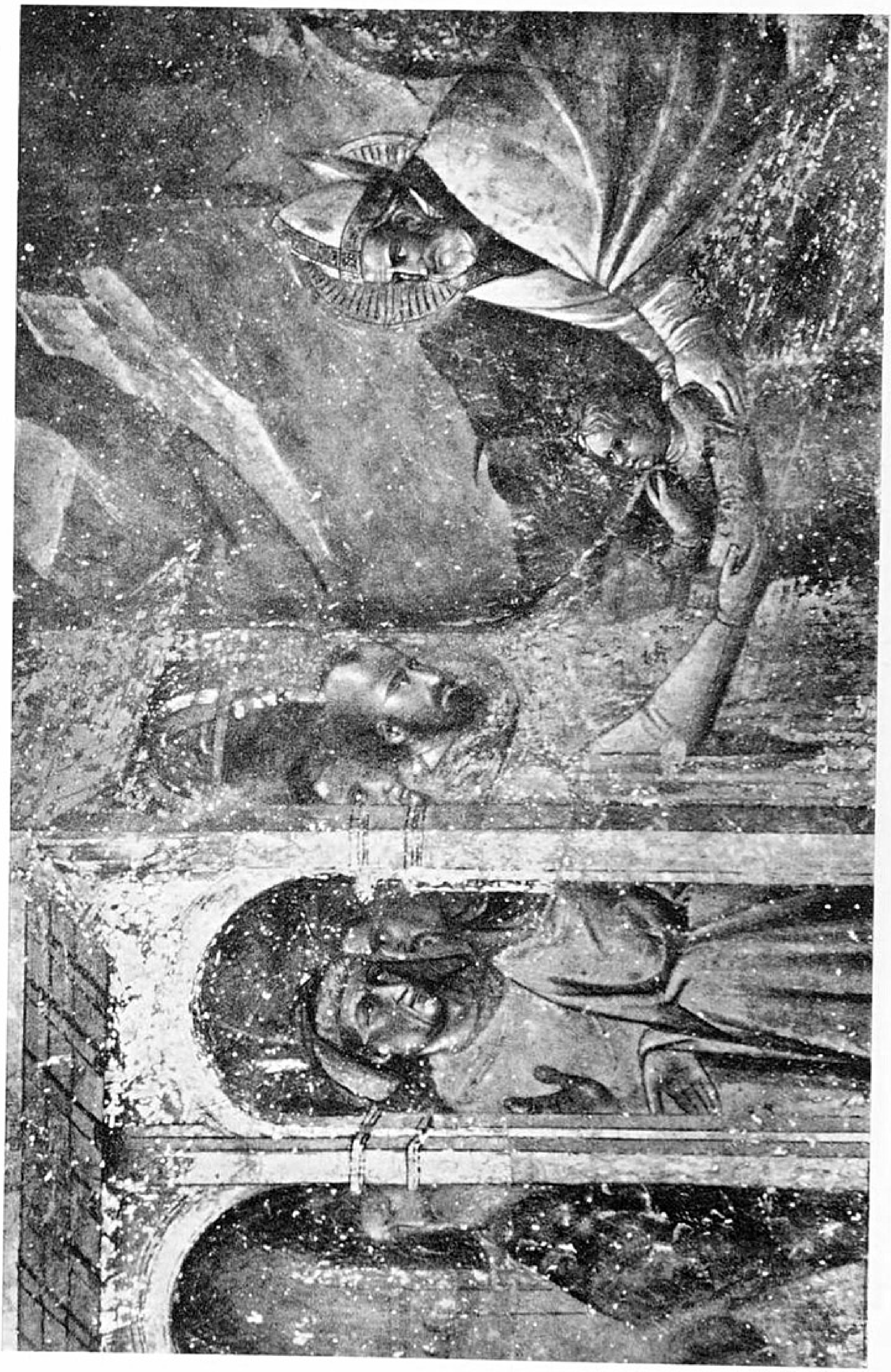


Fig. 316. Starnina, Scene from the legend of St. Nicholas. Castellani Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi.

while some scenes depict incidents from the lives of the Thebaid hermits. We also find the martyrdom of a female saint, St. John on the island of Patmos (fig. 317), almost identical with the composition Giotto depicted in a chapel near by, and several whole and half-length figures of saints and prophets while the merely decorative part, as I have already said, seems to have been left to a pupil. A detached fresco in the refectory of Sta. Croce (no. 10) representing the Resurrection of Lazarus may have formed part of the decoration of the Castellani chapel.

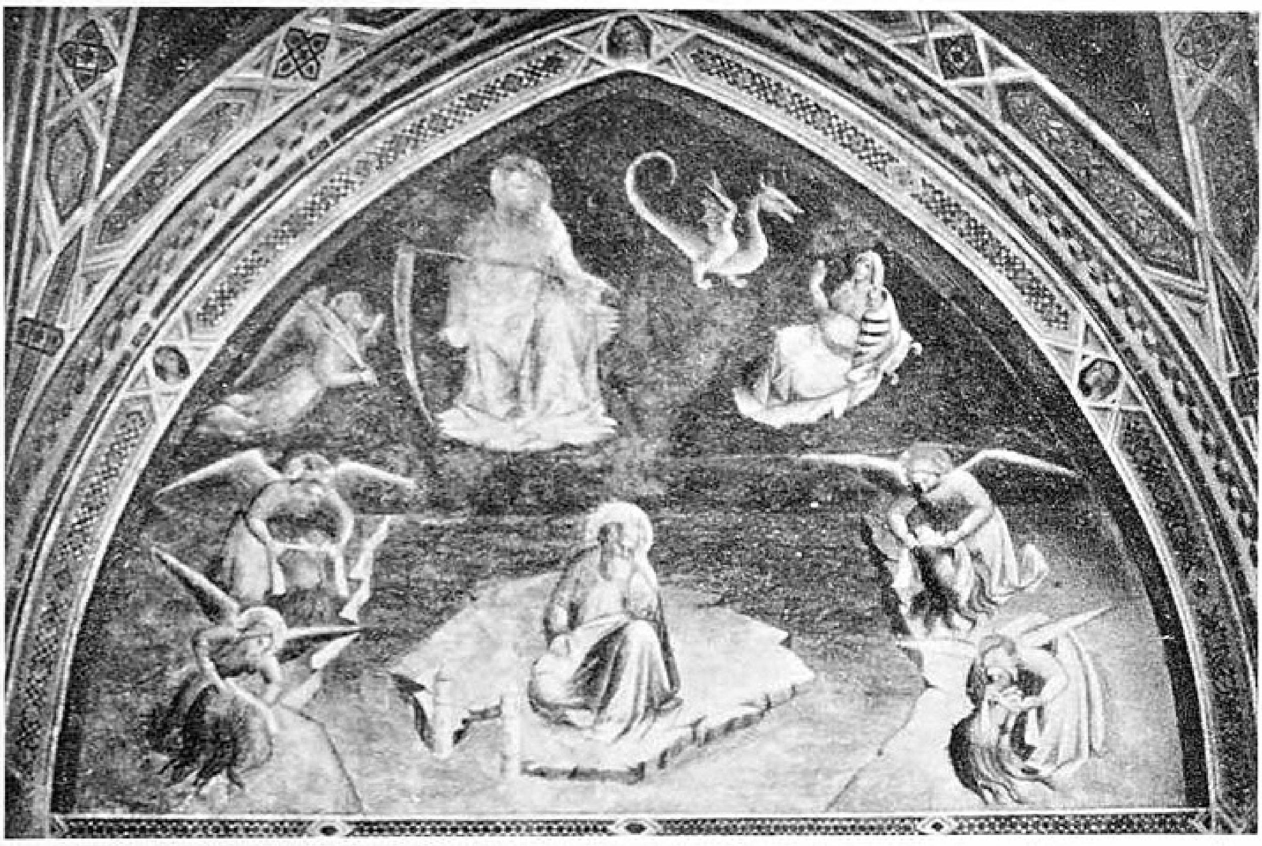


Fig. 317. Starnina, St. John on the Island of Patmos. Castellani Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Alinari.

The other works we possess by this master are exclusively panel paintings and if we had had no other name for the artist we might have called him the "master of the crowning angels and of the large heads" because in very many of his pictures in which the Madonna is the central figure, two angels are depicted holding a crown over her, while the heads frequently seem over big.

If we consider that the works showing most resemblance to Agnolo Gaddi's manner are Starnina's earliest, then I think we should place a polyptych on the altar of Sta. Caterina at Antella, near Florence, before the Castellani frescoes.

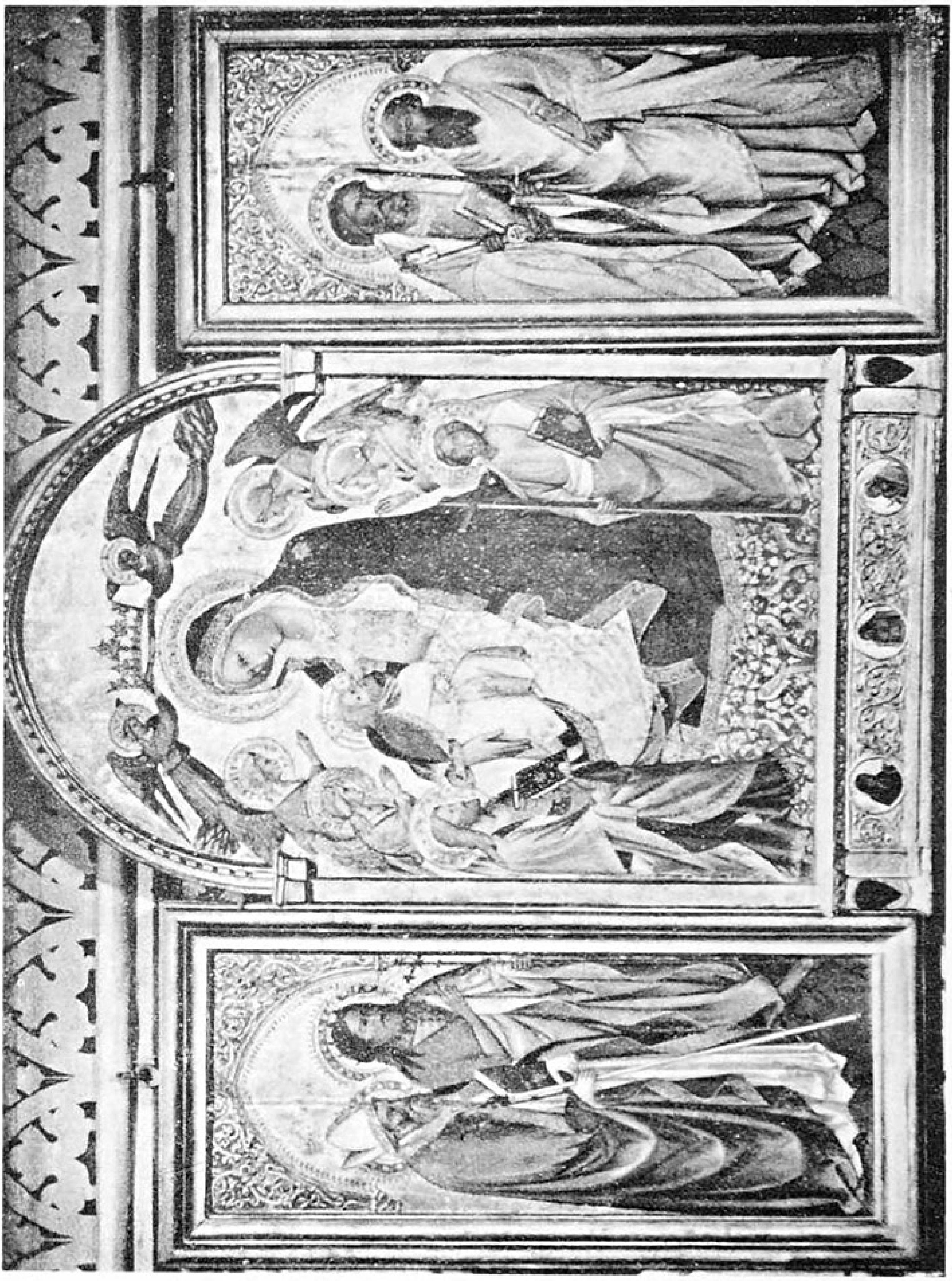


Fig. 318. Starnina, triptych. Cathedral Museum, Perugia.

Photo Anderson.

Besides the Virgin and the crowning angels, we find here two saints at either side and a Pieta and four scenes from the lives of the saints in the predella.

The next in chronological order must be a triptych in the Cathedral Museum, Perugia, in which the Madonna is represented between angels and saints, while the wings show SS. Peter, Paul, the Baptist and a holy bishop (fig. 318).

To the beginning of a more mature manner I think we can attribute a polyptych in the Gallery of Berlin (no. 1039, fig. 319); here the crowning angels are absent but six kneel at the feet of the Madonna while two others and the dove ornament the frame above. Again we find two saints at either side, and in each of the spandrels a Church-father writing. The heads of the saints are

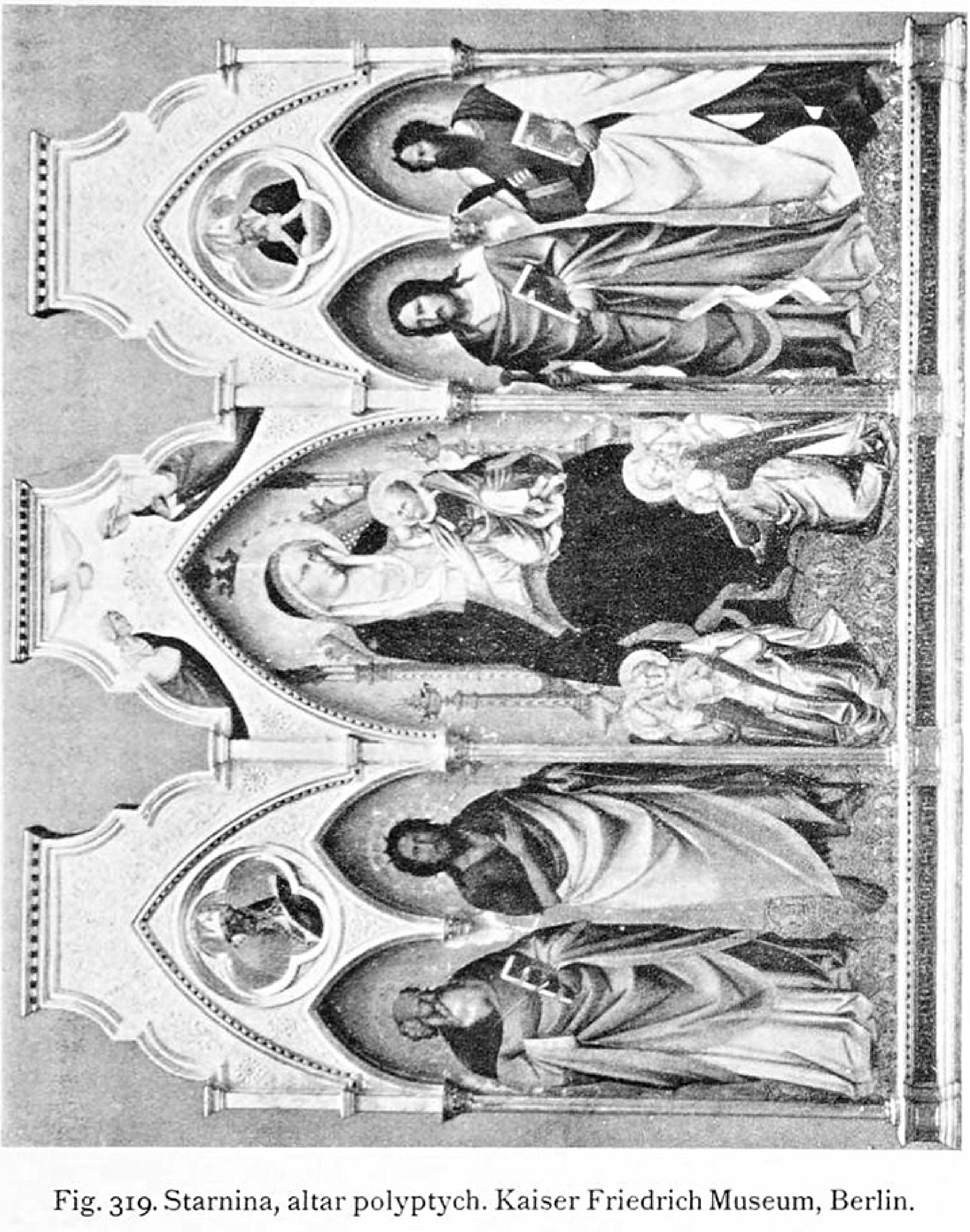


Fig. 319. Starnina, altar polyptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

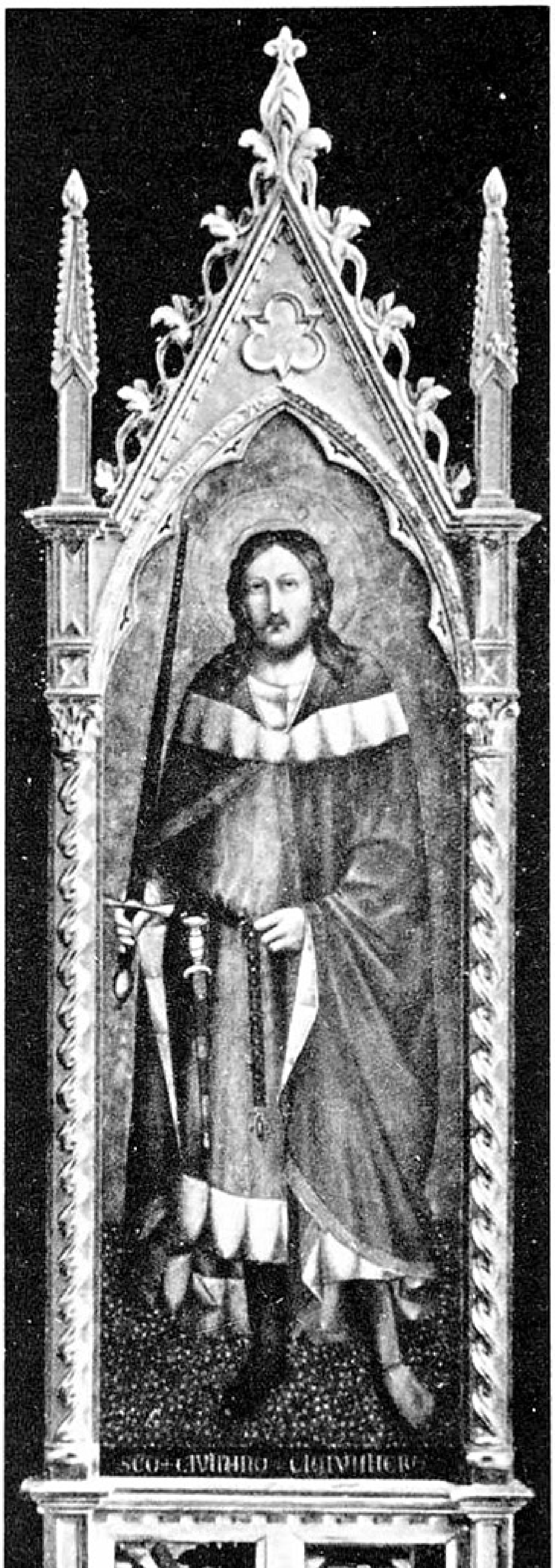


Fig. 320. Starnina, St. Julian.
Ältere Pinakothek. Munich.
Photo Hanfstaengl.

characteristic of what I believe to be this artist's later manner, but the image of the Madonna still shows many points in common with his earlier style.

Belonging to this same period is a Madonna surrounded by eight angels, two others in the apex holding the crown and two small scenes in the predella, originally in the neighbourhood of Pisa, but now, I have been told, in a private collection in Milan.

A strong resemblance will be found to exist between this panel and the polyptych in Berlin and two large figures of saints, Nicholas of Bari and Julian (fig. 320), each with two small representations in the predella, in the Ältere Pinakothek of Munich (nos. 7818 and 7819) (¹). They originate from the church of Sma. Annunziata, Florence, and it would be interesting to discover, by comparing their

---

(¹) They are now attributed to Starnina but in the old catalogues nos. 984*a* and 984*b* or 1539 and 1540, were ascribed to Agnolo Gaddi. *Frizzoni*, Nuovi aquisti della R. Pinacoteca di Monaco, L'Arte, 1900, p. 82 believed them by the latter.

dimensions, if these two paintings ever formed a composite picture with the above Madonna.

A panel depicting SS. Michael, James and Julian in the Jarves collection, Yale University (¹), is very similar in execution, while the finest Madonna of this artist is now in the vom Rath collection, Amsterdam.

A much less attractive production in this manner is a Madonna, tenderly holding the Child, Who stands on her knee, between two male and two female saints, while two angels hold the crown above her head, in the church of S. Ansano at Fiesole. Of a more pleasing appearance is a Madonna in Sir Hubert Parry's collection, near Gloucester, although in this picture the characteristic size of the head is very obvious (fig. 321).

A good example of this ripe-stage in the artist's career seems to be the picture of the Madonna seated on a cushion on the ground and surrounded by six angels, two of whom hold her crown, which, until the reorganisation of the gallery, formed no. 34bis of the Uffizi. This picture reveals in a very significant manner the place which Starnina or the "Compagno d'Agnolo" occupied between the later artists of the 14th century — among whom was his master — and the early painters of the 15th century, such as Lorenzo Monaco, with whose art this last panel shows obvious points of contact. Vasari also tells us that Starnina occupied this intermediate position and that he formed the link between Antonio Veneziano and Masolino, but this seems impossible if the artist whom we are now discussing is to be identified with Starnina.

While in the frescoes of the Castellani chapel and in all those which I take to be his early works, the painter reveals himself as an adherent of the attenuated Giottesque tradition, his later productions show him to have been a pioneer of the combination of Gothic design and Quattrocento spirit which were the leading elements in the art of Lorenzo Monaco and contemporary artists in Florence (²).

So little has come down to us of the artistic activity of Loren-

---

(¹) *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 51.

(²) Other works by Starnina are: *Englewood*, U.S.A., Platt coll., Madonna nursing the Child, crowned by angels; *Florence*, Accademia, Madonna and SS. Catherine, Agnes, the Baptist and Antony (?); *London*, Kerr Lawson coll., zo di Bicci (¹) that we need not dwell at length on this painter whom Vasari has confused with his son Bicci di Lorenzo.

Lorenzo di Bicci is mentioned in documents of 1370, 1375, 1386, 1409, when he was inscribed in the corporation of S. Lucca, and again in 1427, the year of his death. He is also found in 1387, together with Agnolo Gaddi and Spinello, making designs of statues for the Cathedral, while between 1388 and 1391 he painted statues for the Loggia dei Lanzi, designed by Agnolo and executed by Piero di Giovanni (²). In 1399 he executed a Crucifixion for the Compagnia della Croce at Empoli (³).

In 1398 we find him receiving ninety golden guilders in payment of works executed for the Cathedral of Florence, parts of which are the only authentic productions we now possess by Lorenzo di Bicci. These are three half-length figures of Evangelists in medallions, and are rather commonplace, although they show some effort to express dignity which does not altogether fail (⁴). Crowe and Cavalcaselle believed that Lorenzo began the paintings in the vault and entrance arch of the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo, and that his son Bicci di Lorenzo only continued and finished them.

I do not think that the fragments in the Cathedral of Florence quite justify us in attributing to Lorenzo the important series of frescoes in the chapel of S. Jacopo in the Cathedral of Prato which

---

Madonna (T. Borenius, Burlington Mag., May, 1922); for sale, half-length figure of the dead Saviour; *New-York,* Blumenthal coll., the Trinity; *Paris.* d'Hendecourt coll., two predella panels of scenes in connection with St. Michael (T. Borenius, An unpublished Florentine Predella, this author is doubtful about the attribution to Starnina. The Madonna which formed the principal panel of this altar-piece is found in the Chiesa coll., Milan); *Richmond,* Cook coll., Christ standing and the figures of the Annunciation; Sirén, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 52, in his list of this painter's works, mentions, besides some that I have already cited, others in the S. Marco Ospizio, Florence (no. 5), in the Museum of Empoli, in the Bone coll.; Dusseldorf, and in the late Martin le Roy coll., Paris. I do not agree with him in attributing to this artist a picture in the Louvre, one in the van Stolk coll., Haarlem, and a third in the Lanz coll., Amsterdam.

(¹) *Vasari-Milanesi,* II, p. 49 and 63. *Baldinucci,* op. cit., I, p. 320. *G. Gr.,* Lorenzo di Bicci in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, III, p. 604, *Khvoshinsky and Salmi,* op cit., p. 47.

(²) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* op. cit, III, p. 237.

(³) *G. Poggi,* Rivista d'Arte, 1905, p. 47.

(⁴) *G. Poggi,* Il Duomo di Firenze, p. CVIII.

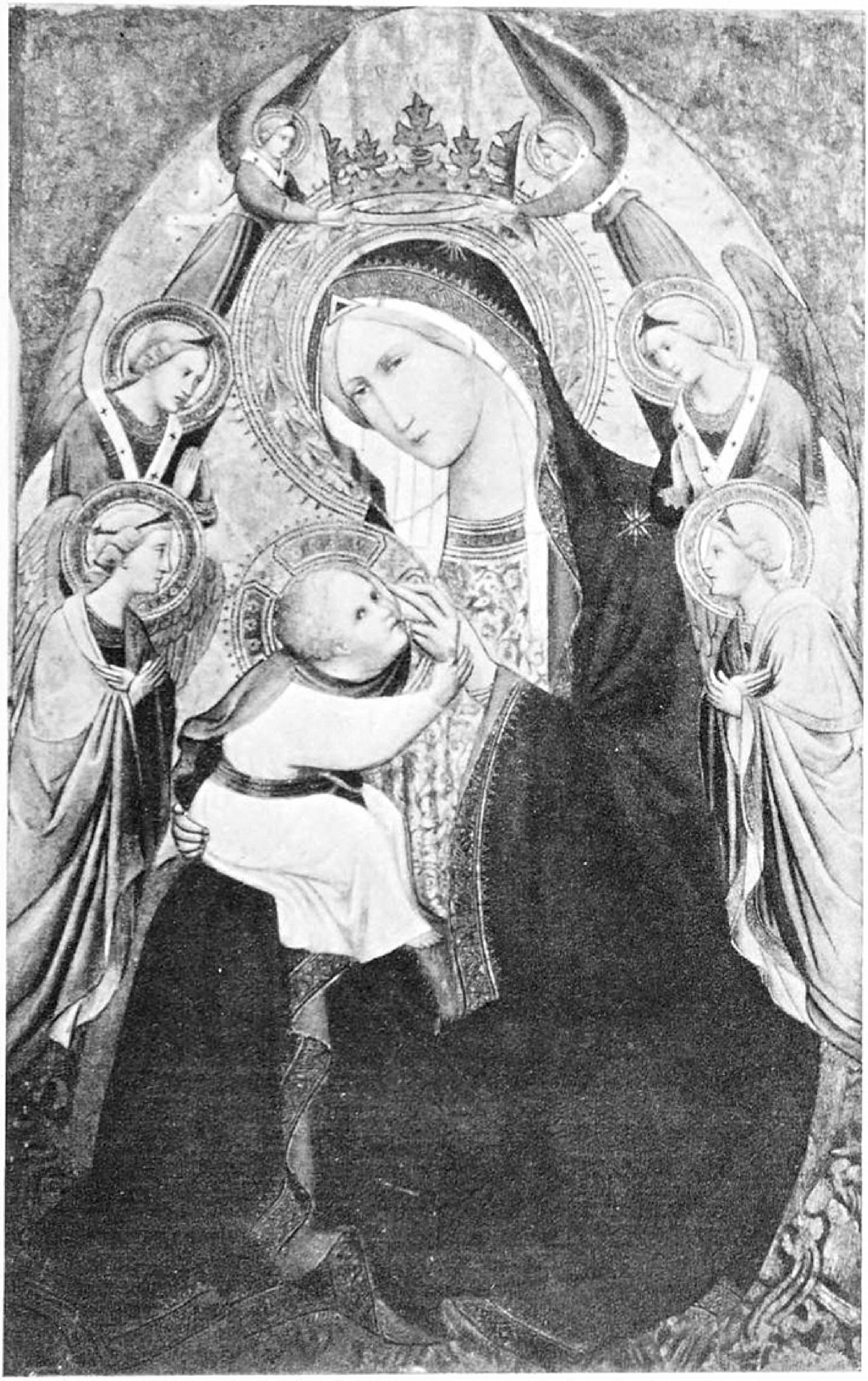


Fig. 321. Starnina, Madonna, Parry Collection, Gloucester.

Photo Mansell.

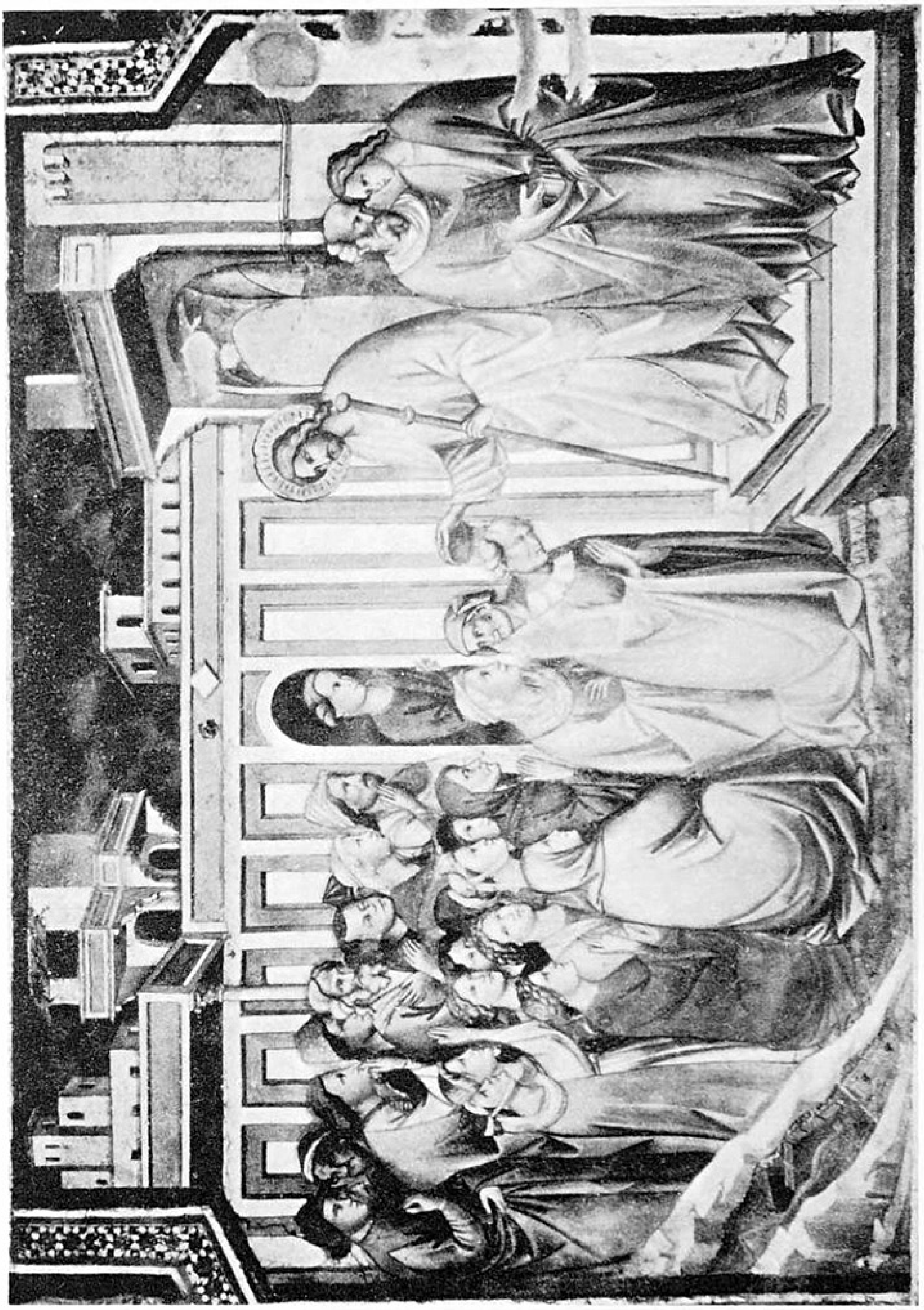


Fig. 322. Starnina or Lorenzo di Bicci (?), Scene from the life of St. James. S. Jacopo Chapel, Cathedral, Prato. Photo Brogi.

are composed of three scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. James (figs. 322 and 323), three illustrating the legend of St. Margaret (fig. 324), four Evangelists in the ceiling and half-length figures of prophets in the entrance arch. The manner of execution of these paintings is not a mixture of Daddi's and Parri Spinelli's as Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest and still less that of Gerini's(¹), but the sharp outlines and peculiar hard design of the features remind us strongly of the artist with whom we have just dealt and to whom they might almost be attributed; in such case there would be no actual reason to mention Lorenzo di Bicci in the group of artists led by Agnolo Gaddi.

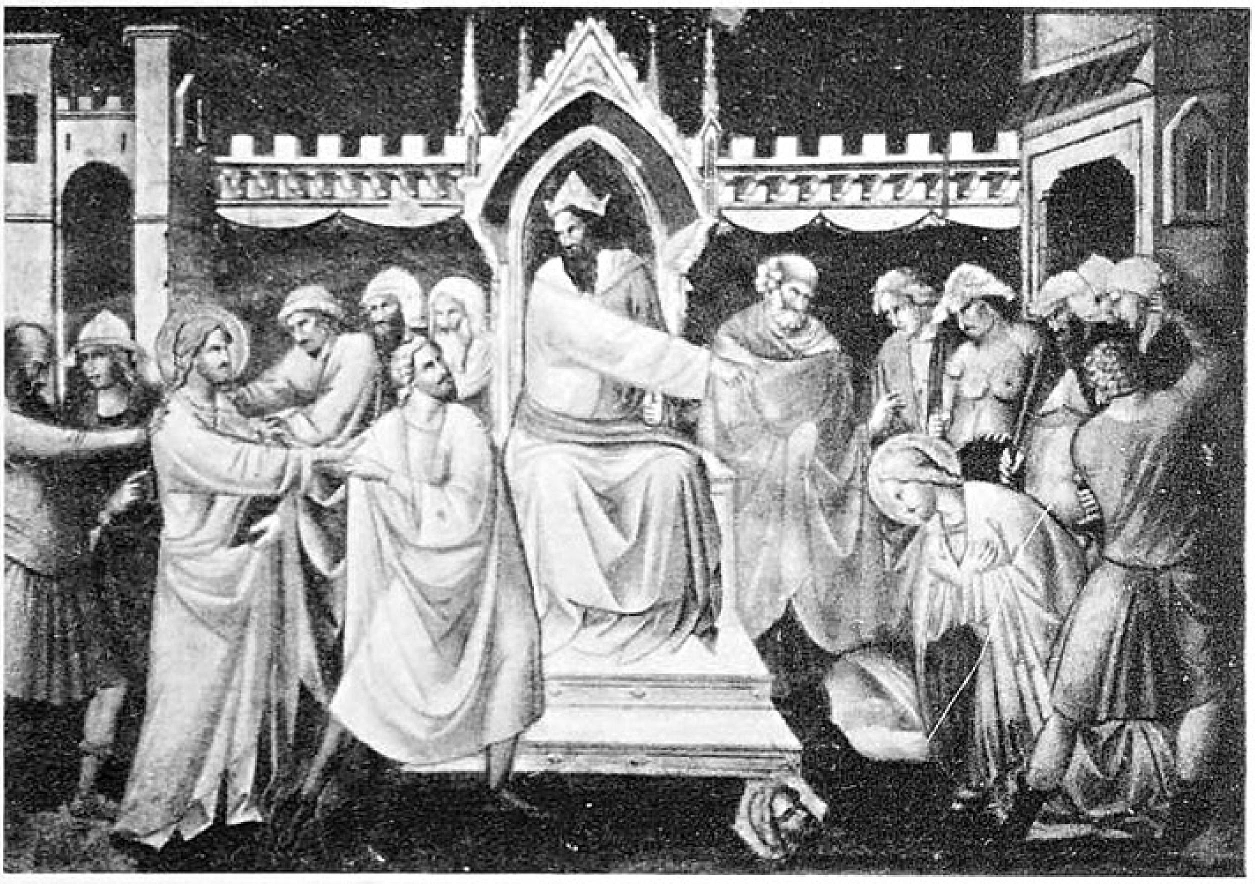


Fig. 323. Starnina or Lorenzo di Bicci, the Martyrdom of St. James. S. Jacopo Chapel, Cathedral, Prato. Photo Brogi.

Some frescoes in the church of S. Antonio and an altar-piece in S. Francesco, both at Pescia, have been attributed to Lorenzo.

## SPINELLO ARETINO.

One of the most gifted Florentine painters of the later part of the 14th century was Spinello Aretino, who was born, as the name indicates, at Arezzo, while we know also that his father's name was Lucca and that he belonged to a family of goldsmiths

---

(¹) *Schmarzow,* Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XVI, 1893, p. 160.

because not only his father and grand-father but an uncle and a brother as well, followed this trade.

Notwithstanding the fact that Vasari and Spinello were natives of the same town, the biographer does not seem to have been better informed about this artist than about any other painter of the Trecento. He calls him a pupil of Jacopo del Casentino — he does not as we have already seen, refer to the early follower of Giotto — and the master of Bernardo Daddi, and speaks of activities of his in 1334, from which, had it been true, we should have to conclude that he lived to be almost a hundred, as the date of his death is 1410.

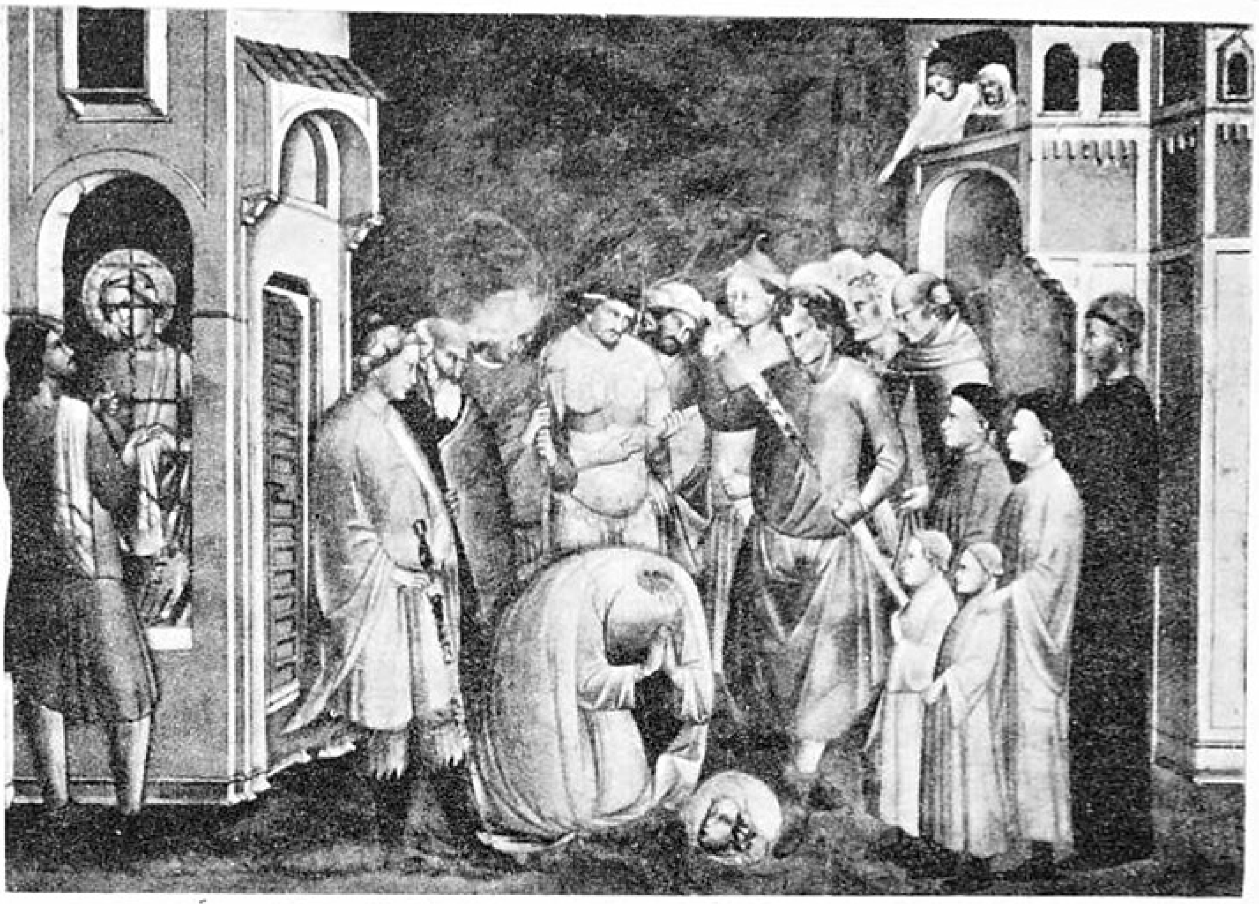


Fig. 324. Starnina or Lorenzo di Bicci (?), the martyrdom of St. Margaret. S. Jacopo Chapel, Cathedral, Prato. Photo Brogi.

As the list of Spinello's activities, given by Vasari, is very long, we shall not consider these works of which no trace is now left.

Spinello's father married in 1344 or' 45 (¹), so the painter cannot very well have been born much before 1346 and the date of 1361 is therefore hardly admissible for the altar-piece that he made

---

(¹) *U. Pasqui*, Pittori aretini vissuti della meta del sec. XII al 1527, Rivista d'Arte, X, 1907, p. 57.

for the monastery of Camaldoli, which in 1639 was replaced by one of Vasari's own productions. In 1373 he is found buying landed property and in 1375 he is charged by the confraternity of Sta. Maria with the execution of frescoes in the chapel of Francesco degli Accettanti in the Pieve, Arezzo, for which he was to receive the sum of fifty-six golden guilders (1).

The first dated work we have of this artist is the altar-piece he executed in 1385 for Monte Oliveto. It is probable that he married in the following year and that sons were born to him in 1387, 1398 and 1406; Spinello remarried after the death of his first wife (2). In 1386 Spinello appears also as witness in an act of Arezzo (3).

The frescoes in the sacristy of S. Miniato al Monte and those in Sta. Caterina of Antella were ordered from Spinello by Benedetto degli Alberti who was exiled, but in his will of July 1387 makes arrangements for the finishing of the latter (4), from which it may be assumed that the former were then already executed.

In 1391 Parasone Grassi, one of the surveyors of the Cathedral, called Spinello to Pisa to make the still existing frescoes in the Campo Santo, for which he received forty or fifty guilders a piece; this money was paid to him in 1391 and 1392 (5).

The signed polyptych, now in the Accademia, Florence, but originally at Lucca (6), is dated 1391 and might very well have been made during his sojourn in Pisa; at the end of 1395 and beginning of 1396 we find him again in Arezzo where he executed a now much damaged but still visible fresco of the Pietà above the door of the palace of the Fraternity and two figures in the "Udienza" for which he was paid three gold florins (7).

---

(1) *G. F. Gamurrini,* I pittori aretini da 1150 al 1527, Rivista d'Arte, X, 1917, p. 92.

(2) *U. Pasqui,* op. cit.

(3) *H. P. Horne,* A Commentary upon Vasari's Life of Jacopo del Casentino, p. 175.

(4) *Vasari Milanesi,* I, p. 683 note 1. *A. Schmarzow,* Santa Caterina in Antella, Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthistorisches Instituts zu Florenz, Leipzig, 1897 p. 29

(5) *I. B. Supino,* Il Campo Santo di Pisa, p. 151. *L. Tanfani Centofanti,* Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti Pisani, Pisa, 1897, p. 461.

(6) *Vasari Milanesi,* I, p. 691, note 2.

(7) *Pasqui,* op. cit.

In 1399 he undertook to make a triptych of the Coronation of the Virgin between saints for the monastery of Sta. Felicità, Florence, which he executed with the assistance of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and his son Lorenzo di Niccolo. This picture, now in the Accademia of Florence, bears the date 1401 (1).

The same year, 1401, he was charged with the ornamentation of two chapels in the Pieve of Arezzo, for which work he was to be paid thirty Aretine guilders; of this he received part in that same year and part in 1404 (2).

In November 1404, on the occasion of the reception of the new bishop, Pietro dei Ricci, at Arezzo, great festivities were organised and the decoration, among which were painted flags, was entrusted to Spinello, for which he was paid, in February 1405, six golden guilders (3). At the beginning of 1405 he went with Parri to Siena and worked seven and a half months at eleven and a half guilders a month in the Cathedral, but of these paintings nothing remains (4).

In 1407 Spinello with his son Parri contracted for the extant frescoes in the Sala di Balia of the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena for which they were to receive forty-four florins a month; they were started about March 1408 (5), a certain Bettus Benedicti, indicating the subjects which should be represented (6), and these were probably accomplished before Spinello's death which took place in March two years later, because at that moment we find him back again in Arezzo (7). Vasari's fertile fantasy tells us the cause of death was a dream Spinello had in which he saw a figure of Lucifer just as he had depicted him. He was buried in the church of Morello.

From these facts it does not appear that Spinello worked in

---

(1) *G. Poggi*, La tavola dell' altare maggiore di S. Felicità ora nell' Accademia, no. 129, Rivista d'Arte, III, 1905, p. 126.

(2) *Gamurrini*, op. cit. *A. Del Vita*, Contribuiti per la storia dell' arte aretina, Rassegna d'Arte, XIII, 1913, p. 187.

(3) *Pasqui*, op. cit.

(4) *Milanesi*, Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese, II, Siena, 1854, p. 19.

(5) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I. p. 693, note 2.

(6) *Milanesi*, op. cit., II, pp. 20 and 33.

(7) *Idem*, p. 693, note 3. *A. Del Vita*, Notizie su antichi artisti aretini, L'Arte, XVI, 1913, p. 232.

Florence before about 1387, that is to say when he was probably about forty years old; even admitting that he went to Florence earlier there would always be a considerable lapse of time between his first productions in Arezzo and his Florentine activities. We have documentary evidence that the second part of his career was divided between the two cities of Arezzo and Siena where we find him almost at its conclusion. As Arezzo possesses works by Spinello varying greatly in quality, it can be supposed in a general way that the more inferior ones were executed before he practised in Florence, when he was still a provincial artist, but a very gifted one. Whether Spinello had any contact with the art of Florence before his important work there, is another question; it seems probable to me that at least part of his training had been obtained in Florence. If it be true that he was born about 1347, he would be young enough to have spent some years in the "bottega" of Andrea Orcagna or his brother Nardo and certainly very pronounced Orcagnesque elements can be observed in Spinello's manner of painting.

I suppose Spinello in his earliest stage must have executed several Annunciations, all of a somewhat similar composition, which still exist at Arezzo. One will be found in a lunette above the entrance of Sma. Annuziata (fig. 325); the event takes place inside a building which is divided into two parts, in one we see the Madonna seated on a throne, in the other kneels the angel, while above the roof, the Lord must originally have been depicted sending forth the angel who is seen on his journey towards the world.

The architecture is much more elaborate in an Annunciation in the church of S. Francesco in which the Madonna stands before a lectern and the angel approaches apparently without touching the ground with his feet. Here too the Lord is represented above giving the command to the angel; near by in separate frames we find the figures of the archangel Michael and St. Paul on the road to Damascus.

A fragment of another Annunciation is preserved in S. Domenico; here the composition is almost identical to the first, the angel is, as there, kneeling and the Madonna is seated in a similar throne in the same attitude, the only difference being that the book she holds is here closed. The division between the two

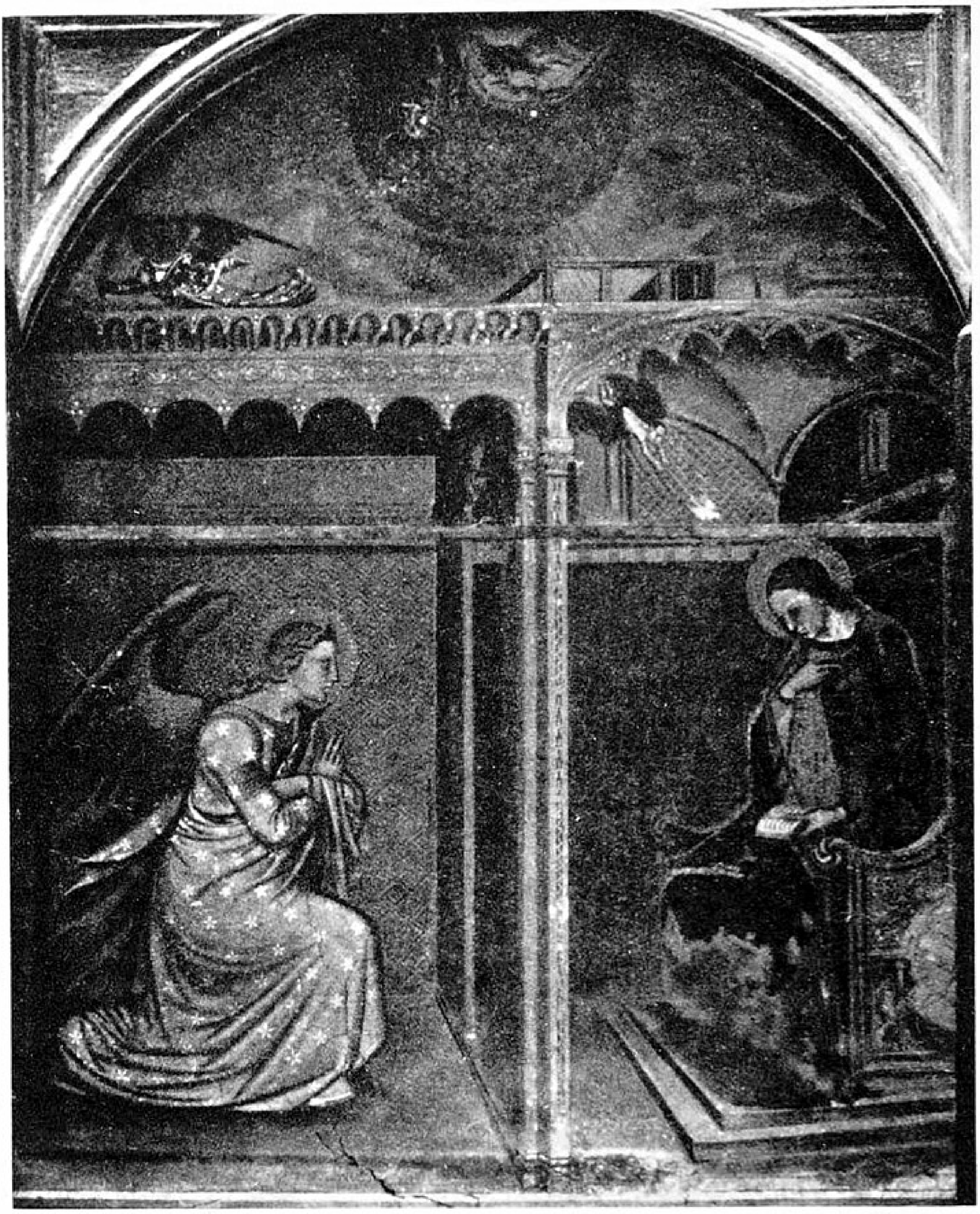


Fig. 325. Spinello Aretino, the Annunciation. Sma. Annunziata, Arezzo.
Photo Alinari.

rooms is also visible but the upper part has been destroyed. The kneeling angel very strongly resembles the one we saw in the last mentioned painting kneeling before God the Father.

In the figures of these paintings and especially in those of the last Annunciation and the archangel in S. Francesco, the beautiful Orcagnesque type of features has obviously been followed.

The altar-piece which Spinello painted in 1385 for Monte

Oliveto Maggiore must belong, on account of its difference to these Annunciatións, to another stage in his career; the one which betrays most connection with this work is the fresco in S. Francesco.

The details concerning this picture are well known to us. It was ordered in April 1384 by the prior of the convent of Sta. Maria Nuova of the Olivetan order in Rome; a wood carver had to make and ornament the panel in six months for the sum of fifty golden guilders; a painter, charged with the gilding and relief decoration, was paid a hundred golden guilders and Spinello received the same sum for the painting, for which he was only allowed eight months. All three signed this production of their joint labours but while the painter's name is found under the feet of the Madonna, "*Spinellus de Aretio picsit*", the carver's and gilder's appear in inscriptions below the lateral panels which read: "*Magister Simon Cini de Florentia intaliavit*" and "*Gabriellus Saraceni de Senis auravit MCCCLXXX.....*" (1).

The reconstruction of this altar-piece, the various parts of which now belong to four different collections, has been successfully accomplished by Mr. Perkins (2).

The central Madonna enthroned and surrounded by angels (fig. 326), the right lateral panel containing the figures of SS. Benedict and Lucilla and the predella, in which the representations of the death of the former saint and martyrdom of the latter are separated by a figure of St. Augustine, belong to the Fogg Art Museum; a small figure of a holy monk in the same collection must have ornamented one of the small arcaded divisions in the predella (3).

The Museum of Budapest possesses the other lateral panel

---

(1) *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 688, note 1, gives us all these particulars. Vasari had already deciphered the inscriptions, reproducing them in translation, and rightly completed the date as 1385.

(2) *F. Mason Perkins*, Una tavola d'altare di Spinello Aretino, Rassegna d'Artè, XVIII, 1918, p. 1. *O. Sirén*, Giottino, p. 94, at first mistook for the central part, another Madonna by Spinello also in the Fogg Museum (no 3). Milanesi saw the lateral panels in a chapel near Rapolano; they were afterwards sold to Ramboux the painter and collector.

(3) Fogg Art Museum, Collection of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings, nos. 3, 4 A-4 D.

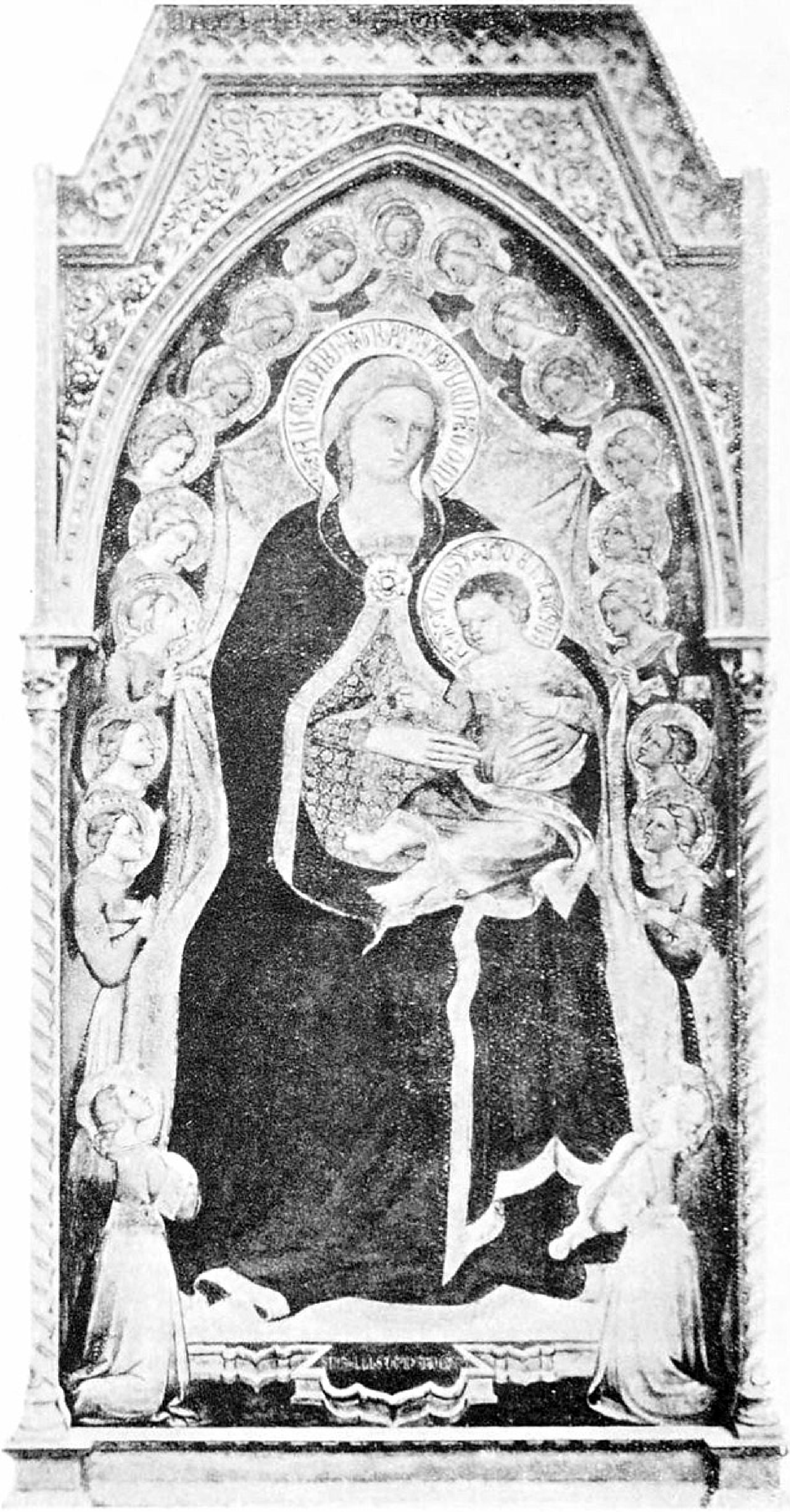


Fig. 326. Spinello Aretino, Madonna from the Monte Oliveto altarpiece, 1385. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, U. S. A.

in which SS. John the Baptist and Nemesius are depicted, as well as that part of the predella which is ornamented with a scene from each of their legends (¹), while in the Accademia of Siena we find the middle part of the predella and the terminal of the central panel, representing the Death of the Virgin (fig. 327) and her Coronation. The Wallraf-Richartz Museum of Cologne contains two small panels, SS Philip and James, formerly in the Ramboux collection. Originally there were six similar figures in the predella, but the other three have been lost (²).

Important as this picture is and splendid as the effect of the ensemble must have been, it cannot be said that we have here one of Spinello's better productions. The drapery is too sharply outlined and on the whole, the connection with Orcagna's art is less evident. There is altogether a hardness of design and a lack of gracefulness which greatly diminish the charm of this picture. The predella panels, particularly the one of the Death of the Virgin, are of better quality. I have already remarked on the connection between this picture and the Annunciation in the church of S. Francesco of Arezzo, the resemblance between the Virgin there and the Madonna here with her eyes almost closed is very obvious.

To this period or slightly later can be attributed a predella panel representing the Adoration of the Magi which I saw a short time ago in a private collection in Florence.

Two years after the execution of the Monte Oliveto altar-piece, Spinello decorated, as we have seen, the sacristy of S. Miniato al Monte, outside Florence, but through restoration this work has unfortunately lost much of its original aspect; it is rather lacking in relief and the outlines are even harder than the previous work. We can admire here, however, the broad and well-proportioned design of the figures, their movement and life. Cavalcaselle remarked that "some of the frescoes are not faultless in distribution; they betray casual neglect and carelessness, yet in general they show so much life and energy and are so fairly sustained by general laws of composition, vigour of character and bold facility of handling, that the total impression

---

(¹) *G. von Terey,* Die Gemälde Galerie etc. in Budapest, no. 17.

(²) Fogg Art Museum, Collection etc., p. 52.

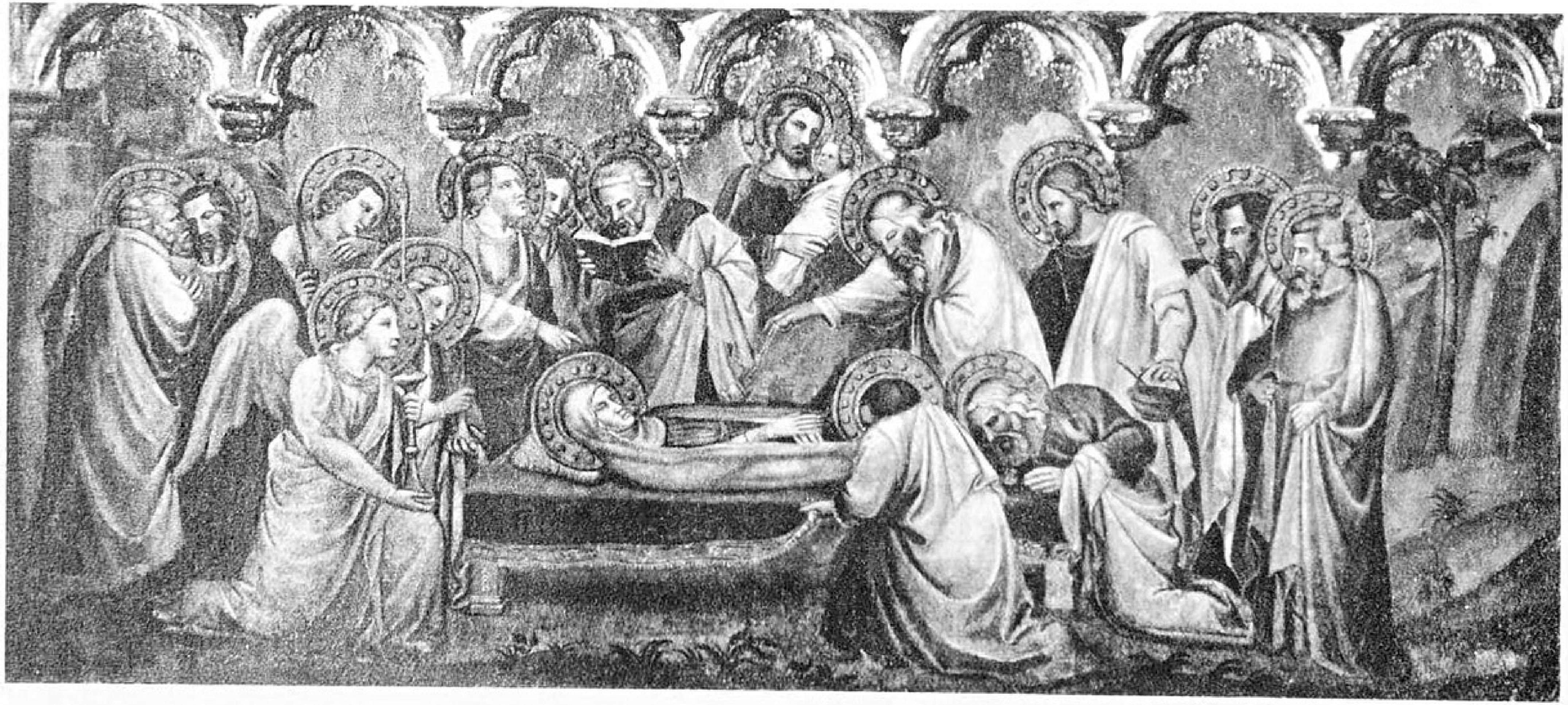


Fig. 327. Spinello Aretino, the Death of the Virgin, from the Monte Oliveto altar-piece. Gallery, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

is grand". The incidents from the life of St. Benedict represented are, 1) the saint on horseback leaving his family and saying farewell to the world which is symbolized by the town of Oriental aspect forming the background, 2) the miraculous mending of a broken vase belonging to his nurse, 3) the saint inside the grotto in a hill where he was tended by a monk who is seen clothing him in the monastic habit, 4) the saint depicted in the grotto partaking with the priest of the provisions he has brought at the command of the Lord, Who appeared to him on Easter day, 5) the saint mortifying the flesh by rolling himself naked in a bush of thorns, 6) admiring monks come to listen to his words, and simultaneously, others, who had chosen him as their abbot, desiring to free themselves from him and his severe rule, attempting to poison him, but on his making the sign of the cross over the receptacle offered him, the cup is miraculously broken, 7) St. Benedict joyfully leaving his treacherous monks and returning to his cavern, 8) various monasteries are formed around his cave and many young people come to inhabit them, among these are the two young patricians Maurus and Placidus who are led thither by their fathers, 9) St. Benedict with a stick chases a demon from one of the monks who, as the other brothers had seen, prevented him from taking part in the prayers, 10) once Placidus, while fetching water, fell into the pond and when St. Benedict ordered Maurus to go to his rescue he walked miraculously on the surface (fig. 328), 11) St. Benedict, at the request of some monks, one day makes water issue from the ground, 12) while building the monastery of Montecassino, a demon tries by every manner of means to hinder the work, one day he made a wall in course of construction fall on a monk, who, however, revived after the saint's prayers, 13) the king Totilla, visiting the saint and desiring to prove his clairvoyance, had a man dressed up in his royal clothes while he himself joined the suite, but St. Benedict knew at once that the substitute was not the real king, and 14) while the saint lies dead on his bier, some of the monks see his soul on a beautifully decorated road going to heaven.

The merit of these paintings lies more in the separate figures than in the compositions which are frequently somewhat primitive; the landscape, as well as the architectural surroundings of

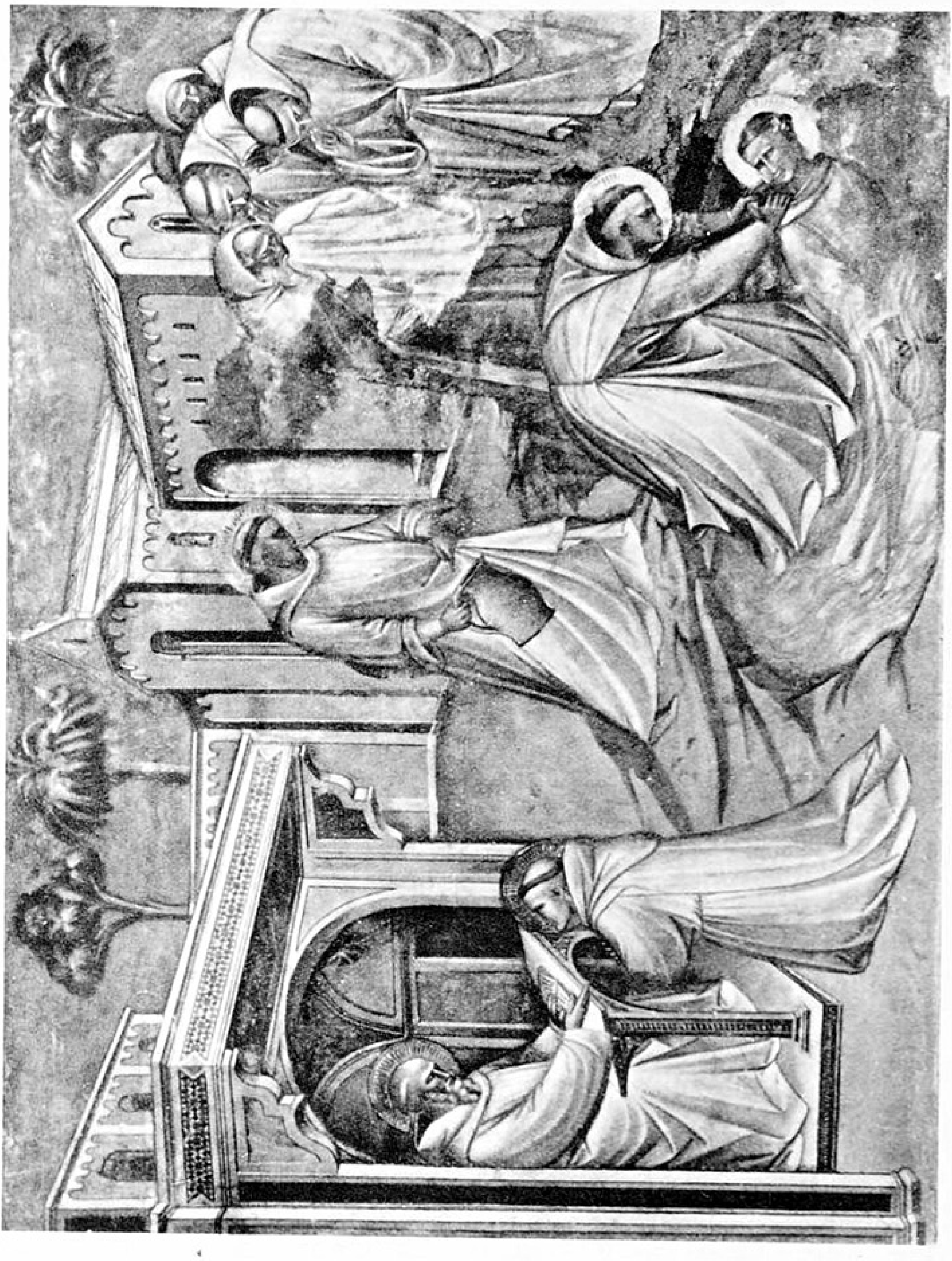


Fig. 328. Spinello Aretino, Maurus saves Placidus, from drowning, 1387. S. Miniato, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

each picture, reminds us of Florentine work of the early 14th century. Often there are too many incidents blended together which not only results in a great confusion but in an inharmonious ensemble as will be seen in the third or tenth fresco or again in the many incoherent figures of the eleventh, all of whom seem occupied with different affairs, the whole producing rather the impression of an acrostic. The figures, however, although the general effect of the action is not united, are each executed with a great sense of reality in movement and expression, and if the artist did not possess the Giottesque dramatic sense, he had a well developed power of observation and depicted his figures in a most natural manner. In this respect particular mention should be made of the old priest in the third fresco and the two seated representations of the saint in the sixth, in which most of the other figures also are excellent.

The groups in the seventh, eighth and ninth frescoes are admirable; in the first of these the contemptuous look which Benedict casts at the treacherous monk is particularly full of spirit. In almost all these paintings the saint seems to be depicted with more care than the others and always forms a dignified, well-draped monumental figure.

The frescoes which the same degli Alberti ordered to be made in Sta. Caterina at Antella are of a slightly different aspect which may very well be explained by the fact that they are not restored.

Besides the illustrations of the legend of St. Catherine, we find here the four Evangelists with their emblems represented in the vault, the thirteen Apostles on the arch which divides the nave of the little church, several saints on the lower part of the walls and figures of prophets and other personages from the Old Testament in medallions below the scenes from the life of St. Catherine; the latter are eight in all, depicted in two rows on either lateral wall, while on the triumphal arch we find her martyrdom in two scenes and above, her ascension. Below each fresco the subject is inscribed. On the right wall above we see St. Catherine with her mother and a large company going to hear the holy hermit, St. Romito, who in the next fresco is represented baptising her. Below are the rather damaged scenes of the mystical marriage of the saint, who is first seen in the same picture in prayer, and of St. Catherine expounding her faith before the Emperor Maximin, refusing to adore his gods. Opposite we find above, the saint disputing with the emperor's philosophers and the people she converted being burned alive, while below are depicted the Lord surrounded by angels appearing to her in prison, and the wife of the emperor, the captain Porphyry and two hundred soldiers, all of whom St.

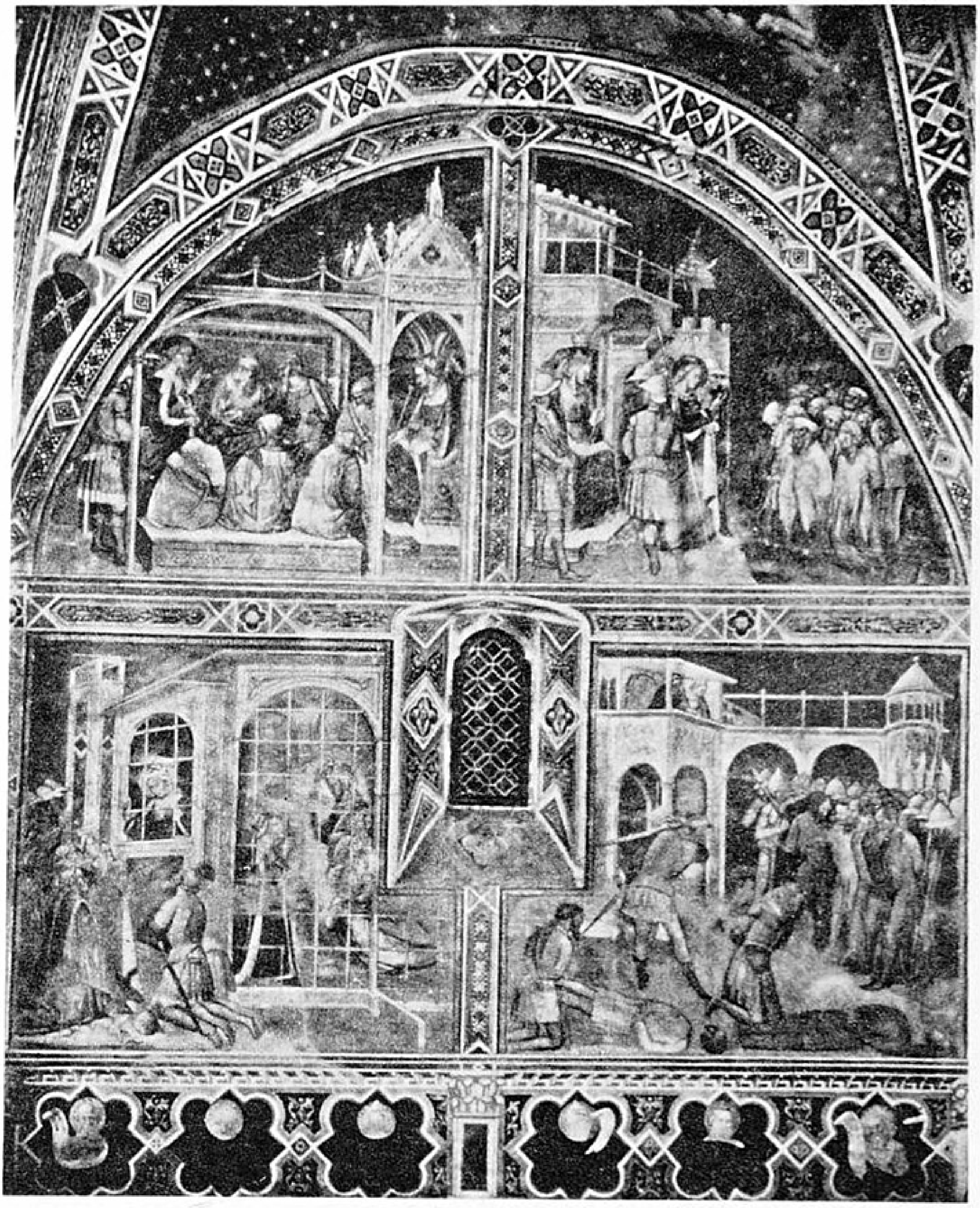


Fig. 329. Spinello Aretino, Scenes from the history of St. Catherine. Antella, Florence. Photo Alinari.

Catherine converted to Christianity, being beheaded (fig. 329).

The frescoes of Antella are among Spinello's finest creations. It may be supposed that those of S. Miniato were not inferior before the fatal restoration, but I am more inclined to believe that the St. Catherine series has always been superior. They manifest a much greater sentiment and the artist seems to have been more deeply affected by the story; these paintings not only show a very good design in the various figures, a skilful rendering of relief and an absence of the linear element but an ensemble in the action as well. An excellent example of this will be found in the dispute of St. Catherine, and the diversity of effect her words have on her audience, is admirably portrayed.

With the frescoes of Antella I think we should closely associate those which once decorated the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Carmine church of Florence, but which were destroyed by fire in 1771. Vasari tells us of these paintings which were engraved by a certain Patch and published the year after their destruction (¹). Only some fragmentary pieces, scattered through-

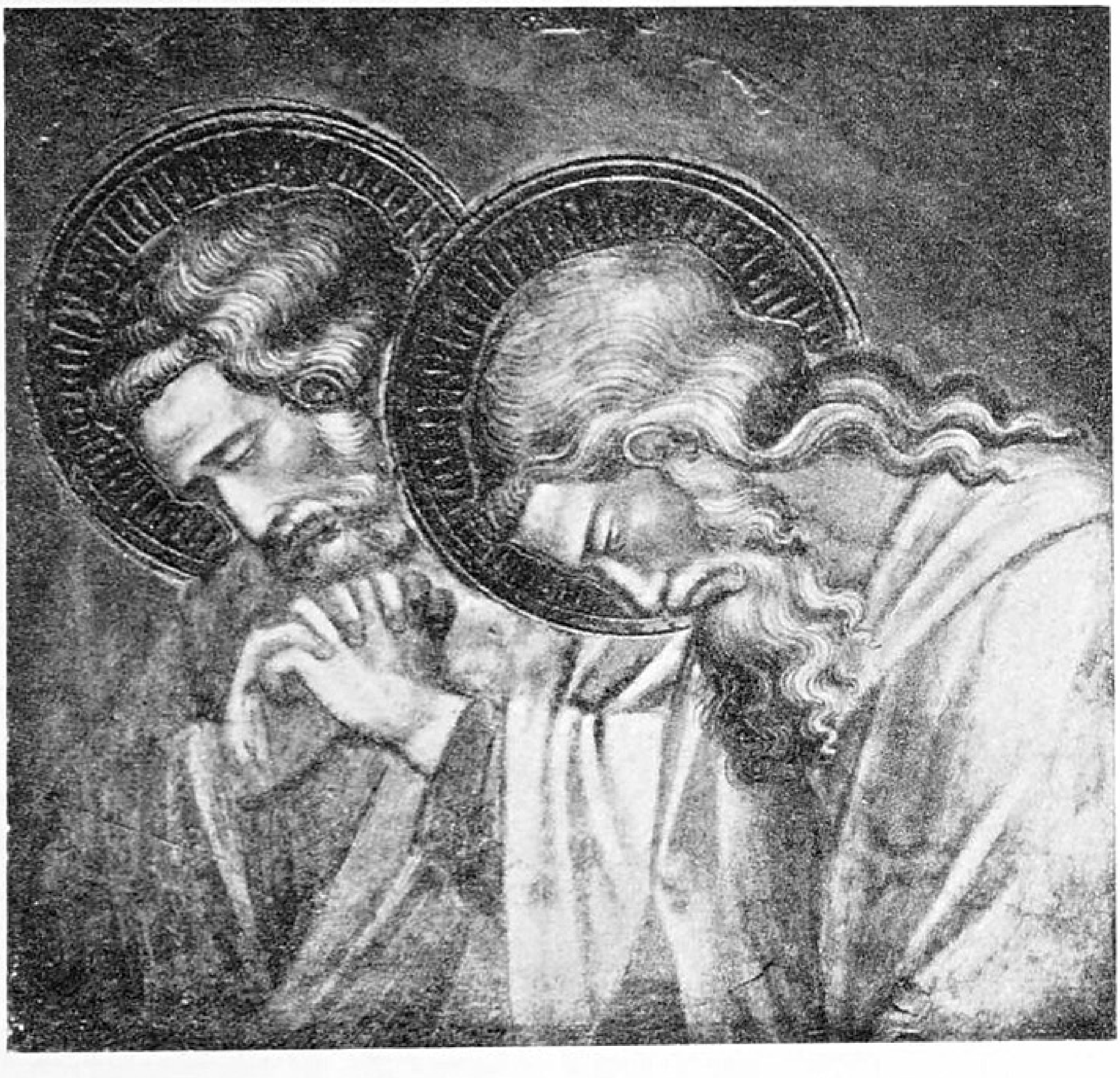


Fig. 330. Spinello Aretino, two Apostles. National Gallery, London.

---

(¹) *Patch*, Selection from the Works of Masaccio, Fra Bartolomeo and Giotto, 1722. see *Vitzthum*, Un ciclo perduto di affreschi di Spinello Aretino, L'Arte, IX, 1906, p. 199. *W. Hausenstein*, Giotto, Berlin (1923), p. 368, attributes the fragment in the National Gallery to Giotto himself.

out various collections have been preserved of this work. In the National Gallery we find two Apostles' heads (fig. 330), from the burial of St. John (no. 276), no doubt the best of what now remains. The Roscoe collection in the Walker Art Gallery of Liverpool possesses a fine half-length figure of Herod's daughter, which is rather Orcagnesque in feeling, and a group of three women, one of whom holds the child St. John about to be presented to his father. Several pieces, among them angelic figures (fig. 331), the head of an old woman (fig. 332), the image of

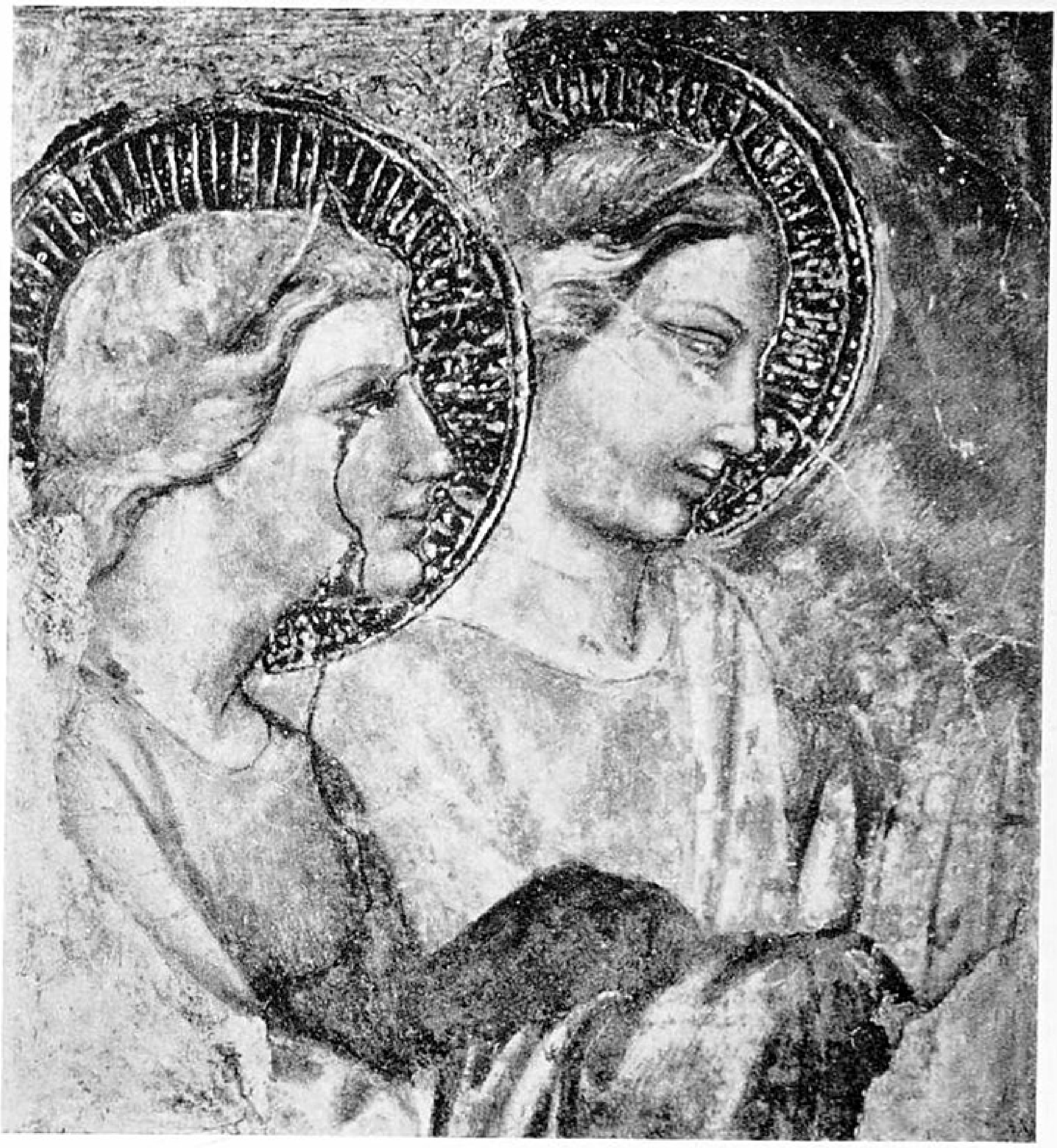


Fig. 331. Spinello Aretino, two Angels. Ammanate Chapel, Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

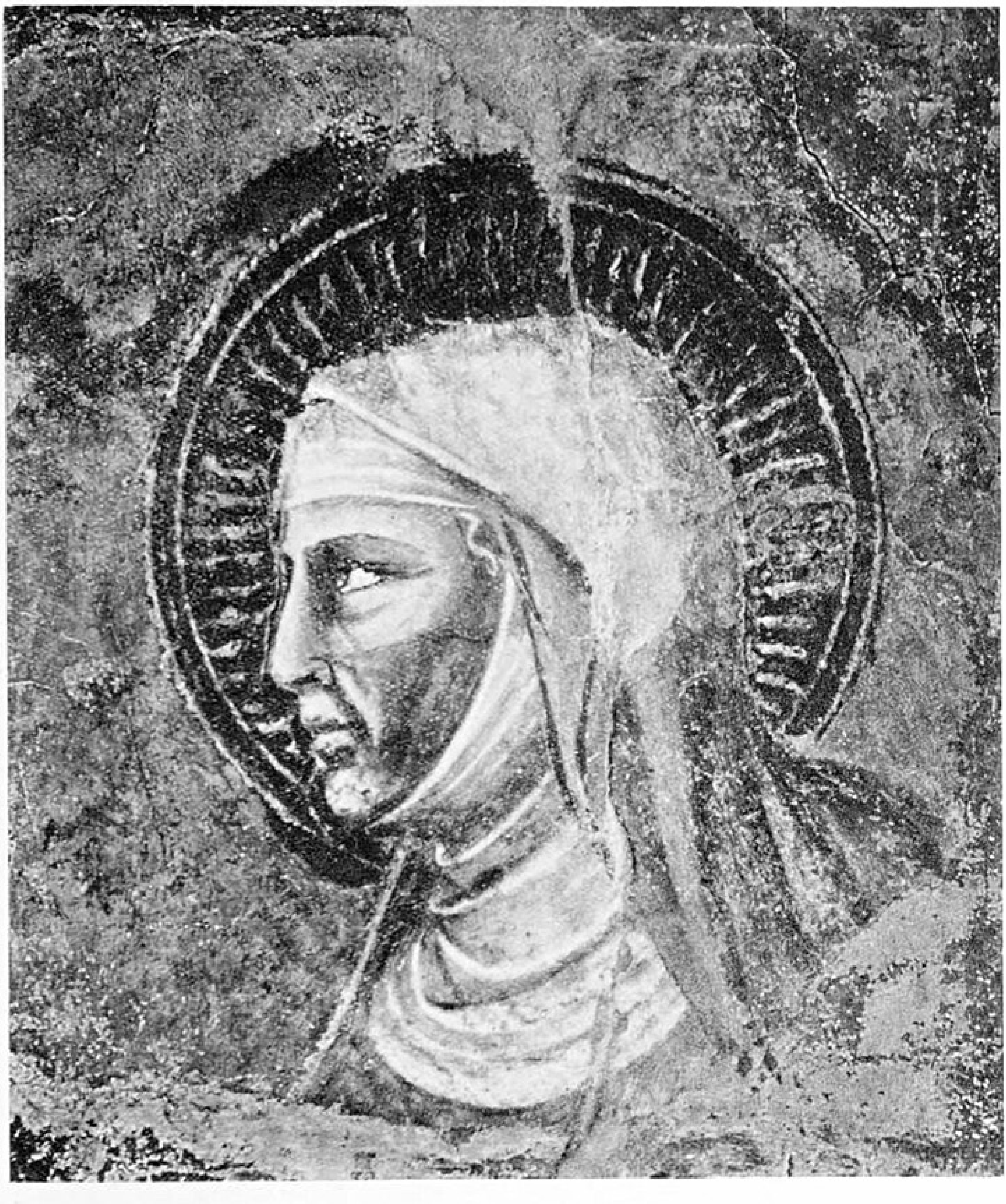


Fig. 332. Spinello Aretino, a woman's head. Ammanate Chapel, Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

St. John the Baptist and his father writing his son's name, are preserved in the Ammanate chapel of the Campo Santo at Pisa, while a half-length figure of the saint will be found in the Malaspina Museum of Pavia.

As in the frescoes of Antella, we observe here an agreeable softness of design and great skill in the rendering of plasticity which, as well as the beauty of the features, seem, although of a

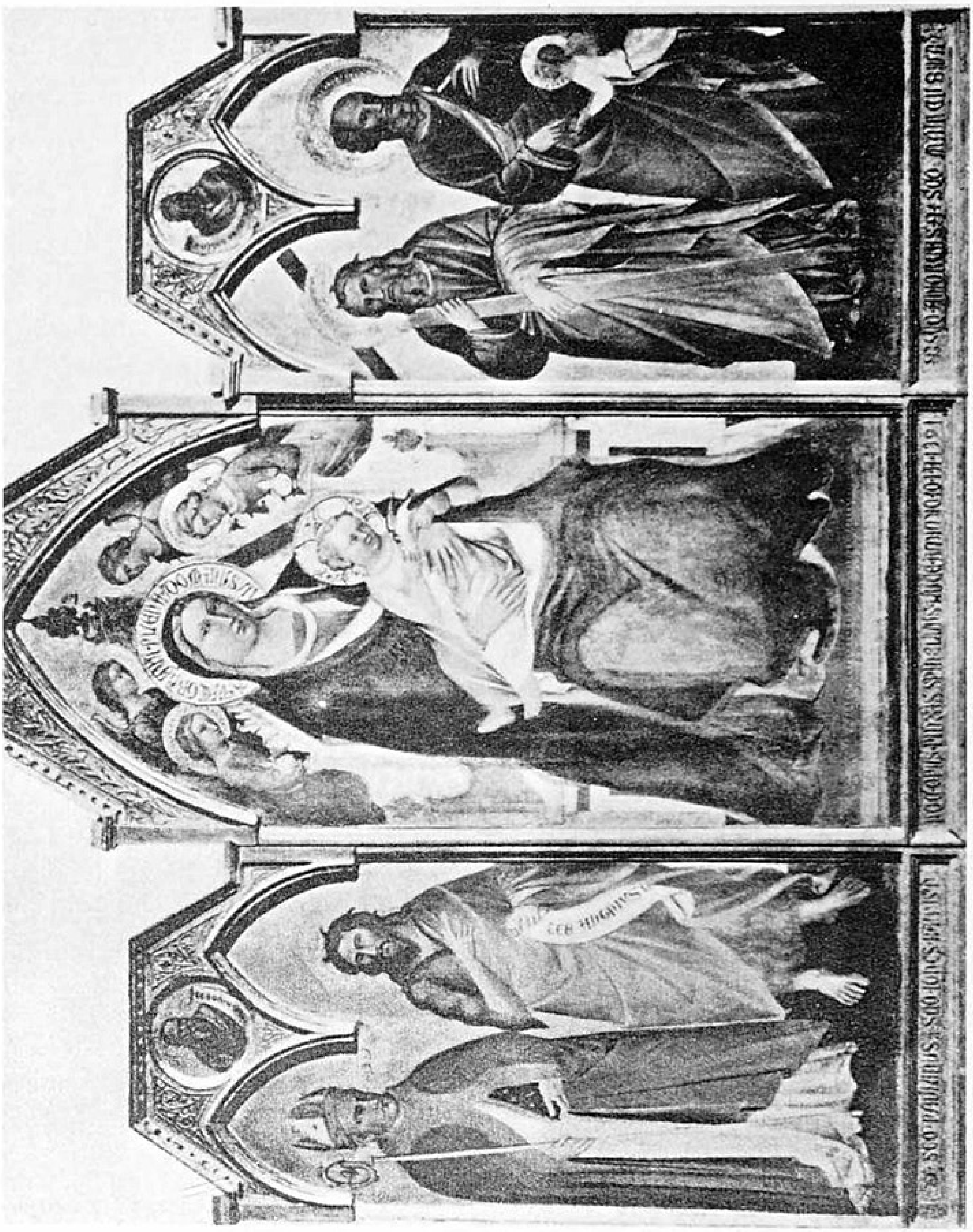


Fig 333. Spinello Aretino, triptych, 1391. Accademia, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

somewhat more modern aspect, directly inspired by Andrea or Nardo di Cione.

Inferior but not dissimilar to these wall paintings is a triptych (fig. 333), representing the Madonna between angels in the centre, and in the lateral panels, St. Paolin of Nola with the Baptist and St. Andrew with St. Matthew, from the church of S. Andrea at

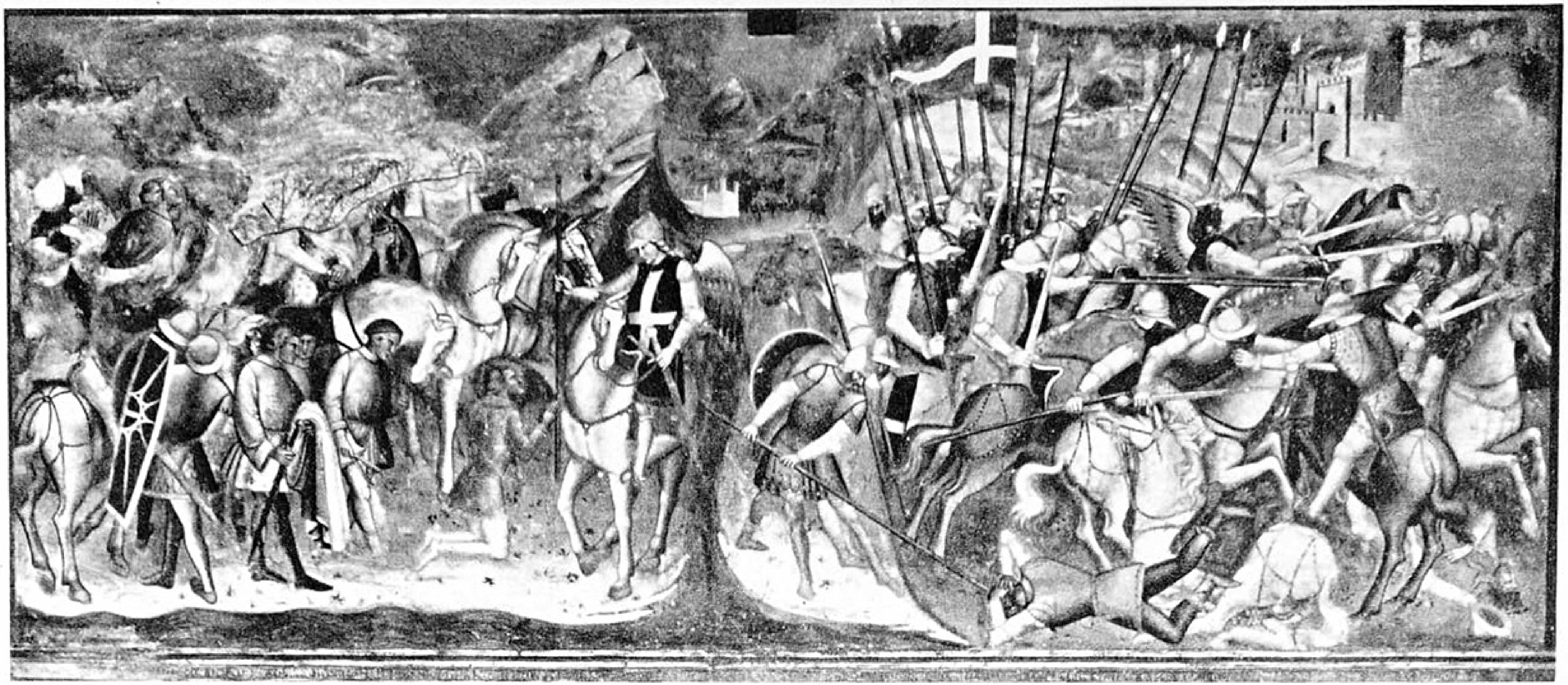


Fig. 334. Spinello Aretino, St. Ephesus receives the banner from the archangel and attacks the heathens, 1391—92. Campo Santo, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

Lucca, now in the Accademia, Florence. It bears the inscription "*Hoc Opus pinxit Spinellus Luce Atitio* (¹) *D. I. A. 1391*", and might have been executed on the occasion of his visit to Pisa, in the Campo Santo of which town he painted at the end of 1391 and beginning of 1392, six events from the legends of SS. Ephesus and Potitus. They occupy two rows; in the upper one which illustrates the life of the former of these two martyrs, we see Diocletian charging Ephesus to lead the army against the Christians but of this scene only the two principal figures remain; the Lord then appears to the saint who afterwards is depicted kneeling, his knights standing behind him, and receiving the banner from the hands of an archangel on horseback. St. Ephesus then attacks the heathens of Sardinia instead of the Christians (fig. 334). He is taken prisoner and led to the stake, but the flames miraculously attack the executioners and destroy them while the saint is beheaded. Of the lower row, the scenes of which illustrate the life of St. Potitus, hardly anything remains. We can vaguely decipher the saint standing before the emperor, the miraculous cure of the monarch's daughter and, more clearly, the arrival of his remains and their transport to the Cathedral (²).

Technically these paintings most closely resemble the decoration of S. Miniato. In several instances we notice the same hardness of design and broadness of proportions but as at Antella the painter, carried away by his subject, has produced scenes of a much more dramatic spirit and superior composition. The mêlee of the battle is an animated and natural picture, full of gruesome details When events follow each other without any actual division, the frescoes sometimes produce the same impression of confusion as we found in Agnolo Gaddi's wall paintings in Sta. Croce, Florence, although taken separately, the compositions are conceived much more in the Giottesque spirit of conciseness but with a greater abundance of figures.

It was no doubt at this occasion that Spinello made the half-length figure of the Madonna, still preserved in the Gallery of Pisa (fig. 335).

---

(¹) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, II, p. 263, read "Aritio" but *Salmi and Khvoshinsky*, rightly transcribe "Atitio".

(²) *Supino*, op cit., p. 154.

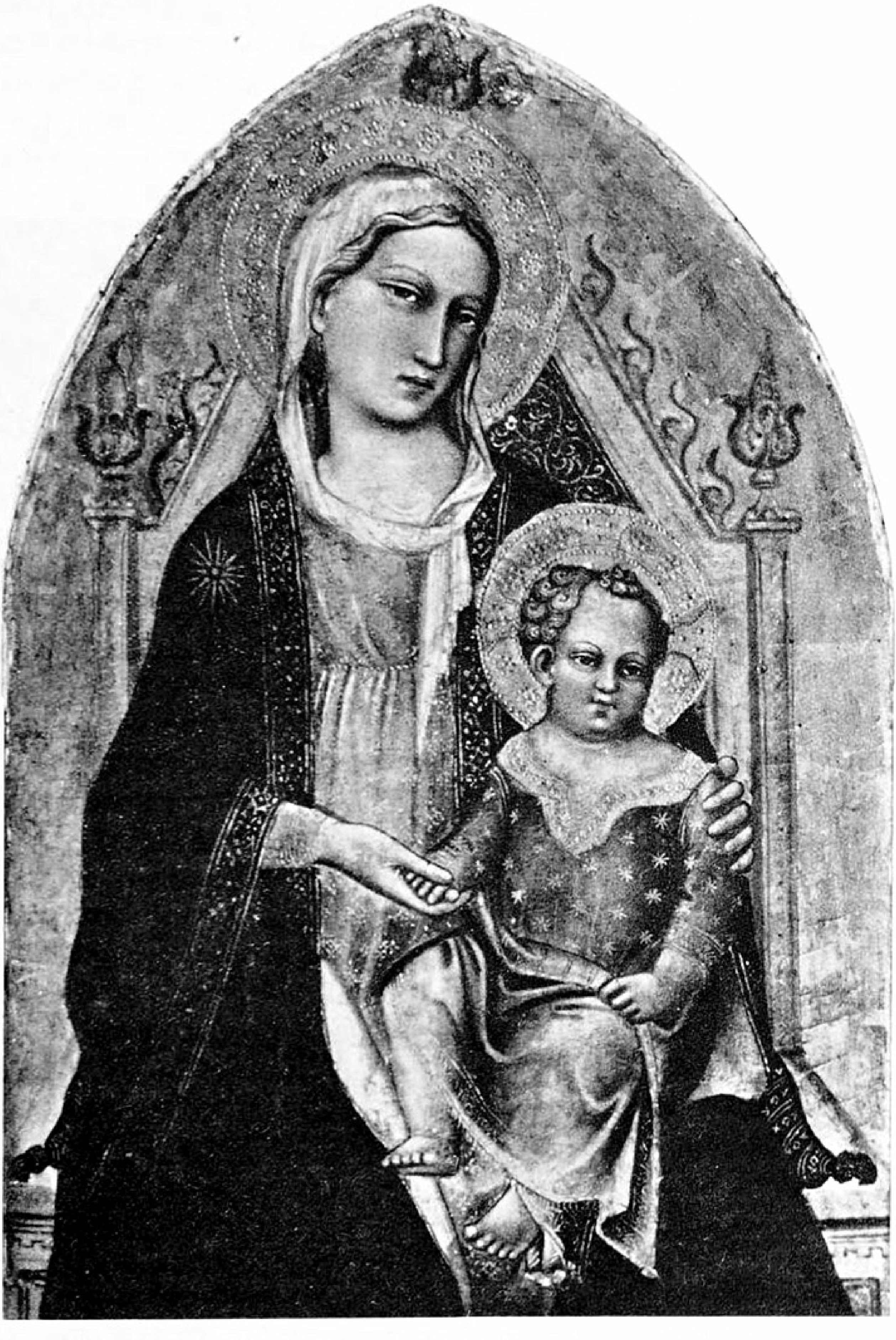


Fig. 335. Spinello Aretino, Madonna. Gallery, Pisa.

Photo Brogi.

The next dated work is the altar-piece from Sta. Felicita, now in the Accademia (fig. 336), under which we read: "*Questa tavola fece fare el c̄aplo convento del monasterio di Sca Felicita de' denari del detto monasterio al tempo della badessa Lorenza de' Mozzi. An. Dm. MCCCCI*". In the ledgers of the convent it is mentioned that in March 1399 Niccholo di Piero, Spinello d'Arezzo and Lorenzo di Niccholo were to receive a hundred golden guilders for the painting of this picture (1). It is obvious that Spinello executed the central part which represents the Coronation of the Virgin, in rather an Orcagnesque manner,

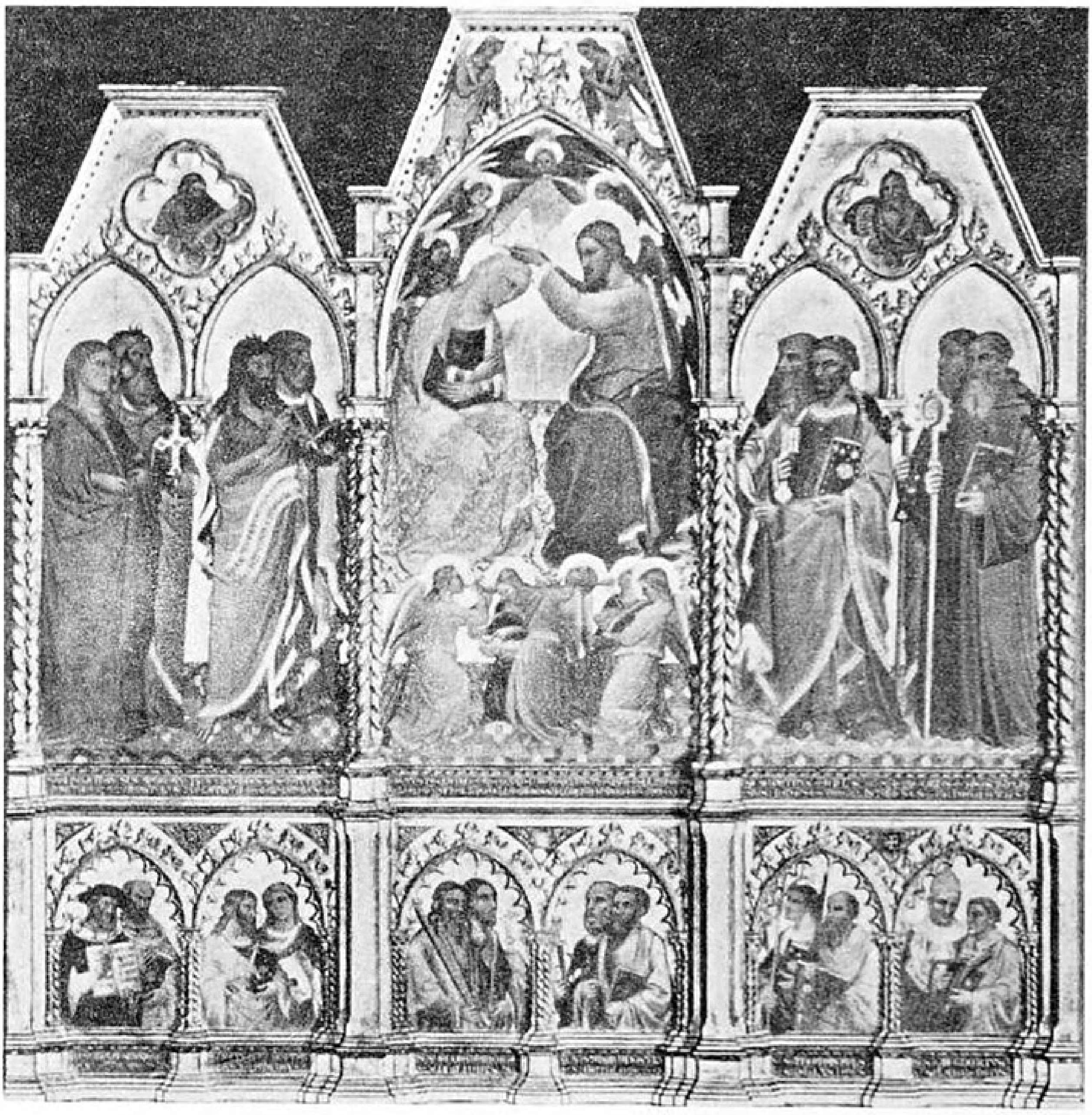


Fig. 336. Spinello Aretino, Niccolo di Pietro Gerini and Lorenzo di Niccolo, altar-piece, 1401. Accademia, Florence. Photo Brogi.

---

(1) *Poggi*, op. cit.; also *Milanesi-Vasari*, I, p. 691$^3$. *Gaye*, Carteggio, II, p. 433.

with five angelic musicians below, seven cherubim above and two adoring angels in the apex; the predella below this part was also painted by Spinello, here we find in two panels the saints James Minor, Philip, Simon and Bartholomew.

In comparing this painting with the one just mentioned, we discover that a certain change has taken place in the artist's manner, consisting of a broadening out of the proportions, an increase of solemnity in the types and a certain conventionality in the drapery which is not entirely free from an element of Gothicism.

Probably at a slightly earlier stage Spinello executed the beautiful enthroned Madonna in the Gallery of Citta di Castello (fig. 337) which forms as it were the connecting link between the panel in Pisa and the second Madonna in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, U. S. A. (fig. 338) (¹). According to the catalogue of the Toscanelli collection, of which this latter picture previously formed part, it originally was found in the church of S. Michele, Pisa (²), but there can be no doubt that it approaches much more closely the Coronation of 1399—1401 than the Pisan frescoes of ten years earlier.

To the later years of the artist's career, probably before his activities in Siena, which, it will be remembered, were started in 1408, we can attribute a certain number of frescoes at Arezzo.

We find in S. Domenico the figures of SS. James and Philip in architectural frames, two representations of events from their lives at either side and above the mystical marriage and martyrdom of St. Catherine (fig. 339). Several others ornament the church of S. Francesco where the most important are a series of six scenes from the legend of the archangel Michael, a detached fresco of the Crucifixion and on the right wall a figure of St. Elizabeth. Although less evident in the last two frescoes, we can discover in all of these works the broadness of drapery and somewhat lifeless majesty so characteristic of Spinello at this period.

Contrary to the opinion of all our predecessors, I agree with Dr. Salmi in ascribing to this stage the detached fresco of the

---

(¹) *J. Breck*, Notizie intorno ai dipinti italiani nel Fogg Museum, Rassegna d'Arte, IX, 1909, p. 169.

(²) Fogg Art Museum, Collection etc., p. 45.

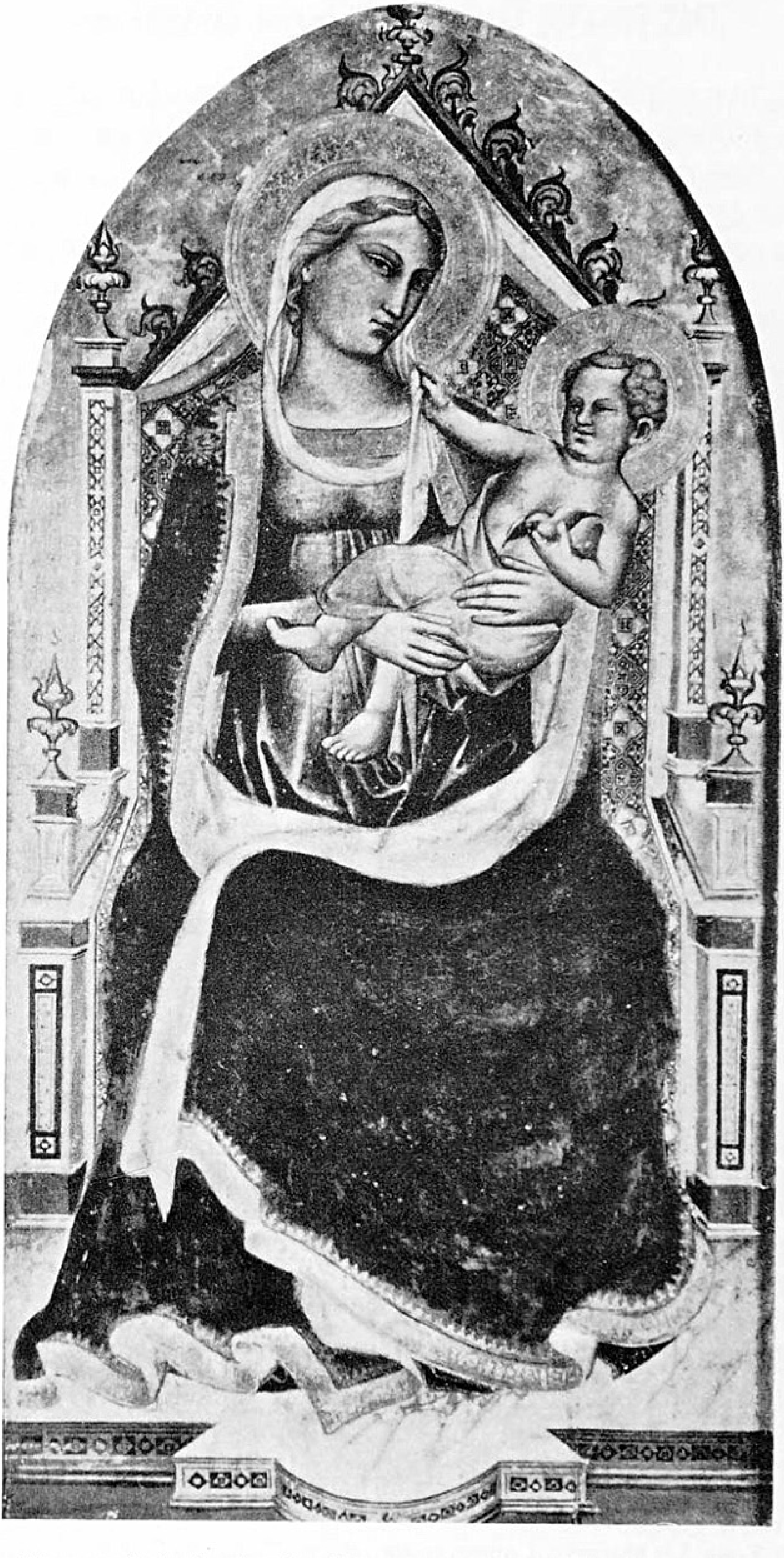


Fig. 337. Spinello Aretino, Madonna. Gallery, Citta di Castello.

Photo Brogi.

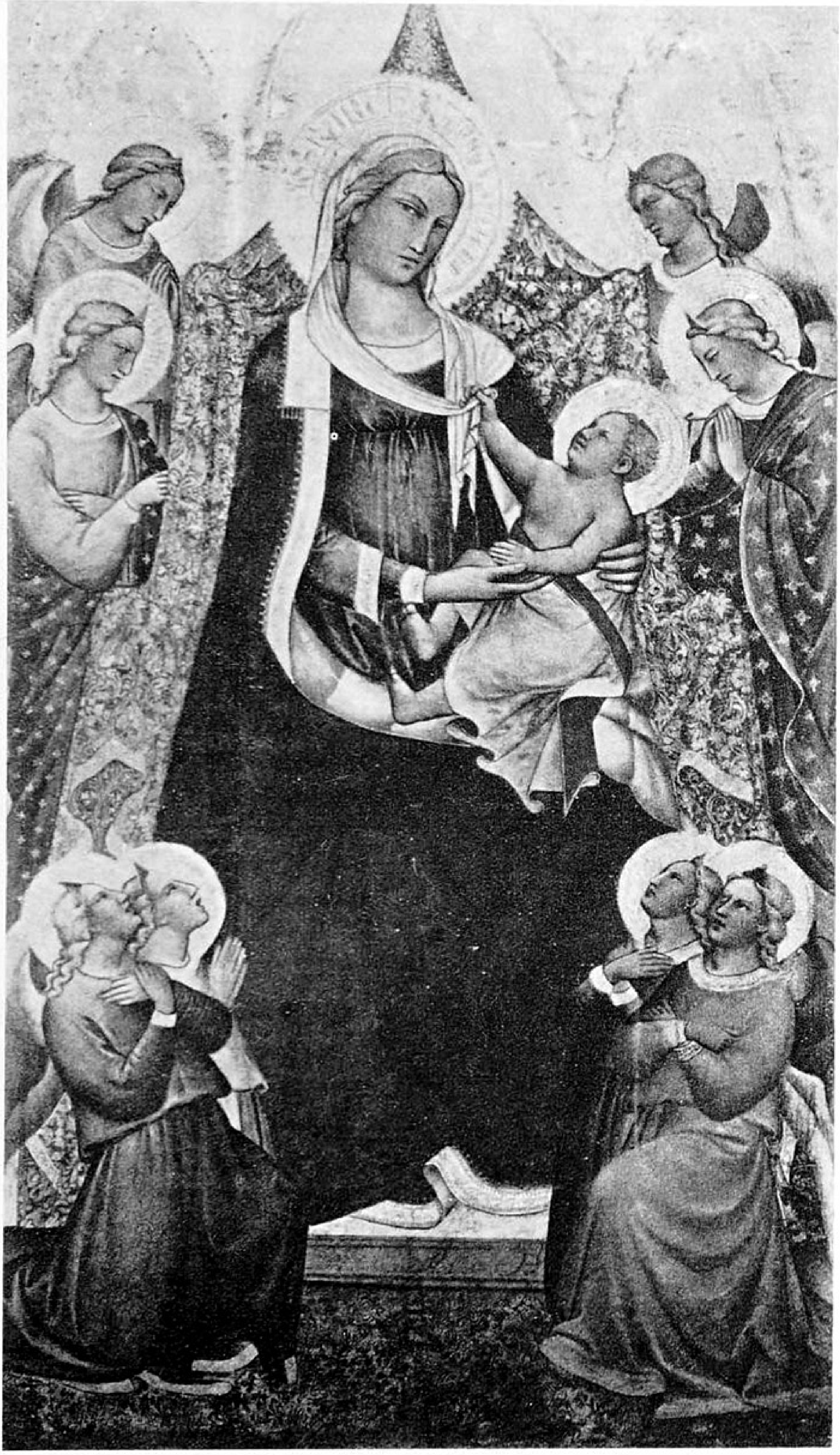


Fig. 338. Spinello Aretino, Madonna. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, U. S. A.

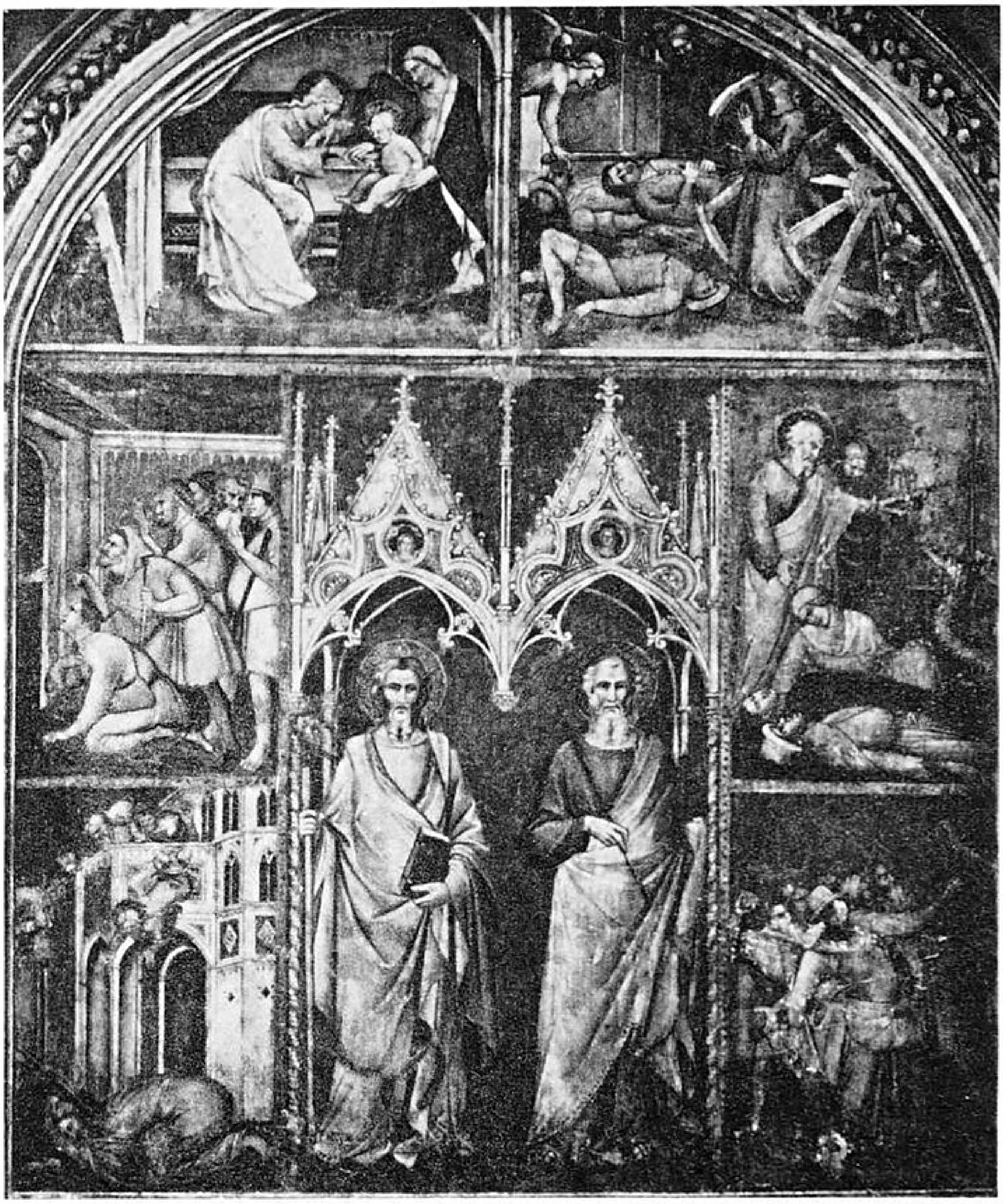


Fig. 339. Spinello Aretino, SS. James and Philip and scenes from their lives. S. Domenico. Arezzo.

Photo Alinari.

Trinity in the Gallery of Arezzo (no. 7) (¹), rather an unpleasant production in this manner, while the representation of the conflict between angels and demons from Sta. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, made by order of the Compagnia di S. Angelo and which,

---

(¹) *M. Salmi,* Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comunale di Arezzo, Città di Castello, 1921, p. 15.

according to Vasari, gave Spinello the dream from which he died, is now divided between this same collection (no. 8) and the National Gallery (1216 – 1216 B).

A very fine late work of Spinello's seems to be the banner, on one side of which is depicted the Flagellation and on the other the Magdalene enthroned between eight angelic musicians and four adoring members of a religious confraternity, in the Metropolitan Museum, New-York (¹); this painting was made for the Brotherhood of San Sepolcro but when Cavalcaselle saw it, it formed part of the Ranghiasci collection at Gubbio (²).

In 1408, two years before his death, Spinello undertook to decorate, with the help of his son, the Balia room of the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena with an extensive series of frescoes illustrating the part which the Sienese Pope Alexander III took in the campaign of Venice against Barbarossa. It is not necessary for us to follow all the details of the story, sixteen different incidents of which are depicted (fig. 340).

In these paintings we observe a peculiar mixture of great skill and curious short-comings. There are many fine qualities to be found in the cavalcade in which the Pope between the emperor and doge, who leads his horse, approaches Rome, from which town a procession emerges to meet him (fig. 341). The figures are extremely well designed and draped while the horses have a particularly natural appearance; one can say that this part looks like the work of a first rate painter of the early 15th century but the unskilful handling of the background without any perspective might be the production of an artist of three-quarters of a century earlier. The primitive looking fresco of the naval battle between the doge and Otto, the son of Barbarossa, at which the latter is taken prisoner, is executed in quite a different manner; it is of a much harder design and we can observe here a rather childish attempt to express space and distance in the placing of the ships one above the other. The excellent design of the human body is particularly remarkable in the last fresco, the burning of the anti-pope, although the principal figure, lying on his back in the

---

(¹) *Perkins*, op. cit. *F. J. Mather*, A processional banner by Spinello Aretino, Bullet. of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1914, p. 43.

(²) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, ed. L. Douglas, II, p. 263.

middle of this scene, does not add to the artistic value of the composition. Beautiful in form and sentiment is the representation of the pilgrim kissing the robe of the Pope who has been recognized in spite of the fact that he was sitting reading, dressed like an ordinary monk. The scene of the coronation of the Pontiff possesses the same qualities but the stiff and rigid figures of the Doge Ziani receiving a sword from the hands of the Pope detracts from this otherwise meritorious painting.

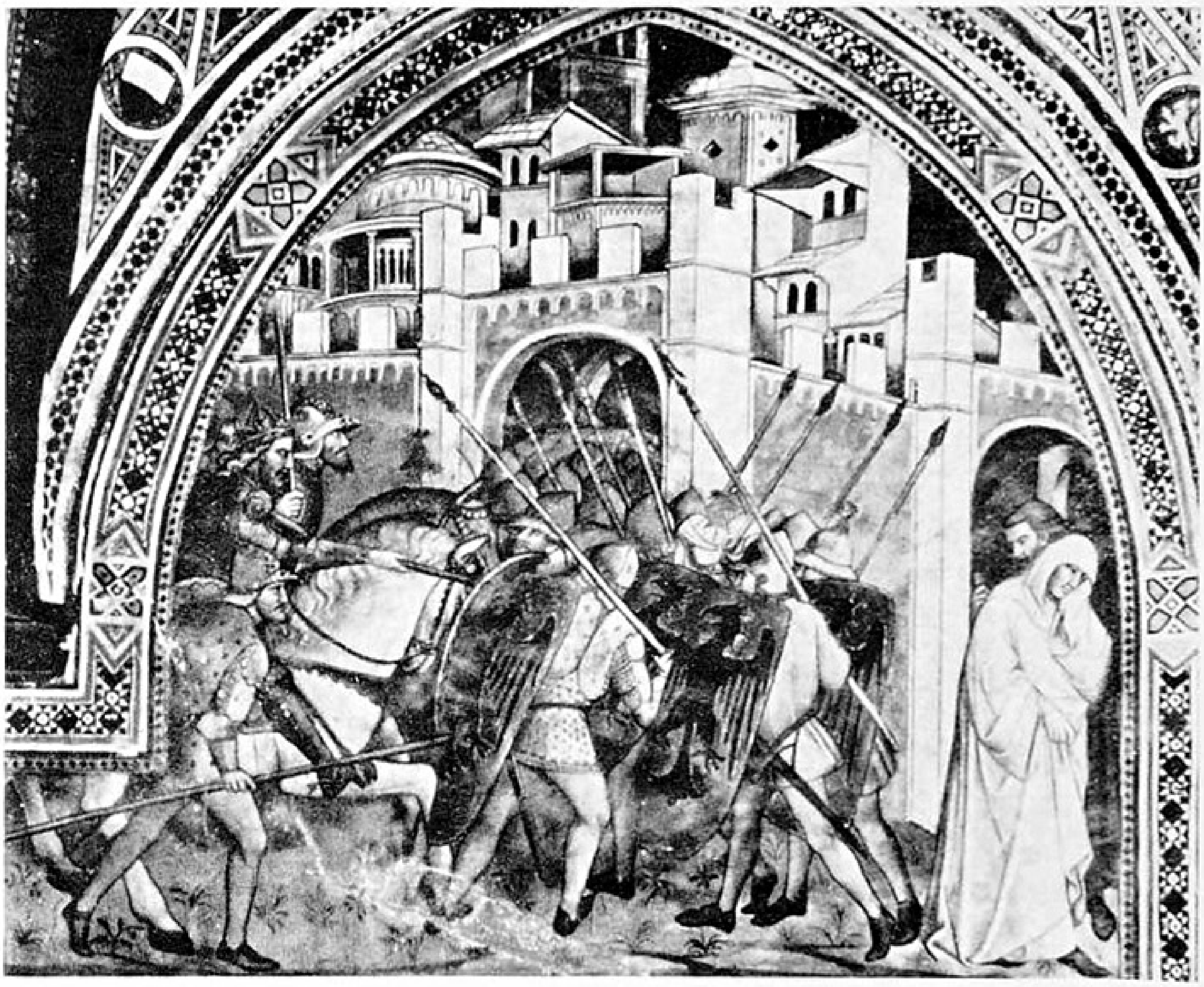


Fig. 340. Spinello Aretino, the Flight of Pope Alexander III, 1408. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

It is obvious that this inequality in the value of the frescoes is due to the great haste with which they were executed and when we consider that the entire decoration was accomplished in less than two years we are forced to admit that besides Parri, Spinello must have had other helpers.

These frescoes, however, are considerably repainted and the hardness of line which strikes us may very well be accounted

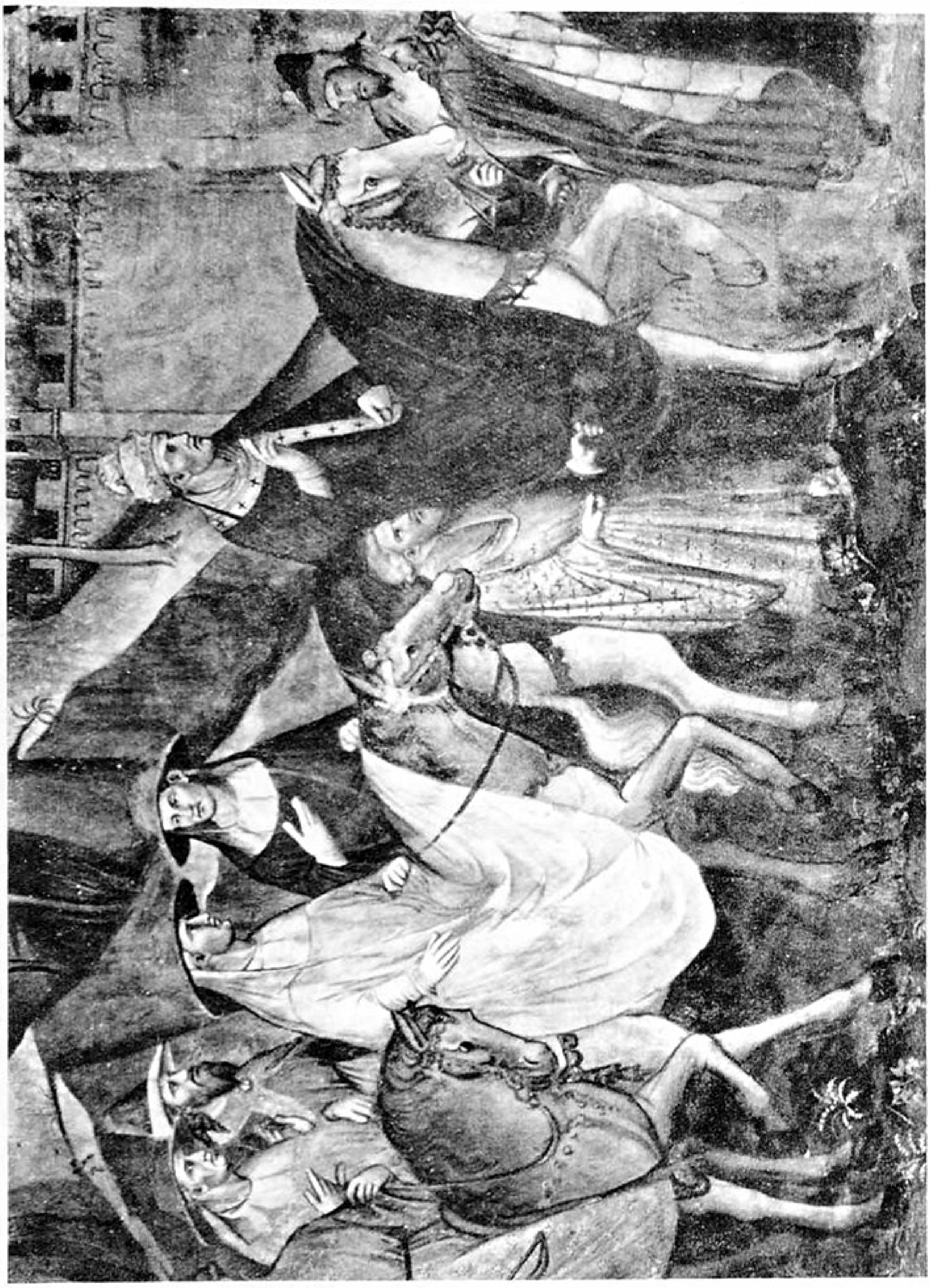


Fig. 341. Spinello Aretino, Frederic Barbarossa leads Pope Alexander III back to Rome. Palazzo Pubblico, Siena.

Photo Anderson.

for by this restoration. The features are not always pleasing, the compositions often somewhat rigid and the forms sometimes lacking grace, being frequently too short and sturdy. It is evident that the painter here was in his decline, but as I said before, there are some very handsome pictures among them and perhaps one of their greatest merits is, that notwithstanding their fine decorative effect, there is no trace of confusion in the compositions which on the contrary always remain clear and concise (1).

When we consider Spinello's activities in general, we come to the conclusion that he was a skilful and strong but somewhat vulgar painter whose earliest achievements prognosticated a finer artist than he ever really became. There is no doubt that he was very talented, more full of life than dramatic feeling and painted his pictures cleverly but not profoundly, almost always with as little trouble as possible but with a perfect knowledge of how to obtain an effect in the most simple manner; this is very obvious in his battle scenes.

At the end of his career Spinello seems to have had an abundance of orders which he executed with great rapidity as will be noticed in the quality of his productions. It is already very evident in the frescoes of S. Miniato that the painter invariably treated his backgrounds in an archaic and neglectful manner which betrays his unconcern about the problems of space and perspective. This shortcoming did not improve with age. A house, a tree and some rocks are placed somewhere in the picture, absolutely independent one of the other, and generally without harmony or any perspective effect. In scenes where the event takes place in an interior, Spinello still follows the old-fashioned system of depicting the house from the outside and suppressing one of the walls to enable us to see within. His lack of sentiment for artistic composition allowed him to produce curiously packed scenes such as we frequently find in S. Miniato where obviously the painter's chief aim was to represent as many events as possible. He also lacked real narrative talent because without previous knowledge it is not always easy to understand the subject of his paintings. There is, however, much life and activity in his figures which are full of well-expressed sentiment; often their gestures are even of an exaggerated and unrefined violence but the great diversity of psychological expression which Giotto had at his disposal is not found in Spinello's works. Nevertheless in the feeling and general aspect of his figures, Spinello is still a descendant of the Giottesque tradition, and Sienese elements — if present at all — are few and not very evident, limited to a general taste for decorative effects which seem to be known to the painter only in so far as they are found in Orcagna's art which had the greatest influence on the formation of Spinello's style.

---

(1) A few paintings that might be attributed still to Spinello are: *Amsterdam*, Lanz coll., Madonna of an Annunciation, round panel (?); *Arezzo*, Cathedral, half-length figure of the Madonna (Khvoshinsky and Salmi are doubtful); *Chicago*, Ryerson coll., the confirmation of the rules of St. Francis (Perkins, op. cit., a late decadent work); *Copenhagen*, Museum, Madonna; *Florence*, Godefroy Bauer coll., SS. Catherine and Dorothy, wings of an altar-piece (Sirén, Giottino, p. 95); *Paris*, Louvre, studies for four representations from the history of St. John the Baptist and other figures (Sirén, Trecento Zeichnungen, Jahrbuch K. Preus. Kunstsamml., 1906); *Phildelphia*, late J. G. Johnson coll., Crucifixion (Fogg Art Museum, Collection etc., p. 44. Is this the same picture which once belonged to Miss Belle da Costa Greene, New York? v. Art in America, 1920, p. 211); *Pisa*, S. Francesco, fresco fragments in a chapel (Khvoshinsky and Salmi, p. 53); *Providence*, Rhode Island School of Design, St. Antony Abbot; *Quinto Fiorentino*, Compagnia della Misericordia, Madonna and four saints, 1393 (Sirén, Giottino); *Rome*, antique dealer, several predella panels; *Worcester*, U.S.A., Channing Smith coll., two scenes from the lives of SS. Cosmo and Damian (R. Wyer, Two Panels by S. A., Art in America, 1920, p. 211, judging from the reproduction, I should hardly ascribe them to the master himself). In the Khanenko museum, Kiev, a Crucifixion is attributed to Spinello.

In many of his figures we find the Orcagnesque folds of drapery, in which the difference of depth is well portrayed by a gradation in the shading; the proportions and general broad plastic appearance of his personages seem to be of the same origin, as are also many of the features especially in his earliest productions. Like Orcagna's, so too Spinello's chief interest lies in the representation of the human form which he has closely observed from nature. One can see that he must have studied the way in which a bent head should be foreshortened and although his attempts are not very successful, we find this attitude in several of his pictures, such for instance as the 8th and 10th scenes of the cycle of St. Benedict and the fragment in the chapel of the Campo Santo, Pisa. Although his architectural structures are not represented with great care, he ornaments them in a minute and tasteful manner as will be particularly noticed in the frescoes of Antella, but the thrones in his

Madonna panels and Annunciations, as well as the arcade around SS Philip and James in S. Domenico, Arezzo, are also beautifully decorated.

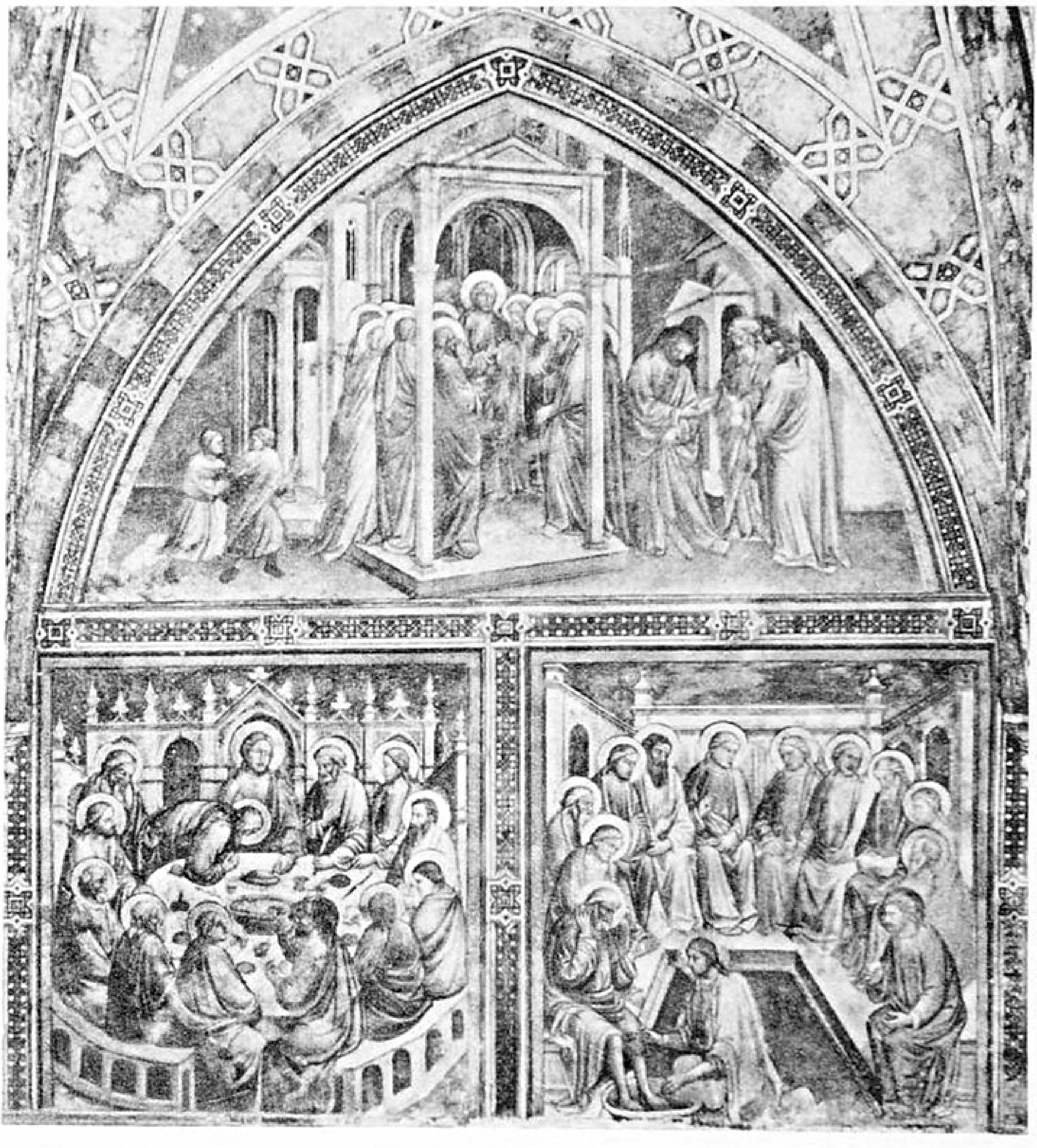


Fig. 342. School of Spinello Aretino, scenes from the Life of the Lord. Pharmacy, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

The vulgarity of Spinello's art is especially repellant in the heavy figures of his later Madonnas in which the excellent draughtsmanship is the only quality he has retained.

Spinello had a fairly large number of adherents. The painter who executed the frescoes in the so called pharmacy of Sta.

Maria Novella (fig. 342), the walls of which once formed part of the church of S. Niccolo, most closely approaches him (¹). As this church was built in 1334, Vasari has accepted this as the date of these paintings. Milanesi agrees with Richa's suggestion that they were executed in 1405, but as this was the year of the death of Leone Acciajuoli who had these works executed, they are probably of an earlier date (²).

This decoration is composed of scenes from the Passion, the Crucifixion, the Entombment and the Resurrection. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute them to Spinello assisted by pupils, but I agree with Count Vitzthum that they are sooner the production of a follower who might very well be the painter who executed the scenes from the life of the Virgin and a figure of St. Antony Abbot in the choir of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

This artist seems to have been inspired by Spinello's late manner.

Much more independent and apparently acquainted with an earlier phase of Spinello's art, is the painter who ornamented the Bardi chapel in Sta. Maria Novella with scenes from the life of St. Gregory (fig. 343). His design is sharp without being hard, the attitudes and expressions natural and dramatic but his rendering of volume is very inferior to Spinello's and his perspective still weaker than his master's. The painter of these frescoes possessed certain personal elements which are obvious in the design of the faces and silhouette of the figures.

A poor follower of Spinello's painted in the Cathedral of Arezzo a Madonna and Child surrounded by six scenes from the legends of SS. Christopher and James which Vasari informs us is the work of a certain Lippo, a painter from Florence (³).

A fine picture rightly described as being executed in the manner of Spinello is an oblong panel in the Gallery of Berlin representing the Last Supper in which the Saviour and all the Apostles

---

(¹) v. Arte e Storia, XX, p. 122 and XXI, p. 135. *O. Wulff*, Unbeachtete Malereien des 15 Jahrh. in Florent. Kirche u. Gallerien, Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst., XVII, 1906, p. 262.

(²) *Vitzthum*, op. cit., p. 200.

(³) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 12. *A. Del Vita*, Il Duomo d'Arezzo, Milan, (no date), p. 59, fig. 85.

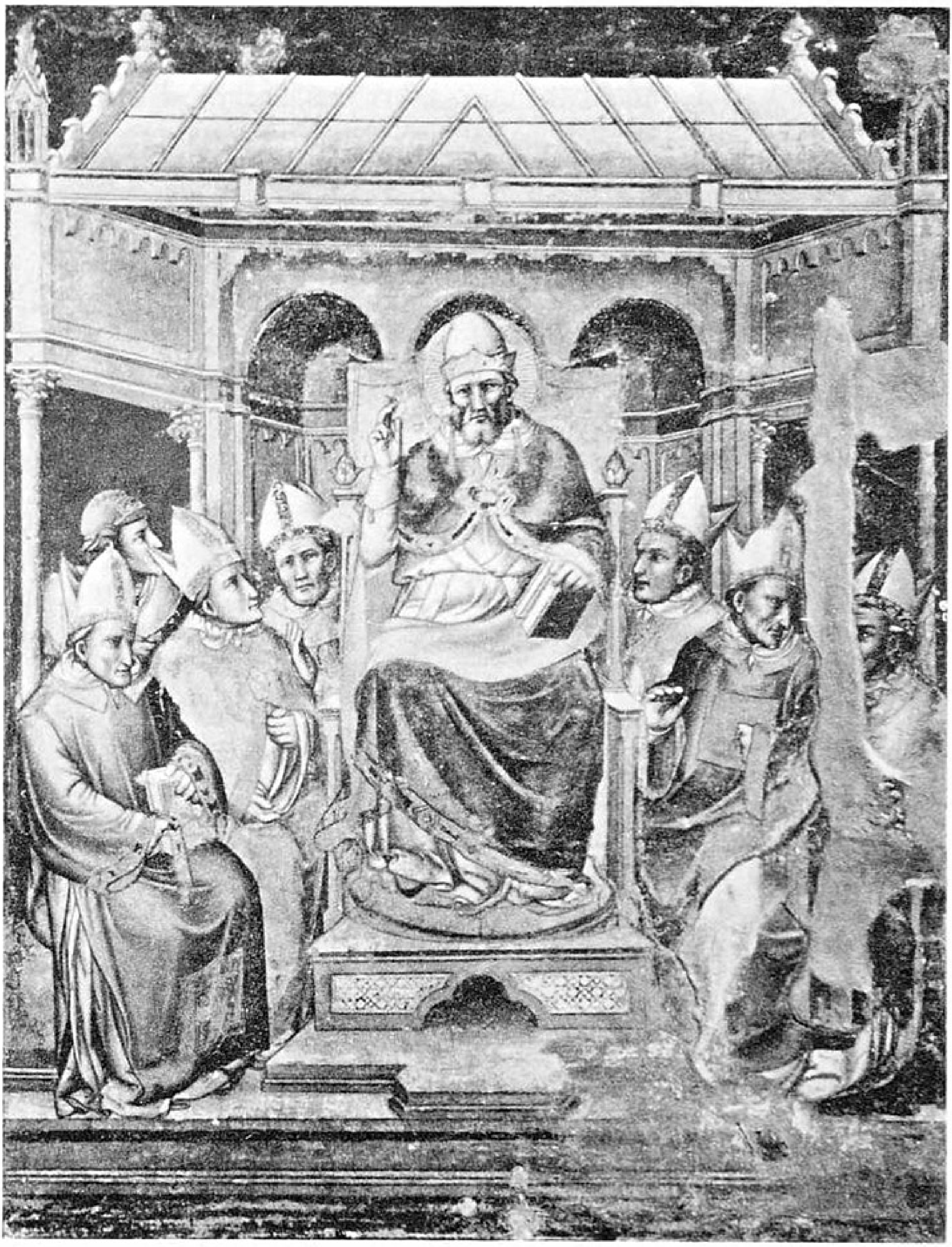


Fig. 343. School of Spinello Aretino, Scenes from the history of St. Gregory. Bardi Chapel, Sta. Maria Novella, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

but one — Judas — are seated on one side of the table against an architectural background and under arcades.

The Ältere Pinakothek of Munich possesses a picture of the Saviour seated on clouds, holding an open book in one hand and raising the other in benediction, which is doubtless the production of a follower of Spinello (¹).

### NICCOLO DI PIETRO GERINI (²).

Niccolo di Pietro Gerini is probably the artist who contributed most to the persistence in the 15th century of the early Florentine manner of painting, because at the same time as he worked, for his period, in a very archaic manner, he was also exceedingly active and did not only produce a great quantity of works but also directed the training of many assistants and pupils. He thus helped to form a generation of artists who were to prolong the life of the Giottesque tradition contemporaneous with the activities of Masaccio.

A great number of dates connected with the life and works of Niccolo di Pietro are known to us. The earliest is 1368 when his name appears in the ledgers of the Corporation of Medici e Speciali. In 1370, '72 and '73 he seems to have co-operated with Jacopo di Cione. In the first of these years we find him contracting for the Coronation of S. Pietro Maggiore, now in the National Gallery and in the second for that of the Zecca Vecchia, now in the Uffizi, both of which works were executed in collaboration with

---

(¹) Other works which belong to the school of Spinello are: a predella panel of "St. Michael fighting the demons and a legendary subject" in the Jarves collection, Yale University, *Newhaven*, U.S.A. (Sirén, Descriptive Catalogue, p 63); a detached fresco of the Pietà — the Lord dead between the Virgin and St. John — in the Gallery of *Arezzo* (no. 9, Salmi, Catalogo, p. 16); for incomprehensible reasons this is attributed by Del Vita, Rassegna d'Arte, 1915, p. 82 to Jacopo di Landino. The latter (Idem, p. 83) also describes as belonging to the manner of Spinello a half-length figure of the dead Saviour in the same Gallery which Salmi, Catalogue, p. 12, attributes to the school of Siena. The panels of St Paul preaching and St. Peter conducted to his martyrdom, in the Gallery of *Siena* (nos. 117 and 118) are still ascribed to the school of Spinello. *Munich*, in a dealer's shop, cassone panel (Schubring, Cassoni, pl. III).

(²) *O. Sirén* in Thieme Becker's Künstler Lexikon, XIII, p. 465. *R. Offner*, Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Art in America, IX, 1921, pp. 148 and 233.

Jacopo, as we saw when dealing with this artist. 1372 is the date which Cavalcaselle read on the big altar-piece in Sta. Croce, part of which — the four Fathers of the Church at the sides — I described as a work of Jacopo's, but of which the central part representing the Madonna between St. James and another saint, the predella of this panel and the terminal on which the Lord and Virgin are depicted seated in glory surrounded by cherubs and adored by two saints and two angels, were executed by Niccolo di Pietro.

In 1386 Niccolo di Pietro with Ambrogio di Baldese painted the façade of the Bigallo, the central part of which and an aquarelle of the entire fresco have been preserved (1), while in speaking of Agnolo Gaddi's activity in 1391 at Prato for Datini, we found that Niccolo di Pietro had been employed by the same person (2).

The extant frescoes in the chapter-house of S. Francesco at Pisa were once signed: "*Nicolaus Petri pictor di Florentia depinsit An. D. MCCCLXXXXII de Mar*" (3), but our painter remained in contact with Datini by means of correspondence (4) and in 1394 he returned to Prato and with his son Lorenzo, executed for the same Datini some frescoes, now destroyed, which represented the Flagellation, the Ascension, the Annunciation and figures of God and St. Francis in the church of S. Francesco (5). The following year he made a crucifix of which we have lost all trace and in 1394 painted, with his son, frescoes in a chapel of the Cathedral of this town (6).

In dealing with Spinello we discovered that in 1399 he contracted, together with Niccolo and his son, for the triptych for the altar of Sta. Felicita, now in the Accademia, Florence, which bears the date 1401 (¹). In 1404 Niccolo receives payment for the design of a round window for the Cathedral of Florence; in 1408 he is back once more in Prato where he paints a fresco representing St. Francis, in the church dedicated to this saint (²), while at the end of the same year he is paid for a still existing figure of St. Nicholas on a pillar of Or San Michele. In 1411 we find him again in Prato, this time decorating the façade of the Palazzo del Ceppo (³); in 1414 his name appears in the records of the Florentine painters' guild (⁴); in the same year "Niccolo di Piero dipintore" receives payment for the decoration of a chapel in Sta. Maria Nuova, while he must have died before February 1416, because at that time the balance of what was due for the execution of the altar-piece of Sta. Verdiana, Florence, is handed over to his heirs (⁵).

---

(1) *G. Poggi, I. B. Supino* and *C. Ricci,* Il Bigallo, Florence, 1905, p. 45. Mr. Sirén identified the personality of Ambrogio di Baldese who also worked in the Or San Michele (*Vasari-Milanesi,* I, p. 640 note 4) with the anonymous author of a great number of Madonnas and saints executed, I should say, between 1420 and 1440. On account of their late date I do not think his hypothesis can be correct.

(2) *Supino,* op. cit., also *Guasti,* La Cappella dei Migliorati in Prato, Prato, think his hypothesis 1871.

(3) *Rossi e Lasinio,* Raccolta de' Pitture antiche intagliate da Paolo Lasinio etc., Pisa, 1820 (*Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 265, note 4). Repert. f. Kunstwiss., XVIII, 1895, p 93. Zeitschr. f. Bild. Kunst, Neue Folge XVII, 1905, p. 265.

(4) *Guasti,* op. cit.

(5) *Idem.*

(6) *Idem.*

Niccolo di Pietro Gerini must have attained a great age. We have proof of this not only in the fact that forty-seven years separate the date when he is first mentioned (1368) from the year of his death (1415) but that in his earliest works we find obvious traces of his having studied under Taddeo Gaddi who died in 1366, and he followed a modified Giottesque tradition in the Madonna of 1372 in Sta. Croce.

I think that Niccolo must have been active as early as 1360 or slightly later, and of the first ten years of his activity we still possess several works.

Most characteristic of Niccolo's connection with Taddeo Gaddi is a picture I saw a short time ago in the hands of a Paris art dealer representing St. Francis holding a book in one hand and blessing with the other, standing between the kneeling figures of SS. Antony of Padua and Louis of Toulouse and a small donor in adoration. From the simplicity of its design and the sober severity of the draping, this painting might almost be classified as a work of Taddeo's studio; the features, however,

---

(¹) *Poggi,* op. cit.

(²) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle,* II, p. 265, note 3.

(³) *Vasari-Milanesi,* II, p. 8, note 1.

(⁴) *Gualandi,* Memorie, VI, p. 186.

(⁵) Almost all these dates are given by *Sirén,* op. cit.

especially of the holy bishop of Toulouse, are already typical of our artist.

Chronologically after this work I should place the Annunciation in the Jarves collection of Yale University, in which the Virgin with folded arms is seated on a broad throne, richly inlaid with marble, while the angel kneels before her and God the Father appears above (1).

I feel less sure of the attribution to this artist of a figure of a young beardless saint holding a book and a long cross in the collection of Christ Church College, Oxford (no. 12). Although certainly not very characteristic, it is a possible work of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini's, and in that case must be placed among the productions of this period (2), as must also the more robust looking half-length figure of the Virgin in the Reyerson collection, Chicago (3).

More closely approaching the style of the Sta. Croce altar-piece of 1372 is an Annunciation in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the composition of which is very similar to that of the picture in Oxford; only the throne is less important and the figures are depicted on two separate panels.

The most important productions of a somewhat later phase in Niccolo's early manner are the frescoes in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, Florence, and the Entombment in the Accademia. The former is composed of scenes from the Passion, the Crucifixion, Resurrection (fig. 344) and Ascension and betray very clearly the artist's connection with Taddeo Gaddi (4). In certain particulars the Crucifixion reminds us of the representation of the Lord attached to the tree of S. Bonaventura in the refectory near by, while the panel in the Accademia (fig. 345) can be called a free copy of the Entombment that Taddeo Gaddi depicted in the Bardi chapel of the same church.

---

(1) *Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 55.

(2) *T. Borenius*, Pictures etc. of Christ Church, p. 23, calls it Florentine school of 1350—70, mentioning Sirén's attribution of it to Nardo di Cione but *Sirén* in Thieme-Becker's Lexikon ascribes it to Niccolo di Pietro.

(3) Reprod. in *Offner*, op. cit.

(4) Although I do not exclude the presence of a helping hand, I entirely disagree with Mr. Offner's affirmation that some of these works do not even belong to Niccolo's school.

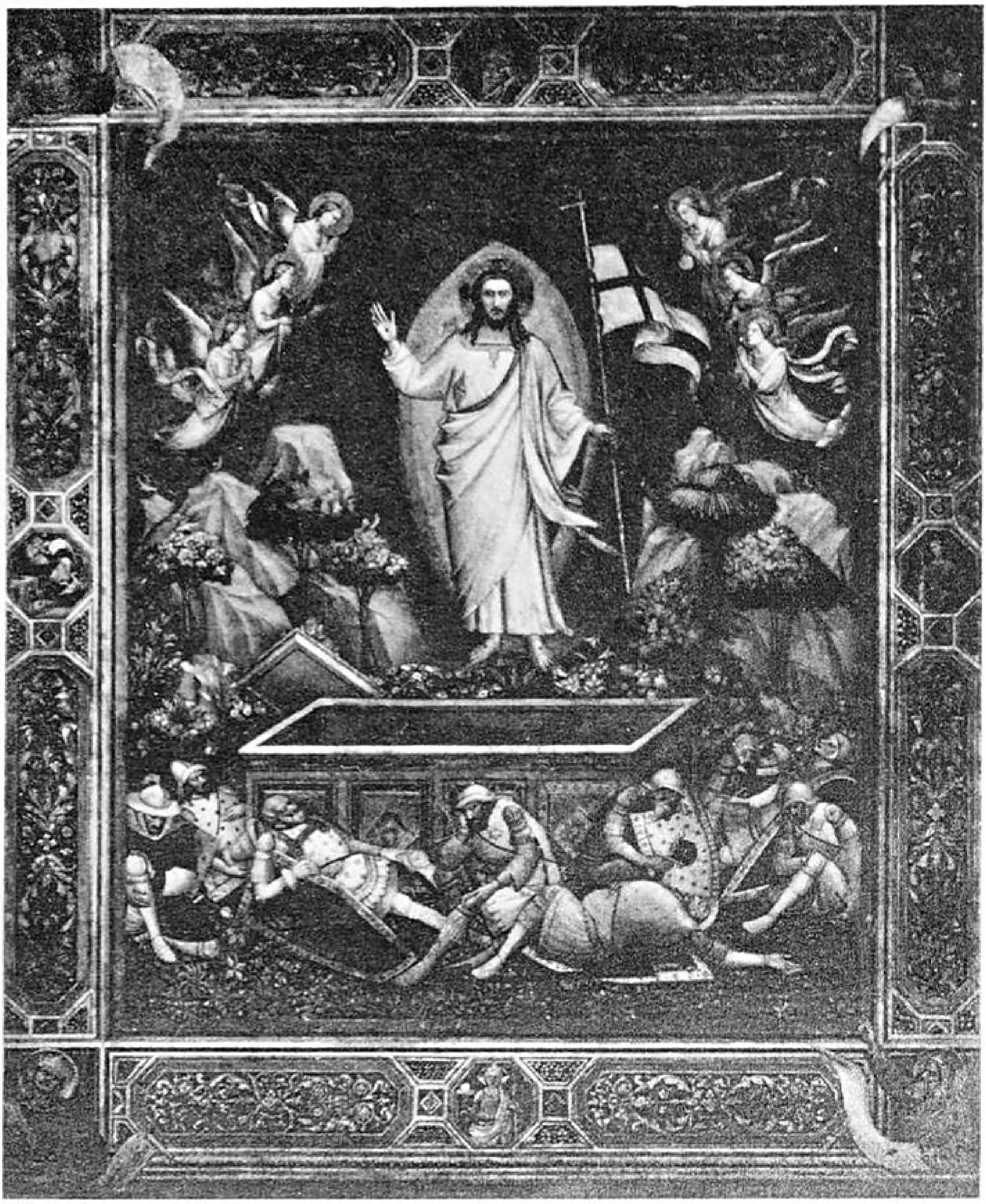


Fig. 344. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Resurrection. Sacristy, Sta. Croce, Florence. Photo Alinari.

In all these works we find the Giottesque principles in the plain, clear compositions and in the design of the figures which are somewhat broader in the frescoes than in the panel of the Entombment which I think should be considered Niccolo's best work; it is probably of a slightly later date, having very likely been executed between the Madonna altar-piece of Sta. Croce and the crucifix which has lately been transported from the Castellani chapel of Sta. Croce to the refectory of this church.

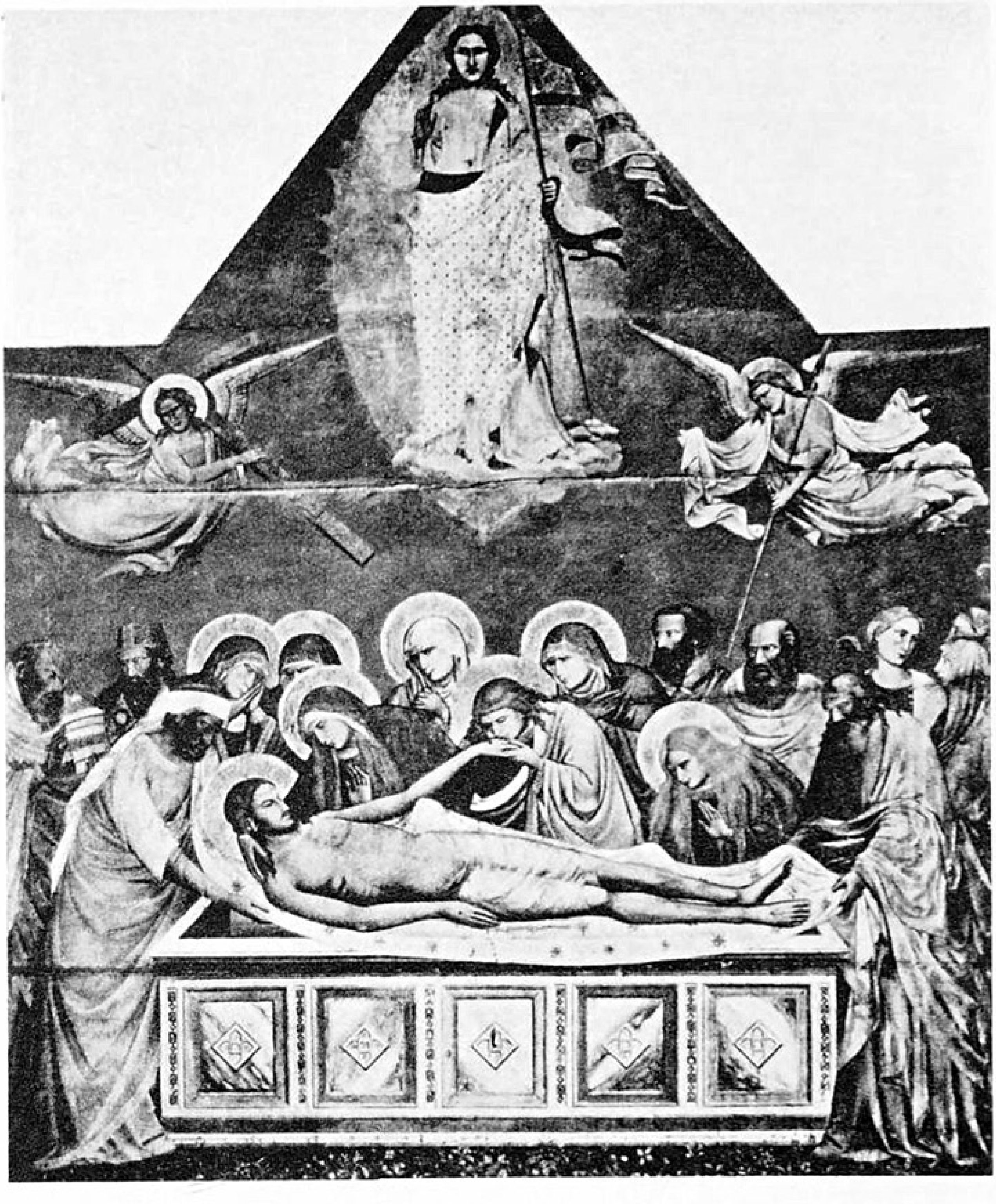


Fig. 345. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Entombment. Accademia, Florence.
Photo Alinari.

The painting of the above mentioned Madonna, which forms the centre-piece of the polyptych of which the four lateral panels containing the Fathers of the Church were executed by Jacopo di Cione, does not manifest that mature power we admire in the tragic representation of the Entombment. The Virgin who is depicted enthroned between St. James and a young saint — in type not unlike the half-length figure at Oxford — is somewhat heavy and lifeless, while all the figures are of a rather weak design.

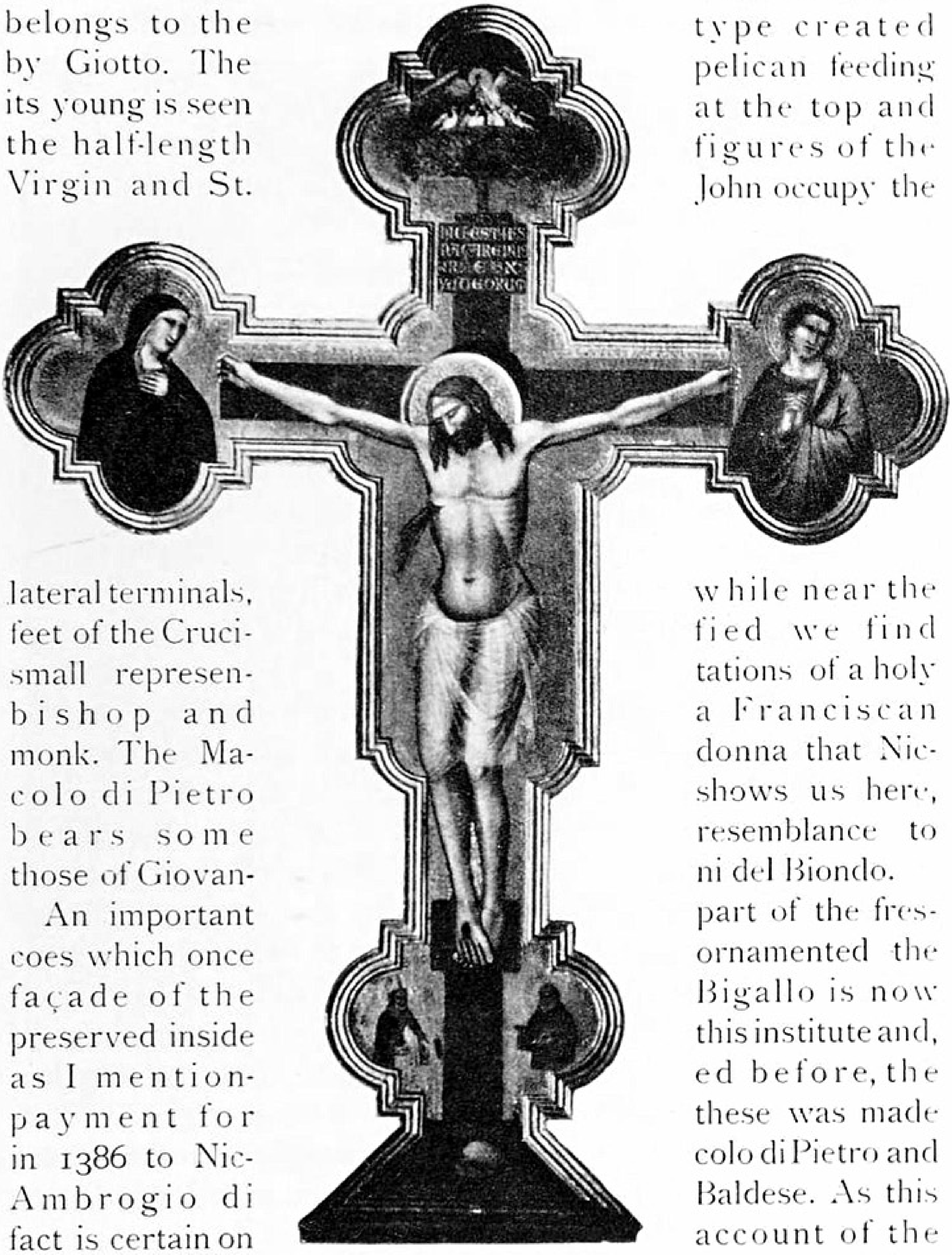


Fig. 346. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Crucifix. Refectory, Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Alinari.

The crucifix from the Castellani chapel (fig. 346) is more reminiscent of Taddeo's art and belongs to the type created by Giotto. The pelican feeding its young is seen at the top and the half-length figures of the Virgin and St. John occupy the lateral terminals, while near the feet of the Crucified we find small representations of a holy bishop and a Franciscan monk. The Madonna that Niccolo di Pietro shows us here, bears some resemblance to those of Giovanni del Biondo.

An important part of the frescoes which once ornamented the façade of the Bigallo is now preserved inside this institute and, as I mentioned before, the payment for these was made in 1386 to Niccolo di Pietro and Ambrogio di Baldese. As this fact is certain on account of the existence of the document, I feel inclined to admit that either Ambrogio was here the leading artist or that Niccolo adapted his style to that of his collaborator, or again that our painter worked at another part of the decoration, because I do not think that Gerini's manner can be discovered in these paintings which manifest more affinity with the art of Agnolo Gaddi than the works of Niccolo ever did. It is possible, however, that he executed other parts of this work of which, judging from the aquarelle, about two-thirds has been preserved, and in fact in the copy some figures to the left, especially one of an old woman, seem more in Gerini's manner, but I am of opinion that that part of the original decoration which has come to us, must be considered a work from another hand, no doubt that of Ambrogio di Baldese.

The Baptism, with scenes from the life of St. John in the predella, in the National Gallery (no. 579 and there attributed to the school of Taddeo Gaddi), bears the date 1387 (figs. 347 and 348).

This painting gives us a clear idea of the transformation that Niccolo's art had undergone in the interval. He does not detach himself from the Giottesque tradition and the composition and design still remain as concise as in his earlier works, but here it is clear that Gerini's great failing is a certain vulgarity which becomes very evident in a later stage when he obviously received more orders than he could undertake and executed them in great haste and with the assistance of many helpers.

Close to the Baptism of 1387 we should place the Madonna seated on a low throne and surrounded by eight flying angels with the Lord represented above, in the Calvet Museum at Avignon, and a panel in two parts, showing below, the Death of the Virgin, who is depicted on her bier surrounded by many figures, and above, the Madonna carried to heaven handing her girdle to St. Thomas. This picture, which I saw in a private collection in Paris, is in shape and size very similar to the panels of Jacopo di Cione in the National Gallery which I described when dealing with this artist, and like these must have originally formed part of a polyptych. It should be remembered that the picture to which Jacopo di Cione's panels in London belonged, was ordered from Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

The date 1392 was at one time visible in the chapter-house of the S. Francesco monastery at Pisa on the walls of which we still find more or less damaged scenes from the Lord's Passion, from the Entry into Jerusalem to the Crucifixion, as well as the Descent from the Cross, the Entombment, the scene of the three Maries at the Empty Sepulchre, the Ascension (fig. 349), a miracle, two saints and medallions in the vaults containing half-length figures of God, Apostles and Evangelists.

It seems obvious that in the interval between the last dated work and this one, our artist has come under another influence. The hardness of design and the pointed sharpness of the features remind us most of Starnina but the proportions and types are different and it seems more likely that it was Spinello Aretino who dominated our artist at this stage, more especially as we know that these two co-operated seven years later and it is there-

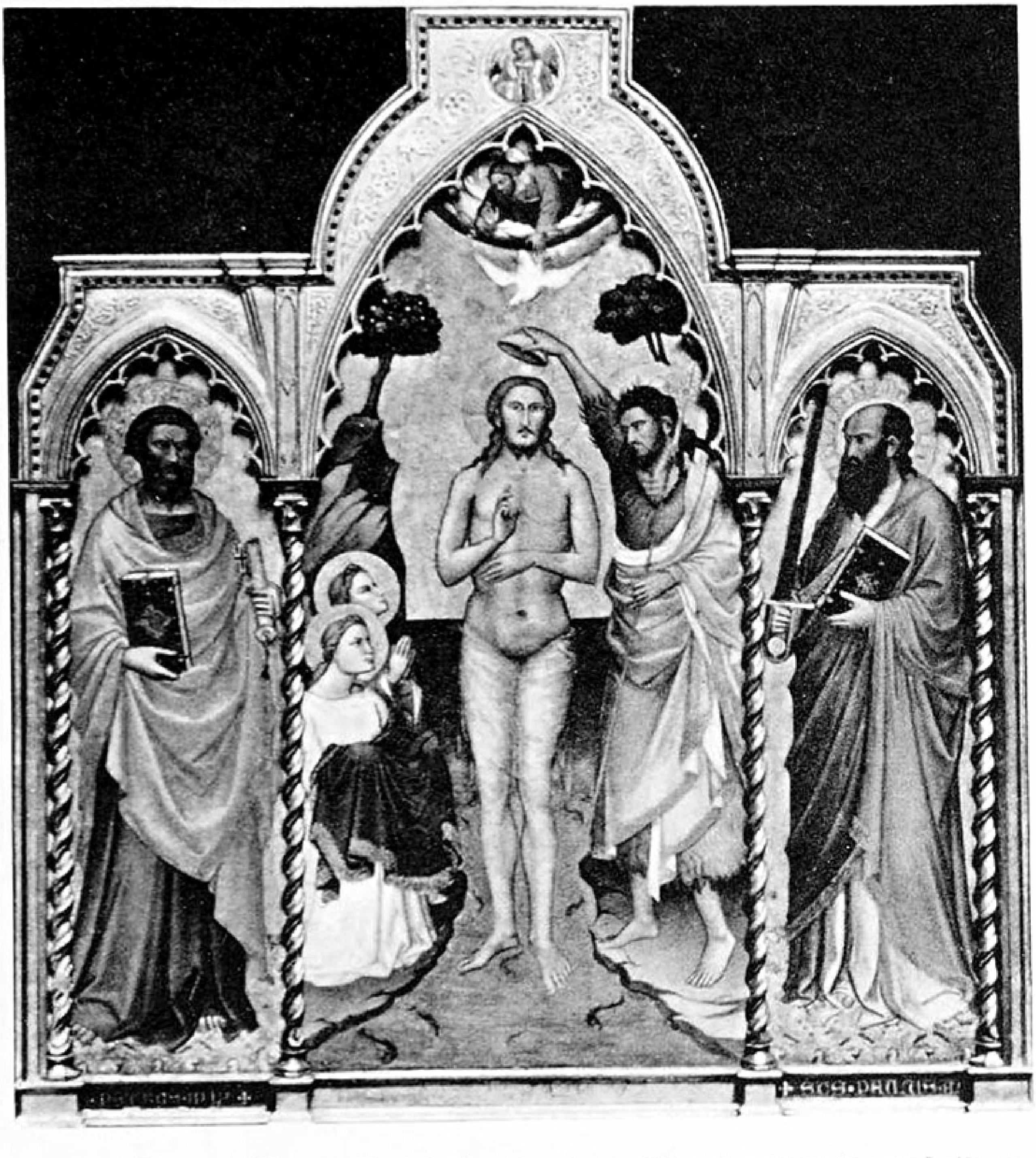


Fig. 347. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Baptism of Our Lord. National Gallery, London.

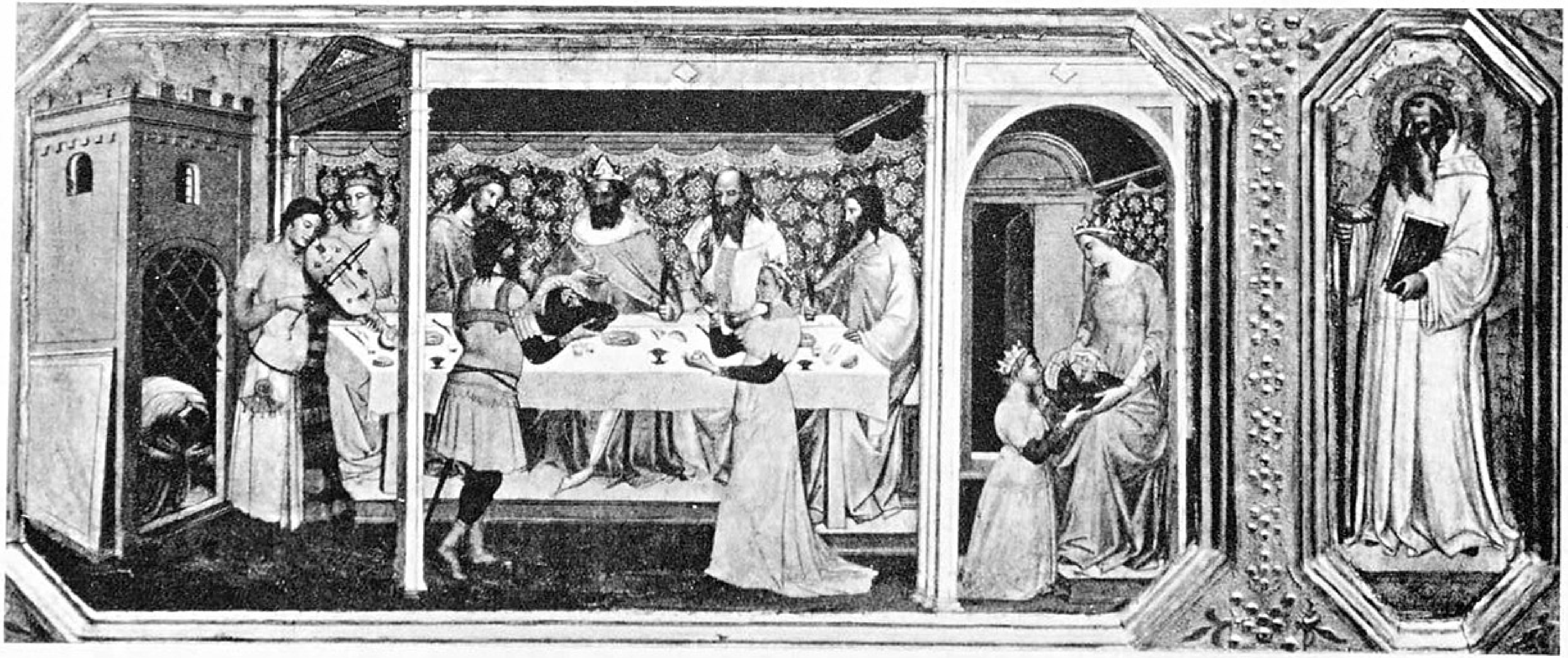


Fig. 348. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Feast of Herod and St. Romuald (part of the predella of the Baptism). National Gallery, London.

Photo Anderson.

fore quite possible that their acquaintance dates from an earlier period. Also in his composition Niccolo has now abandoned the early Trecento principles and the confusion of his grouping reminds us of Agnolo Gaddi; it is evident that Niccolo, who was obviously not endowed with a strong individuality, borrowed from his different contemporaries. The dramatic action preserves something of the Giottesque tradition but lacks simplicity and here again the want of refinement is very marked.

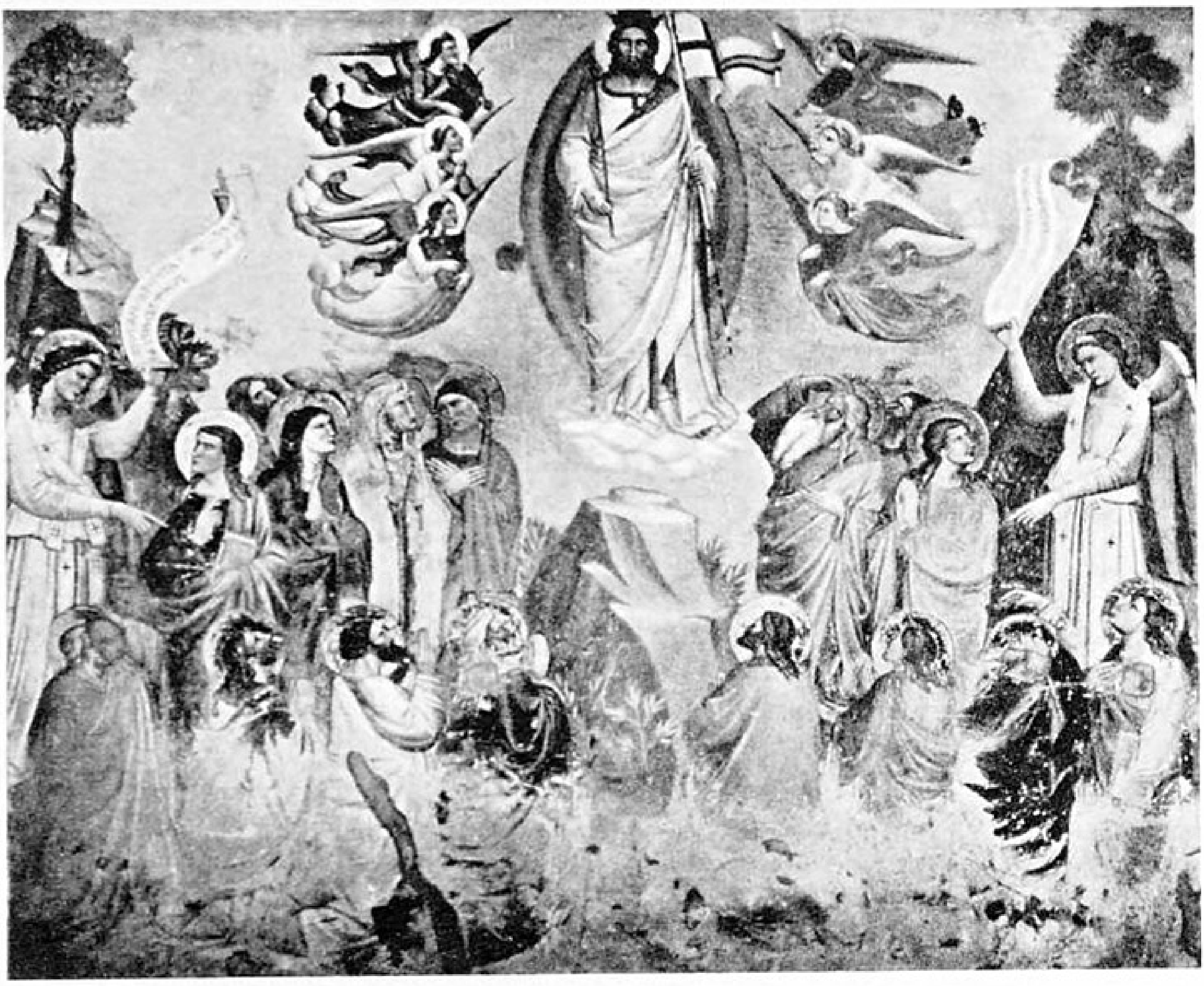


Fig. 349. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Ascension. Chapter-house, S. Francesco, Pisa.

Photo Alinari.

Between 1399 and 1401 Niccolo and his son collaborated, as we saw, with Spinello in the execution of the triptych which now forms no. 129 in the Accademia, Florence (fig. 336). It needs but a glance to see that the figures painted by Niccolo are the four on the left lateral panel, the prophet above and the half-length figure of the predella; they remind us of the figures in the frescoes of Pisa and although no great change has taken place in the interval which separates these two works, we can none the less discover in this triptych the beginning of his decline.

Of the last period in the artist's career we possess one unimportant dated work and an undated one, both showing the same characteristics. The former is the figure of St. Nicholas of 1408 – 1409 on a pillar in Or San Michele, the latter the decoration of the chapter-house of S. Francesco at Prato which must be of a considerably later date than any of Niccolo's documented visits to this town. In fact I think we have reason to believe that this was one of the artist's last works and probably achieved with a good deal of help.

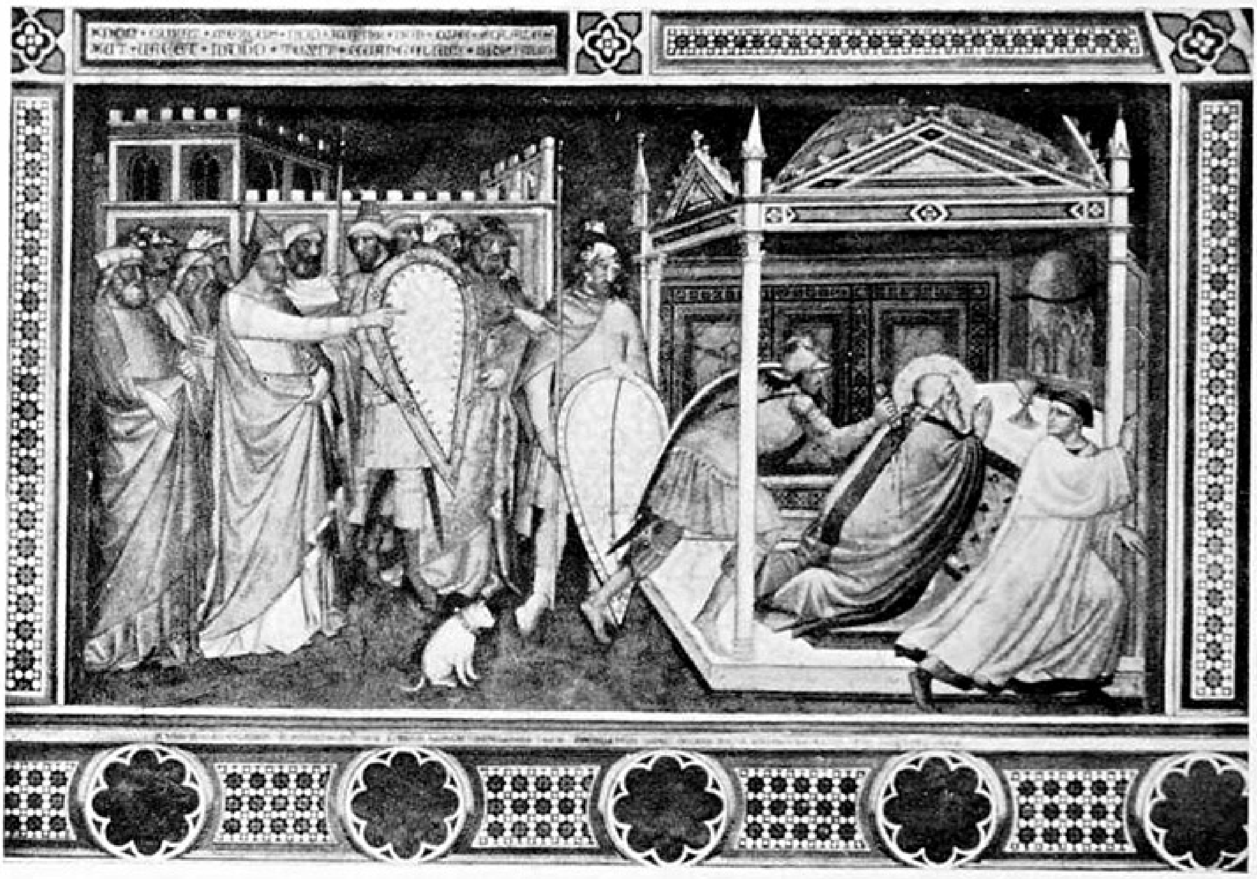


Fig. 350. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Martyrdom of St. Matthew. Chapter-house, S. Francesco, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

On the entrance wall under the central figures of a row of saints including SS. Clare, Catherine, John the Baptist, Bartholomew and a very damaged St. Francis we read the painter's signature:

Nicholo di Piero Gierini dipintore
Fiorentino pinse qui consuo colore.

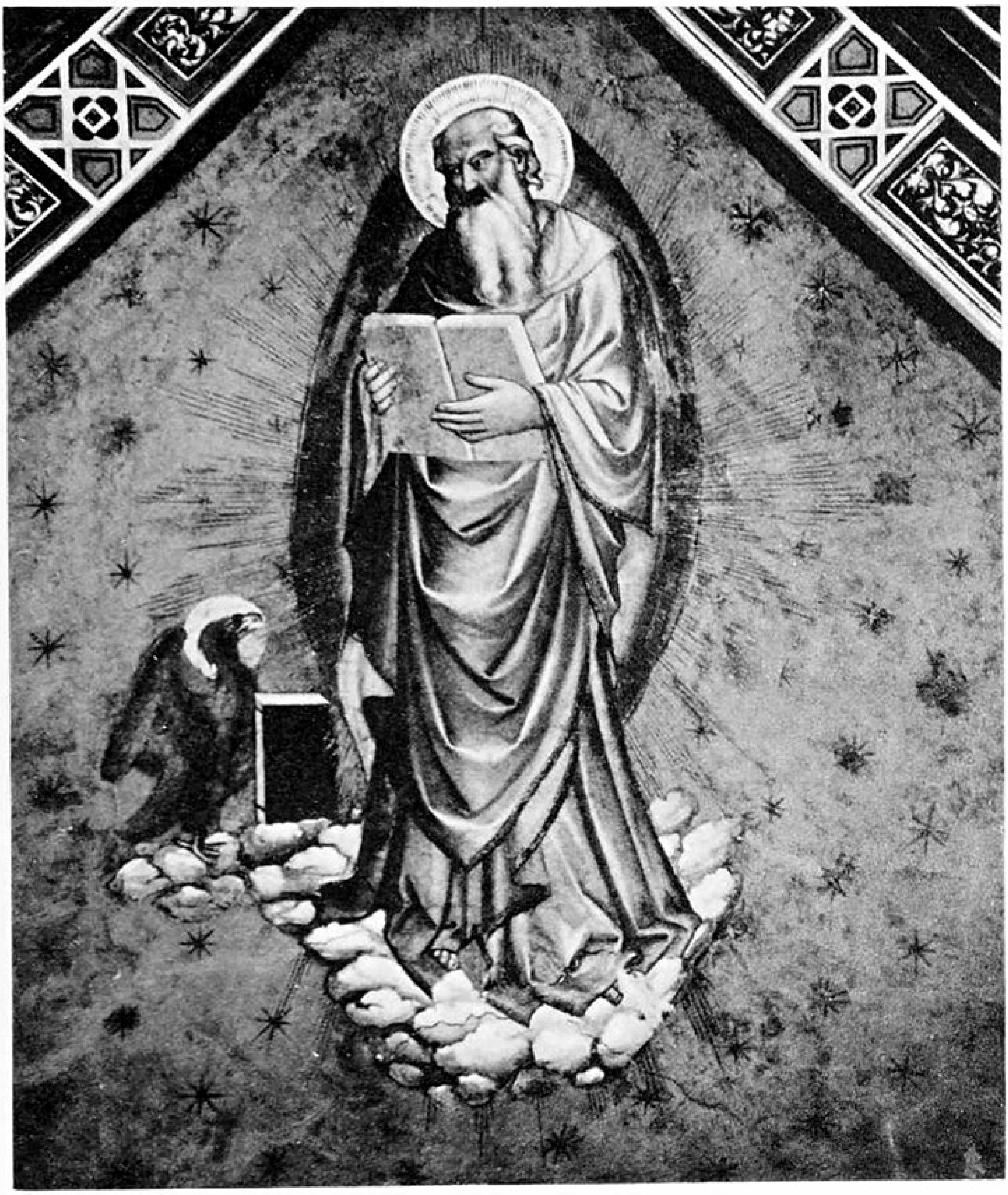


Fig. 351. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, St. John the Evangelist. Vault of the Chapter-house, S. Francesco, Prato.

Photo Brogi.

The wall opposite is decorated with the Crucifixion, which is in a bad state of preservation, while on the right wall we find three scenes from the history of St. Matthew (fig. 350) and on the left three others from the life of St. Antony Abbot; at either side one scene is depicted in a lunette below which two others are seen on the same level. The vault contains figures of the four Evangelists (fig. 351) which have been somewhat retouched, but not, as has been said, entirely repainted; they are of better quality than the very poor frescoes below. Here even the Giottesque vigour of design and form, which always gave a certain interest to this artist's productions, has disappeared.

A large triptych in the store-room of the Uffizi (fig. 352) no doubt belongs to the same period; it represents, in the centre, the Crucifixion with several figures at the foot of the Cross; at either side are three saints, and in the spandrels the half-lenght figure of the Lord and those of the angel and the Madonna of the Annunciation.

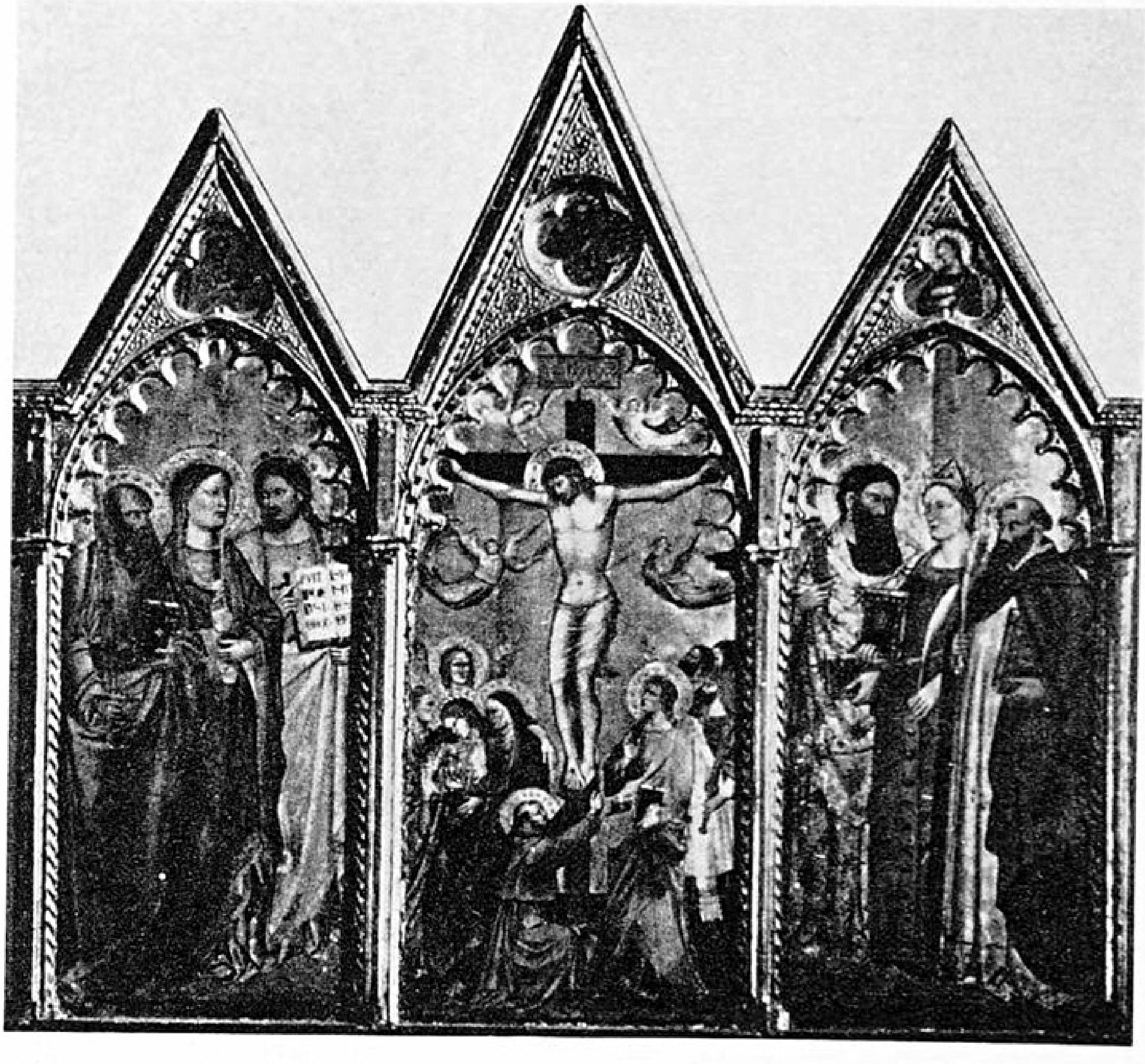


Fig. 352. Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, triptych. Store-room, Uffizi. Florence.
Photo Alinari.

The list of Niccolo's paintings is very long and for our comprehension of his artistic personality I have only chosen a few of the more important (¹).

---

(¹) The following works may also be attributed to Niccolo di Pietro; they are for the greater part mentioned by Sirén in Thieme-Becker and L'Arte, The abundance of orders which the painter received and the great number of his adherents who created the enormous Gerini school, prove that the Florentine public was unhappily less hard to please towards the year 1400 than previously, and the level of the local production was considerable lowered. Bad painting may be met with at any time but here we find an artist without any merits inspiring, at the moment of his downfall, a whole generation of painters. The amount of unpleasing pictures produced in Florence towards the year 1400 is therefore extremely great and in practically all of them we can find reminiscences of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. Niccolo's art is entirely based on the later Giottesque tradition, especially on Taddeo Gaddi's rendering of it, but more perhaps on the form that the father's art took under Agnolo Gaddi; Spinello's manner affected Niccolo only in a very superficial way and Andrea Orcagna's, although Jacopo di Cione belonged to his workshop, practically not at all. We find rather in the banal vulgarity of some of his productions a contact with the inferior works of Giovanni del Biondo.

What happened to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini will be found to occur in the career of many an artist of minor talent. He started well under the guidance of a great master without the sustaining

---

1904, p. 338, Khvoshinsky and Salmi and Offner, the last, however, places many of the products of the artist himself with those of his followers : *Bonn*, Gallery, the decapitation of St. Catherine (Cohen, Catal. Gemälde Gall. Prov· Mus., Bonn, 1914); *Cambridge*, Mass., U.S.A., property of Prof. A. Kingsley Porter, a Madonna; *Cologne*, Schnitzen Museum, portable crucifix; *Cracow*, Czartoryski Museum. no. 327, Christ enthroned between angels (M. Logan Berenson, Rassegna d'Arte, 1915, p. 1); *Florence*, Sta. Croce, left aisle, fragment of a Crucifixion; St. Felicita, left transept. Nativity; Chapter-house, Annunciation and Crucifixion (with helpers); Accademia, no. 248, SS. Caius and Catherine; Or San Michele, on a pillar, Trinity and below, the Descent of the Holy Ghost; Loeser coll., a small panel, a crowned personage and his suite kneeling before a column (doubtful) : near Florence, *Fiesole*, Sta. Maria Primerana, a ruined fresco of the Presentation; *S. Miniato*, figure of Apostle dated 1387; *Vincigliata*, S. Lorenzo, Madonna (doubtful); *London*, Kerr Lawson coll., SS. Antony Abbot and Peter; *Parma*. Gallery, no. 431, Death and Ascension of the Virgin; *Pesaro*, Gallery, from S. Giovanni, Madonna between two angels, SS. Francis and Michael, dated 1400 (G. Vaccaj. Pesaro, Bergamo. 1909, p. 107); *Philadelphia*, late Johnson collection, Pieta; *Rome*, Capitol Gallery, Trinity and three small adorers (probably only a bottega product) : *Verona*. Gallery. no. 788, polyptych panel, SS. Paul and Gregory; *Wigan*. Earl of Crawford's coll., panel, (T. Borenius, Burlington Mag., Oct. 1922).

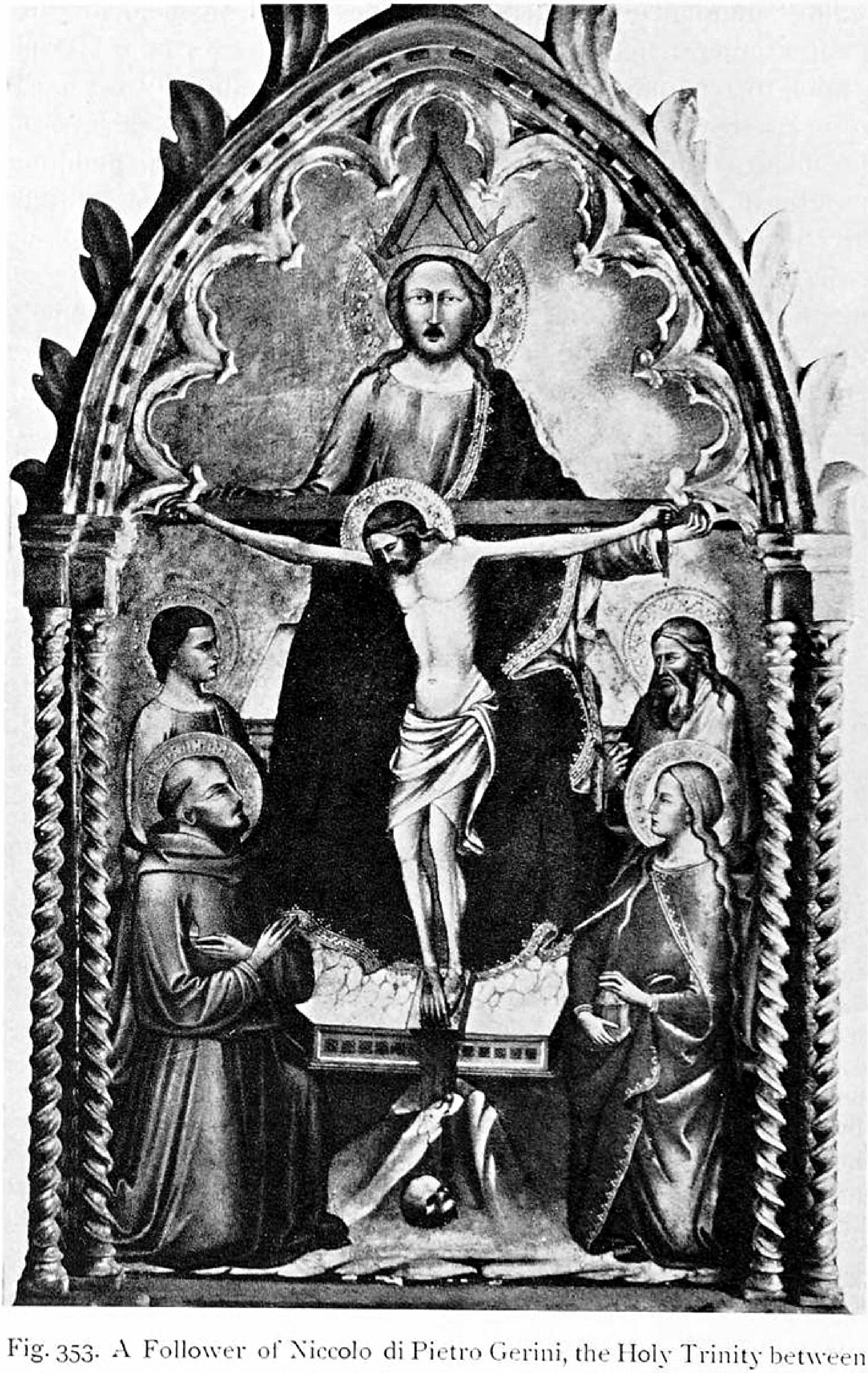


Fig. 353. A Follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Holy Trinity between saints. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

influence of whom his qualities gradually disappeared. At his outset he was but a mere follower of Taddeo Gaddi and it was this tradition which his son continued well into the 15th century.

Besides the son of Niccolo di Pietro there are a few other followers whom we are able to differentiate.

Of one whose works are executed in a particularly hard and angular design, but whose colouring is generally fine and whose manner approaches Niccolo's as we saw it in the Crucifixion of the big polyptych in the store-room of the Uffizi, we find two productions in the Vatican Gallery; they represent a Madonna and Child between the Baptist and a holy female martyr (no. 58) and the Trinity between four adoring saints (no. 60, fig. 353). To this same painter, although inferior in quality, we can ascribe another panel of the Trinity with two small adorers kneeling below and the Annunciation in the spandrels in the sacristy of the church of Impruneta (there I believe attributed to Mariotto di Nardo), and probably also a St. Antony between four angels in the collection of Mrs. Gardner at Boston (1).

A certain number of works by this painter are to be found in other collections and on the antique market.

To another pupil I think we can attribute six representations of the Madonna, the best of which is preserved in the Vatican Gallery (no. 24, fig. 354); here the Virgin is depicted suckling the Child between four saints and two kneeling angels, while the predella contains a representation of the Pietà, the Lord dead between the Virgin, St. John and two other saints. On the second of these which belongs to the Jarves collection, Yale University (2), we find above, the Crucified between the Virgin and St. John and below, the Madonna enthroned between two male and two female saints. The others are: a Madonna between the Baptist, a holy Apostle and two angels and, above, God the Father sending forth the dove, in the Gallery of Lille (no. 1119), a Madonna enthroned between six angels in the Museum of Brunswick (3) and

---

(1) I have already contradicted the attribution of this picture to Jacopo di Cione.

(2) *Sirén,* Descriptive Catalogue, p. 43, believes this to be a work of Jacopo di Cione's.

(3) *Sirén,* Rassegna d'Arte, VI, 1906, p. 85.

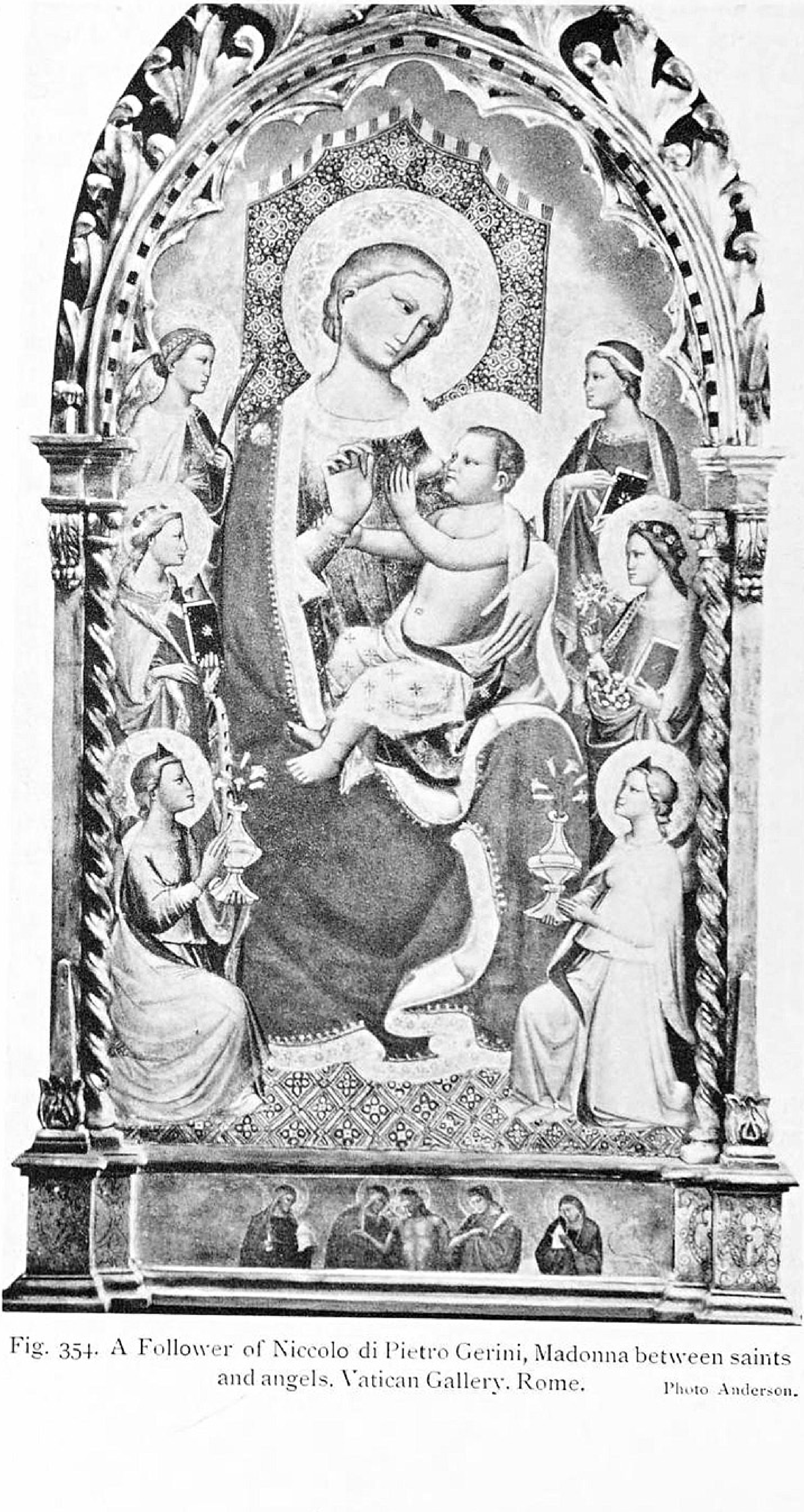


Fig. 354. A Follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Madonna between saints and angels. Vatican Gallery. Rome. Photo Anderson.

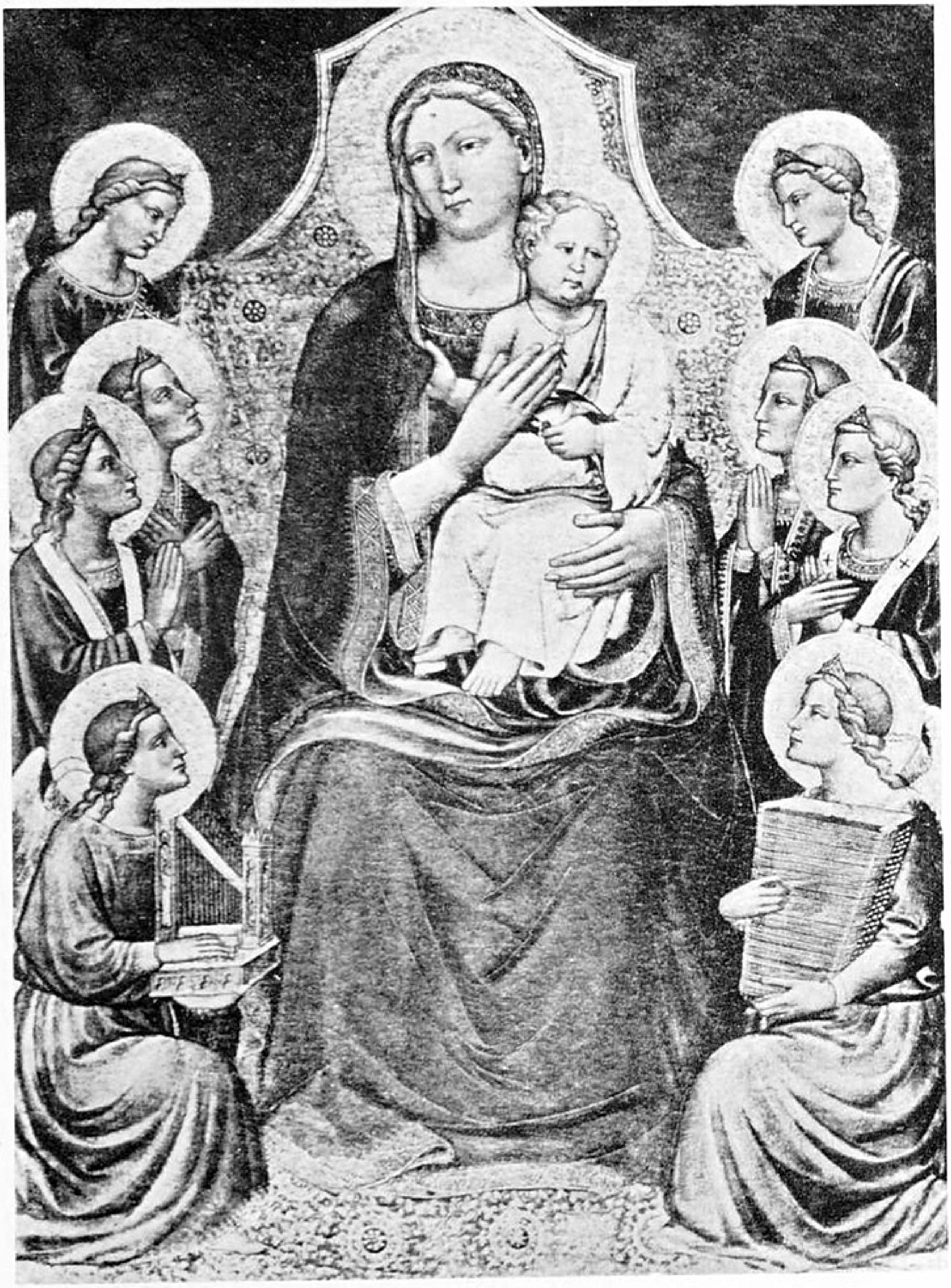


Fig. 355. A Follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Madonna and angels. Louvre, Paris. Photo Braun.

a Madonna amidst eight angels in the Louvre (1314, fig. 355). In the Central Museum, Utrecht, we find a fragment by the same hand, showing two half-length figures of angels and doubtless originally belonging to a similar panel. I think that we can attri-

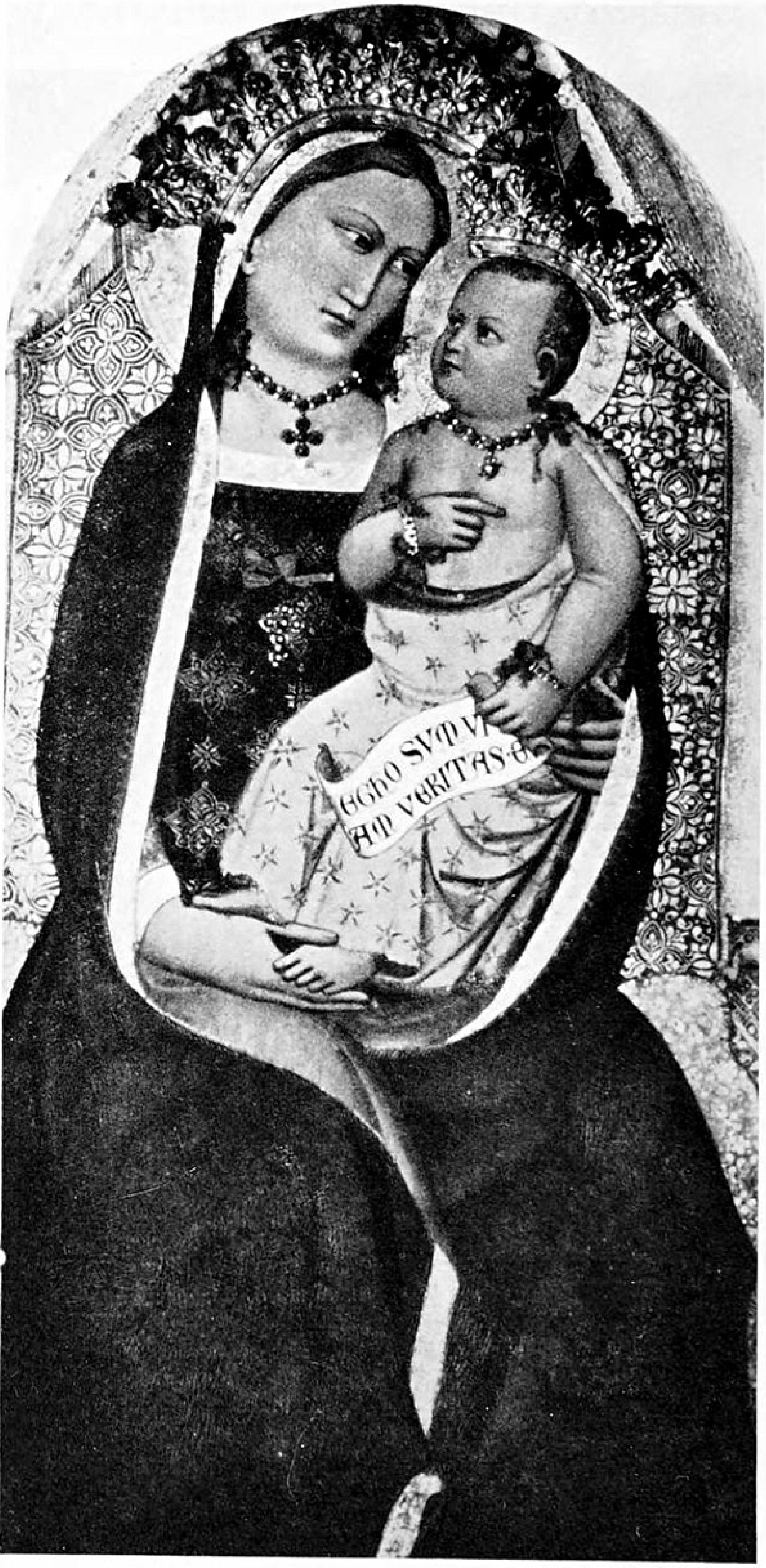

ECHO SVM VI
AM VERITAS E

Fig. 356. A Follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, Madonna. Magnale, (Paterno, Florence).

Photo Reali.

bute to the same hand a fresco of 1393 of the Madonna in the midst of figures of the seven virtues in the Town Hall of S. Miniato al Tedesco, which, by others, is hesitatingly ascribed to Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni.

With regard to another panel, also in the Louvre (1611) and there attributed to the school of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, I feel less sure. Here the Madonna is depicted giving breast to the Child between four saints while four angelic musicians fly above. A curious iconographical detail, not common in Florentine productions, is the presence of Eve and the snake, represented below.

Although obviously inspired by Gerini, this artist acquired something of Orcagna's taste for handsome features and decorative detail.

Also dominated by Gerini's principles, somewhat skilful and not hard in design, was the painter to whom we owe a Madonna, SS. Antony Abbot and Michael — originally forming a triptych — in the church of Magnale near Paterno (fig. 356) (1). He is probably also the author of a large polyptych in the Accademia of Florence, representing in the centre the Madonna on a low seat surrounded by eight flying angels and laterally eight saints, two in each panel. This is his least attractive work and one in which he shows himself a close associate of the first mentioned follower of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini. A more pleasing production is another polyptych showing the Madonna between SS. Lawrence, Michael, the Baptist and Paul, once in the Wilkins collection, Florence. I do not think it necessary to enumerate the other works which can be attributed to this painter.

We find frescoes by a rather naïve provincial follower representing the Nativity of the Virgin and the Annunciation in the church of S. Domenico at S. Miniato al Tedesco in Tuscany (fig. 357) (2).

---

(1) *I. Vavasour Elder*, Alcuni dipinti e oggetti d'arte nei dintorni di Firenze, Rassegna d'Arte, 1916, p. 262.

(2) Among the more important productions of Niccolo di Pietro's school we may also mention: *Arezzo*, S. Francesco chapel to the right of the choir, Assumption and saints; *Empoli*, coll. in the Collegiata, no. 5, Madonna feeding the Child; no. 13, two wings of an altar-piece with four saints; no. 14, triptych, Madonna between four half-length figures of saints and three scenes from the Passion; *Florence*, S. Ambrogio, Descent from the Cross; Sta. Croce, chapel near the sacristy, the Baptist; S. Felice, first altar to the right, Pieta;

### LORENZO DI NICCOLO GERINI (1).

Lorenzo di Niccolo was the son, but only a somewhat distant follower, of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

We find him first mentioned in 1392 as Niccolo's helper in his activities for Datini at Prato and between 1399 and 1401 he executed with his father and Spinello the altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin, now in the Accademia.

The signed picture representing St. Bartholomew and scenes from his legend in the Gallery of San Gimignano is dated 1401, while in 1402 he painted the altar-piece for the church of S. Marco, Florence, now in S. Domenico, Cortona (2) and the same year signed the Madonna between four half-length figures in the church of Terenzano, near Settignano. In 1408 Lorenzo matriculated in the guild of "medici e speciali" and two years later in that of S. Lucca (3). He is mentioned for the last time in 1411 when he receives six lire for the repainting of certain frescoes in S. Pietro Maggiore, Florence (4).

The earliest dated work which we have by this artist is then

---

Sta. Felicita, chapel of the relics, Crucifixion and half-length figures in medallions in the vaults; S. Marco Museum, no. 2, Crucifixion; near Florence, *Fiesole*, Bandini Museum, no. 21, Trinity; Madonna enthroned surrounded by four saints (very decadent); *Marinelli*, Virgin and saints; *Paris*, Louvre, no. 1623, Coronation of the Virgin and angels; no. 1664, mystical marriage of St. Catherine; *Parma*, Gallery, no. 435, enthroned Madonna between six saints (distant follower); *Petriolo*, on the façade of S. Biagio, the Trinity, the Descent from the Cross and several saints; *Pisa*, S. Martino, two panels on each of which two saints are depicted; *Ravezzano*, tabernacle of the Madonna, 1408. Several of these and some others are mentioned by R. Offner, op. cit.

(1) *O. Sirén*, Lorenzo di Niccolo, L'Arte, VII, 1904, p. 338. *The same*, Don Lorenzo Monaco, Strasburg, 1905, p. 174. *The same*, Gli affreschi nel Paradiso degli Alberti, L. di N. e Mariotto di Nardo, L'Arte, XI, 1908, p. 179. *M. Salmi*, Spigolatura d'artè toscana, L'Arte, XVI, 1913, p. 213. *Khvoshinsky e Salmi*, op. cit., p. 58. *O. Sirén*, L. di N. Gerini, Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon, XIII, p. 464.

(2) *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, p. 533. It was replaced in 1440 by a work of Fra Angelico's and given by Lorenzo di Medici to the church of S. Domenico at Cortona. *Milanesi*, Nuovi Documenti, p. 70.

(3) *Gualandi*, op. cit., VI, p. 185.

(4) *G. Poggi*, L'Arte, 1908, p. 192 note. *O. Sirén*, L'Arte, 1904, p. 338, was under the impression that the artist was still alive in 1440, but has since given up this idea.

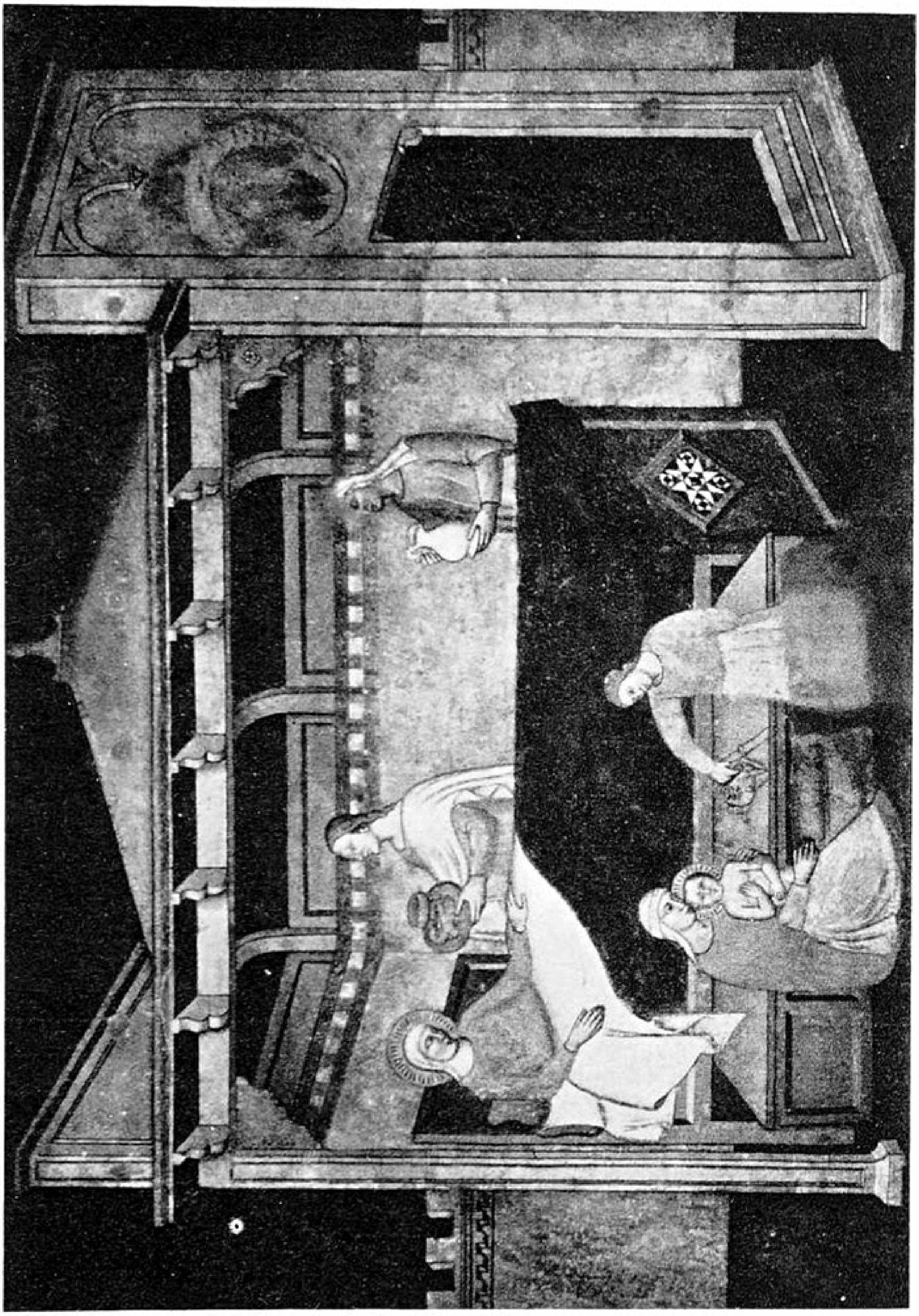


Fig. 357. School of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, the Nativity of the Virgin.
S. Domenico, S. Miniato al Tedesco, Tuscany. Photo Alinari.

the St. Bartholomeo altar-piece at San Gimignano (fig. 358) in which the saint is depicted enthroned on the central panel while at either side are two scenes from his life; the frame is ornamented with six small figures of saints and the predella with six holy figures and the Lord crucified between the Virgin and St. John. Besides the name of the saint and the date 1401, we read under the central panel: "*Laurentius Nicholai de Florentia pinsit*".

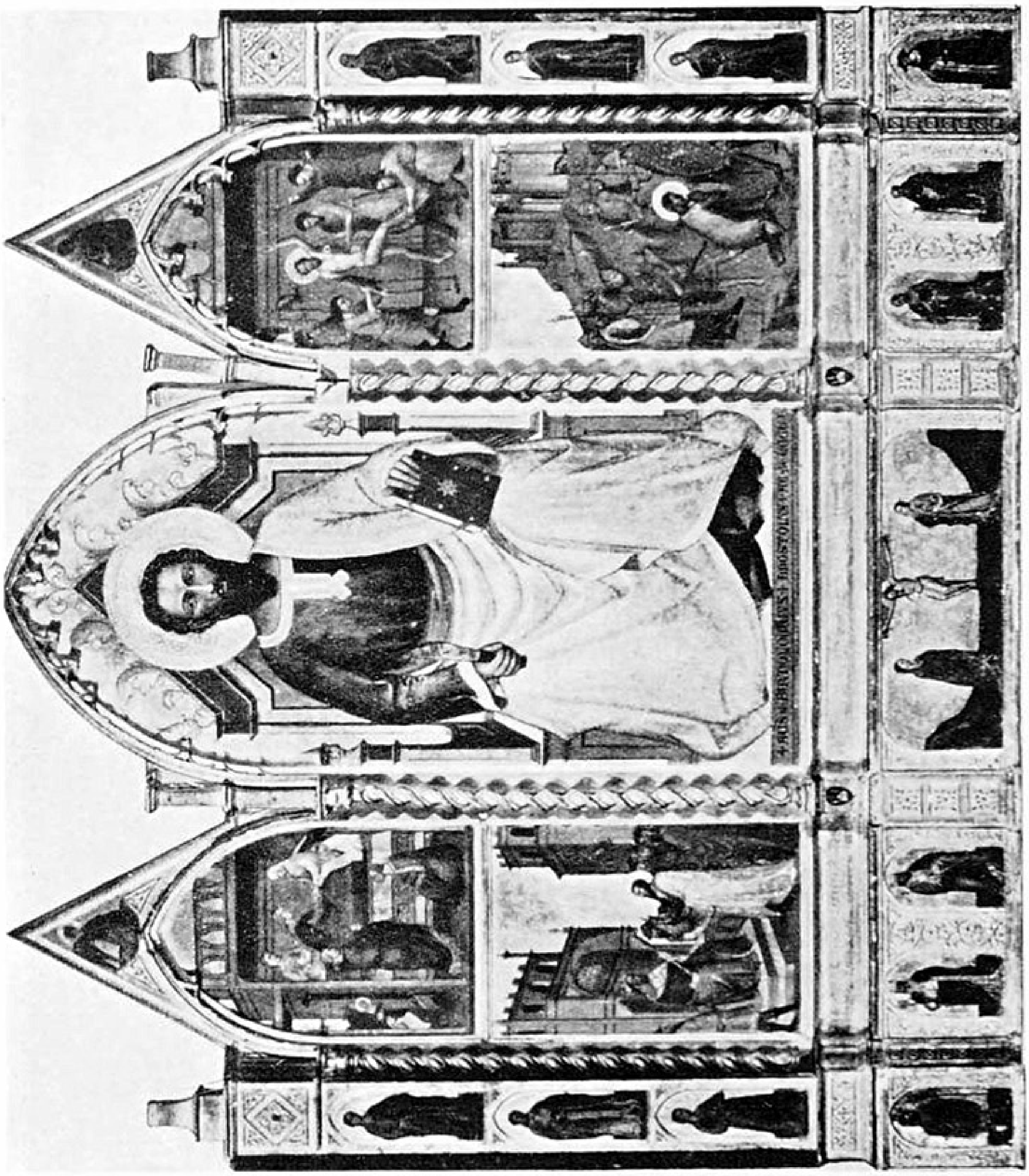


Fig. 358. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, St. Bartholomew and scenes from his history, 1401. Pinacoteca, San Gimignano. Photo Brogi.

The aspect of the picture would really entitle us to place it half a century earlier and Lorenzo shows himself here, in the first years of the 15th century, nearer to Taddeo Gaddi than many of his predecessors. It is true that certain elements in the figures betray a knowledge of his father's productions, but for the greater part the scenes belong to the Giottesque tradition. In the second scene to the left — St. Bartholomew before the emperor — the architecture reminds us of that depicted by the Master of St. Cecily and the figure of the saint is reminiscent of Bernardo Daddi's models. The concentration of composition and most of the types, however, have been taken from the art of Taddeo Gaddi whom Lorenzo perhaps surpassed in narrative spirit.

During this same year Lorenzo collaborated with Spinello and his father in the execution of the altar-piece in the Accademia (fig. 336), and it must be confessed that if we had not had the fact documented we would not have looked for a third hand in this painting because, although there is a difference between the central part and the lateral ones, there is hardly any dissimilarity between the two side panels. We find, however, Niccolo's characteristics chiefly in the four saints to the left, so it may be concluded that Lorenzo undertook those to the right, but the years he had worked with his father developed in our painter a great facility for adapting himself to Niccolo's manner.

Of the following year we have two important panel paintings, the polyptych in S. Domenico, Cortona, and the signed one in the church of Terenzano, near Settignano.

The former represents the Coronation of the Virgin and six adoring angels in the centre, five saints in each lateral panel, the Trinity and the two figures of the Annunciation in the terminals, small figures of saints in the columns of the frame, and in the predella, St. Mark writing the Gospel, the martyrdom of the Evangelist, the Adoration of the Magi and two scenes from the story of St. Benedict. The proportions of the principal figures, as well as those in the predella, are somewhat different, being especially broader and the composition is less concentrated; altogether we get the impression that the artist is less directly connected with the early Florentine school.

If we compare this work with the contemporary polyptych at Terenzano (fig. 359) (1), of which two of the five half-length

---

(1) The saints represented are SS. Martin, Clement, Lawrence and Lucy. The long inscription below ends wth the words *"Lorenzo pinsit"*. v. *Vavasvour Elder*, Alcuni dipinti e oggetti etc., p. 179.

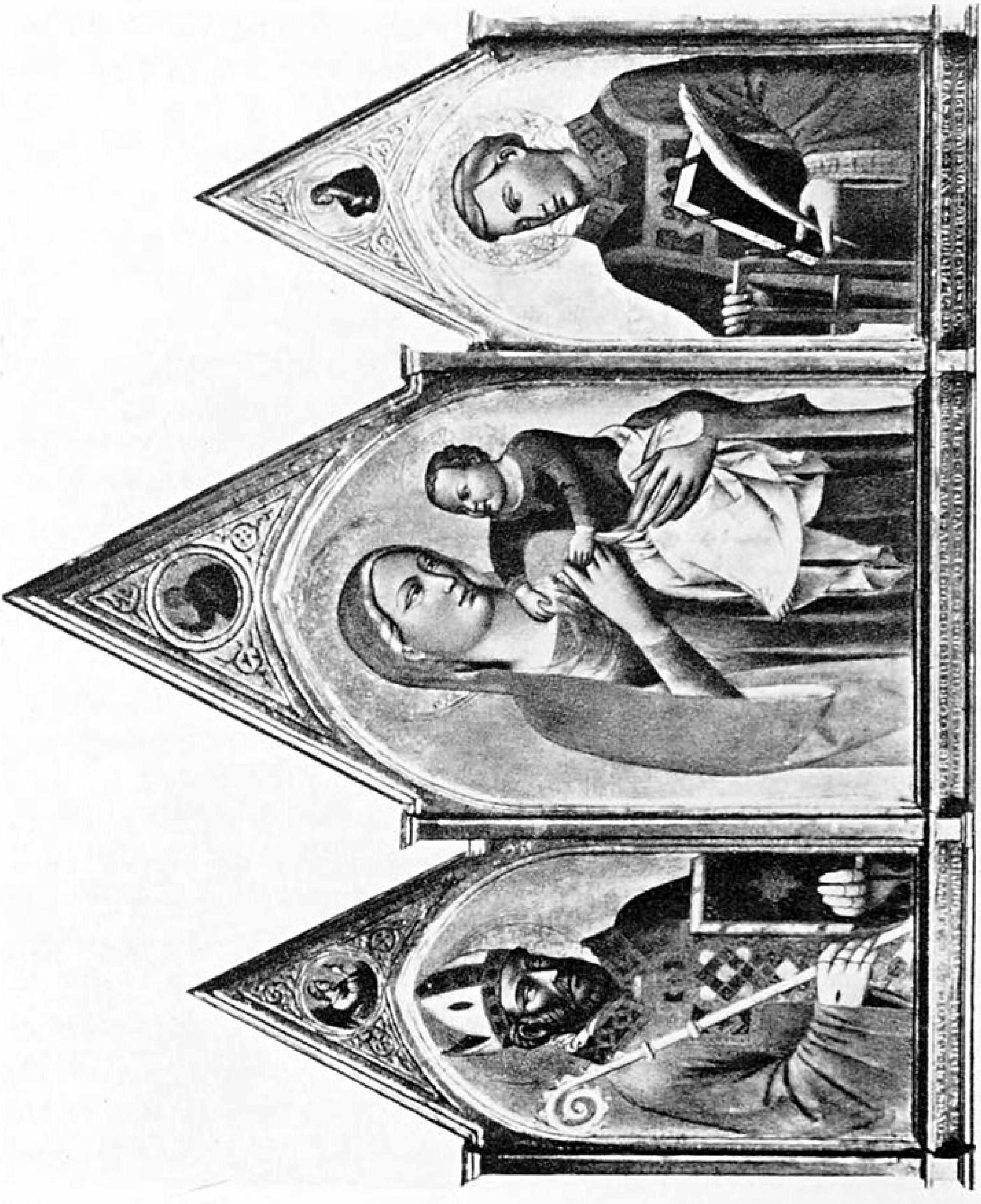


Fig. 359. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, three panels of a polyptych. Terenzano, (Settignano, Florence).

Photo Reali.

figures have been detached and are hung separately, we come to the conclusion that the period must have been one of transition, because here again we find the strongly outlined and even somewhat dry manner in which Lorenzo imitated Taddeo Gaddi, and only slight traces of the father's influence, such as the design of the hair of the female saint and some other similar minor details.

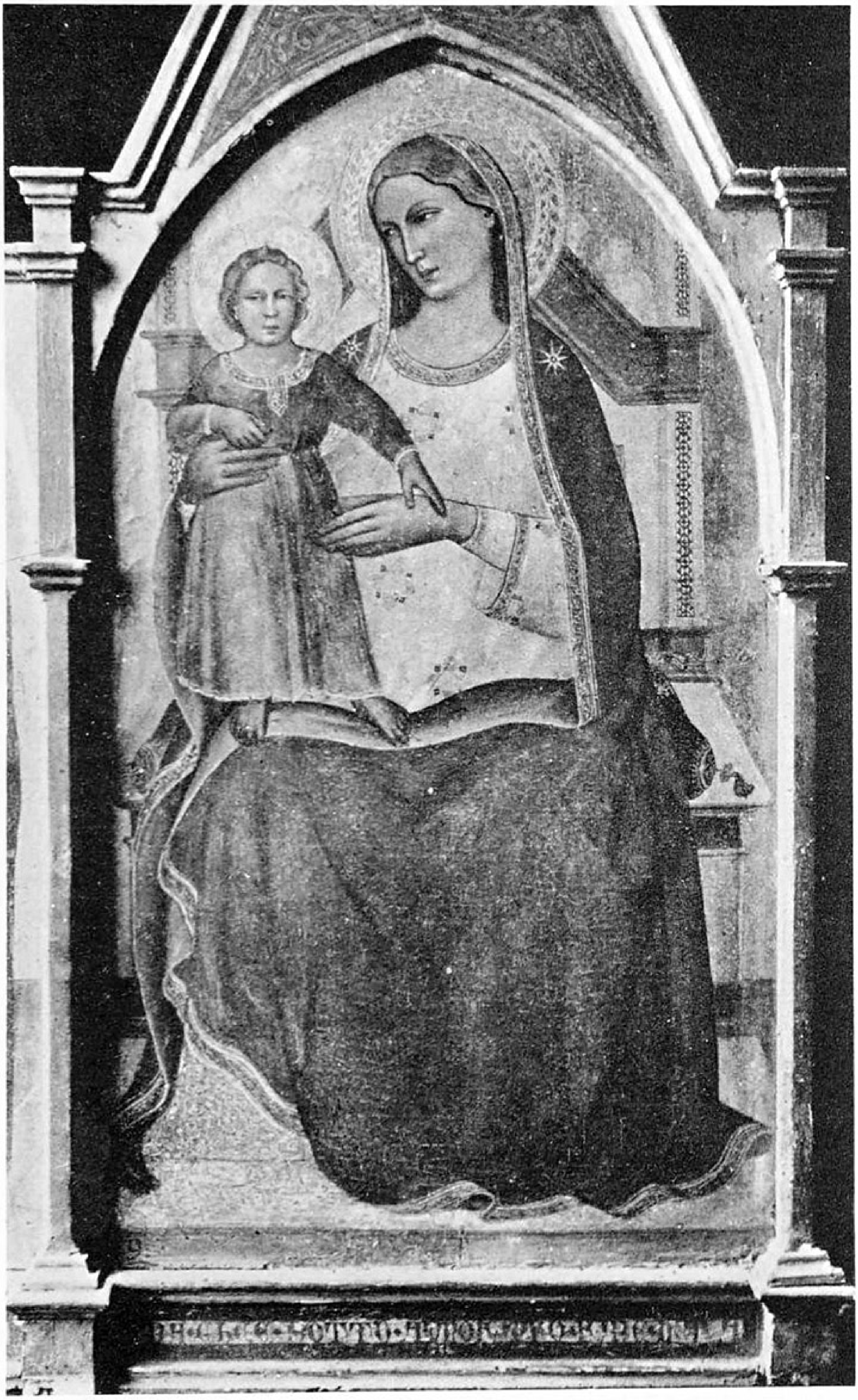


Fig. 360. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, Madonna, centre of a polyptych.
S. Leonardo in Arcetri (Florence). Photo Reali.

Rather resembling the manner of this signed picture is the style in which the artist executed the panels of SS. Augustine and Lucy, Agnes and Dominic in the Jarves collection (nos. 27 and 28) of the Yale University; the primitive design and the types are very similar (1).

The new phase in Lorenzo's art seems to have resulted from his contact with Spinello Aretino whose influence is very obvious in Lorenzo's polyptych in the church of S. Leonardo in Arcetri, near Florence (fig. 360). In this the enthroned Madonna of the central panel, who holds the Child standing on her knee, bears a striking resemblance to some of Spinello's works. Lorenzo collaborated with the Aretine artist in 1401, but his influence seems to me so strong that we may safely admit that their co-operation together was not limited to this one piece, but must have been of longer duration and greater importance. The lateral figures of this polyptych are SS. Leo and Antony Abbot on the left and SS. James and Lawrence on the right.

To a perhaps slightly earlier period of the same phase belongs a beautiful Madonna in the Fine Art Museum, Boston (fig. 361) (2), which originally must have formed part of a similar polyptych. The design is slightly more severe than in the last mentioned picture and the form of the human body more slender. The peculiar decoration of the back of the throne is very similar to that on the panel of St. Bartholomew at San Gimignano.

The influence of Spinello may also be detected in a small panel, representing Pilate washing his hands, in the Brunswick Gallery (3), and it will be found more evident in a small picture of St. Nicholas preventing the decapitation of three innocent knights in the Vatican Gallery (no. 103, fig. 362) (4).

Very similar to the polyptych in the church of S. Leonardo in Arcetri seems a triptych which at one time was the property of an art dealer in Munich (5). In the centre the Child is depicted

---

(1) *O. Sirén*, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 71, believes it on the contrary to be a work of Lorenzo's later manner.

(2) Messrs. *Sirén and Offner,* op. cit., attribute this painting, I think erroneously, to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

(3) *O. Sirén,* Rassegna d'Arte. 1906, p. 85.

(4) *O. Sirén,* L'Arte, 1921, p. 102, ascribes this panel to Mariotto di Nardo.

(5) *O. Sirén*, L'Arte, 1908, p. 190.

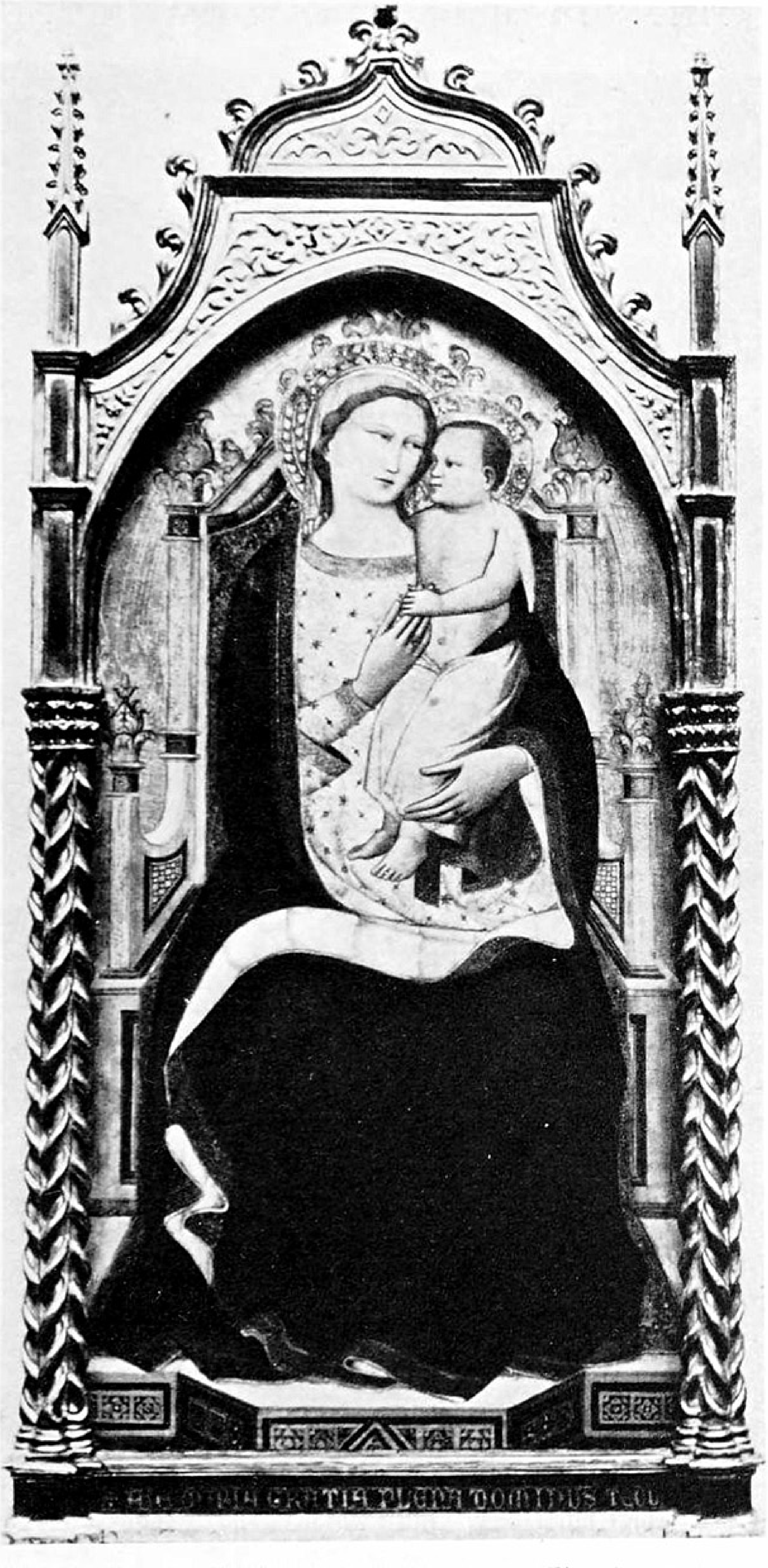

GRATIA PLENA DOMINUS TECU

Fig. 361. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, Madonna. Fine Arts Museum, Boston.

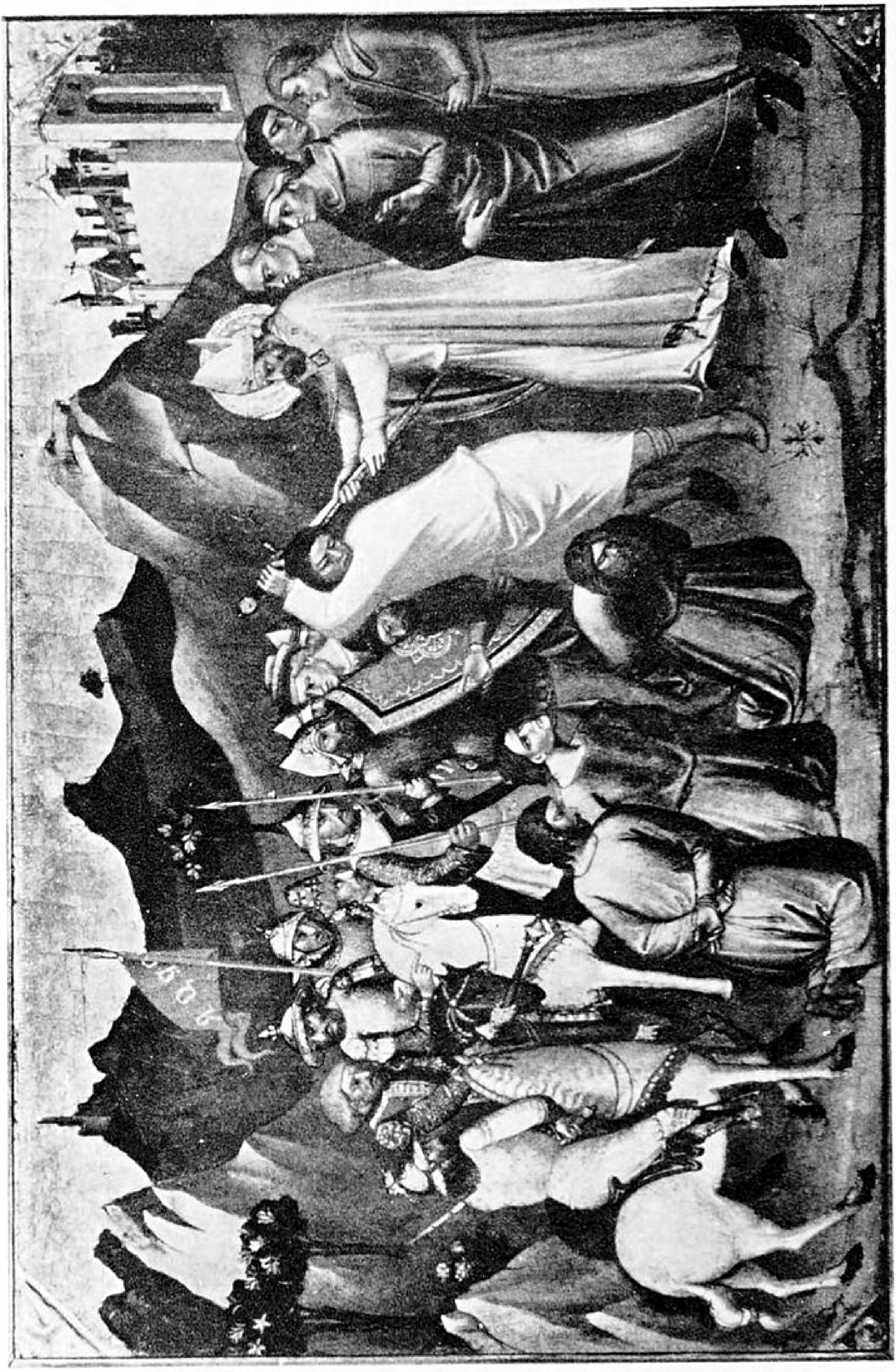


Fig. 362. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, St. Nicholas impeding the execution of three innocent knights. Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Photo Anderson.

again standing on His Mother's knee, while each of the side panels contains two saints, and the terminals the half-length figure of the Saviour and apparently those of the angel and Madonna of the Annunciation. The proportions are here still somewhat broader and the figures seem to lack vitality.

Nearest to this group but perhaps a little later, we may place a large polyptych in the sacristy of Sta. Croce, the centre of which shows the enthroned Madonna between two saints and the panels at either side four other saints, while the terminals and predella are ornamented with half-length figures of prophets and other personages.

It is chiefly the loose, somewhat Gothic drapery which establishes the style of these paintings and which we find again in two other works by this artist. Although the forms seem very large, it is less evident in the first of these works, an important series of frescoes, remains of which are still to be found in the so-called Paradiso degli Alberti, the old convent of St. Bridget, near Bandino, not far from Florence, which was founded by Antonio degli Alberti and probably decorated between 1406 and 1413 (1). The scenes still visible are the Last Supper, the Feet-washing, the Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Lord with the Pilgrims on the road to Emmaus, the Doubt of Thomas and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, while two others have disappeared.

Apart from the drapery, this work appears to be the one in which Lorenzo is most influenced by his father and a resemblance to Niccolo's wall paintings in the sacristy of Sta. Croce can easily be discovered.

The Gothic element in the drapery is very prominent in a Coronation of the Virgin in a chapel near the sacristy in Sta. Croce, Florence (fig. 363). In the centre the Lord and the Virgin are seated facing each other, six angels kneel below and two others are depicted above; the lateral panels are occupied by four saints while in the terminals are represented the half-length figure of the Lord, the Virgin and angel of the Annunciation and two prophets. The date, 1408, is found at the foot of the panel (2).

It is especially in these last two pictures that the influence of Lorenzo Monaco can be detected and most of all in the central

---

(1) *O. Sirén*, op. cit., p. 179.

(2) *Crowe and Cavalcaselle* give this date as 1410.

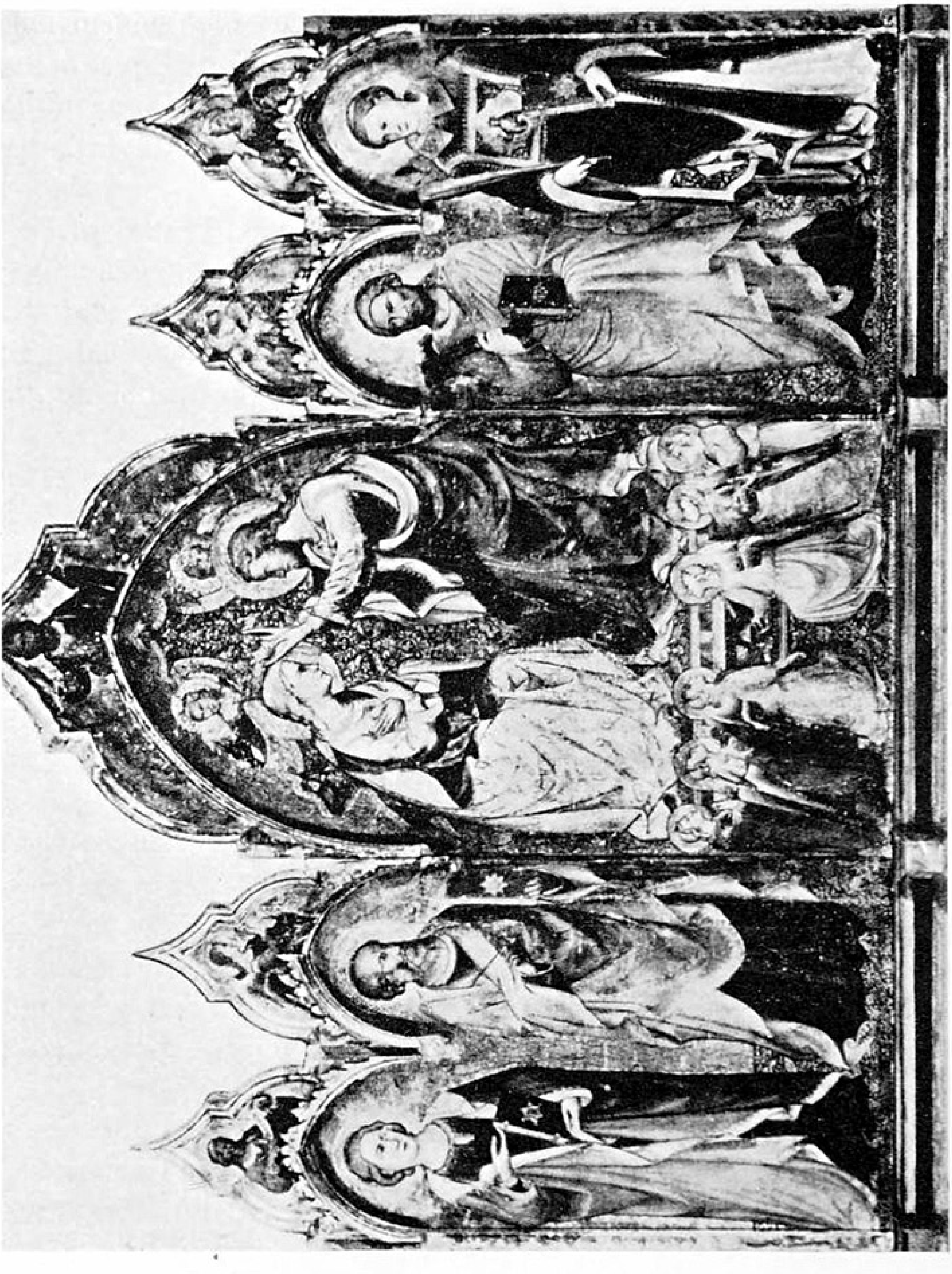


Fig. 363. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, polyptych. Sta. Croce, Florence.

Photo Brogi

panel of the Coronation (1). Lorenzo di Niccolo belongs, in this phase of his activities, to the 15th century but none the less we observe that fatal decadence from which apparently no painter of this period escaped. Besides the long Gothic folds of the drapery, we notice in this picture a broadness of proportion which is not very pleasing.

---

(1) *O. Siren,* L'Arte, 1904, p. 338 etc., insists very much on the influence of Lorenzo Monaco on Lorenzo di Niccolo.

Some other works executed after this same manner have come down to us. The best of these seems to be a triptych (no. 26) in the Jarves collection, Yale University, representing, in the centre the Madonna and Child, on one side the Crucifixion, on the other a group of saints, and above, the two figures of the Annunciation. A certain refinement in the execution of the figure of the Virgin may be due to the size of the picture and does not atone for the heaviness and lack of elegance, so striking in the other figures and which seem to characterize Lorenzo's later manner.

In the Museum of Rouen we find two panels which in style resemble the second of the two pictures in Sta. Croce; two saints and a small donor are represented on each, on one St. Antony of Padua (?) and St. John the Baptist, on the other SS. Louis of Toulouse and John the Evangelist (fig. 364) (1). In type and attitude the Baptist reminds us of the corresponding figure in Sta. Croce, only he is of a somewhat more clumsy aspect. In a panel in the Gallery of Pisa the figures of the Baptist, St. James the Elder and St. Antony (fig. 365) are executed in a more graceful manner. The design and general outline of these figures are also depicted with more precision but chronologically they cannot be far distant from those of Rouen. In the archives of the Cathedral of Pisa another panel by the same master, showing three figures of saints, might have been the pendant of the one in the Gallery of this town (2).

---

(1) *M. Nicolle*, Le Musée de Rouen; peintures, Paris, 1920. p. 19, attributes these pictures to Bernardo Daddi.

(2) The list of this artist's works has been given by *Sirén* in L'Arte, 1904, p. 338, 1905, p. 48, 1908, p. 179 and in Thieme-Becker, Künstler Lexikon; by *M. Salmi* in L'Arte, 1913. p. 213 and in *Khvoshinsky e Salmi*, op. cit., p. 58. Besides the works we have dealt with, these two authors in their last reconstruction of the painter's productions also mention most of the following; to their lists I add some others: *Boston*, Fine Arts Museum, small Madonna seated on clouds; *Florence*, Uffizi store-room, 4612, small Madonna; Idem, 4669—70, SS. Nicholas and Bartholomew, 4658, '60, '62, '64, parts of a polyptych; S. Marco Museum, Ospizio, no. 16. Coronation of the Virgin; Horne Museum, Madonna and saints; Acton coll., Madonna; *S. Gimignano*, Gallery, SS. Gregory and Fina and scenes from the latter's history 1402, Madonna; *Lastra a Signa*, Perkins coll., panel with two saints; *Oxford*, Christ Church, Madonna seated on a cushion; *Pescia*, Museo Civico, no. 8, small Madonna. A St. Martin dividing his coat in the Rijksmuseum, *Amsterdam*, is attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolo, but seems to me of an earlier date.

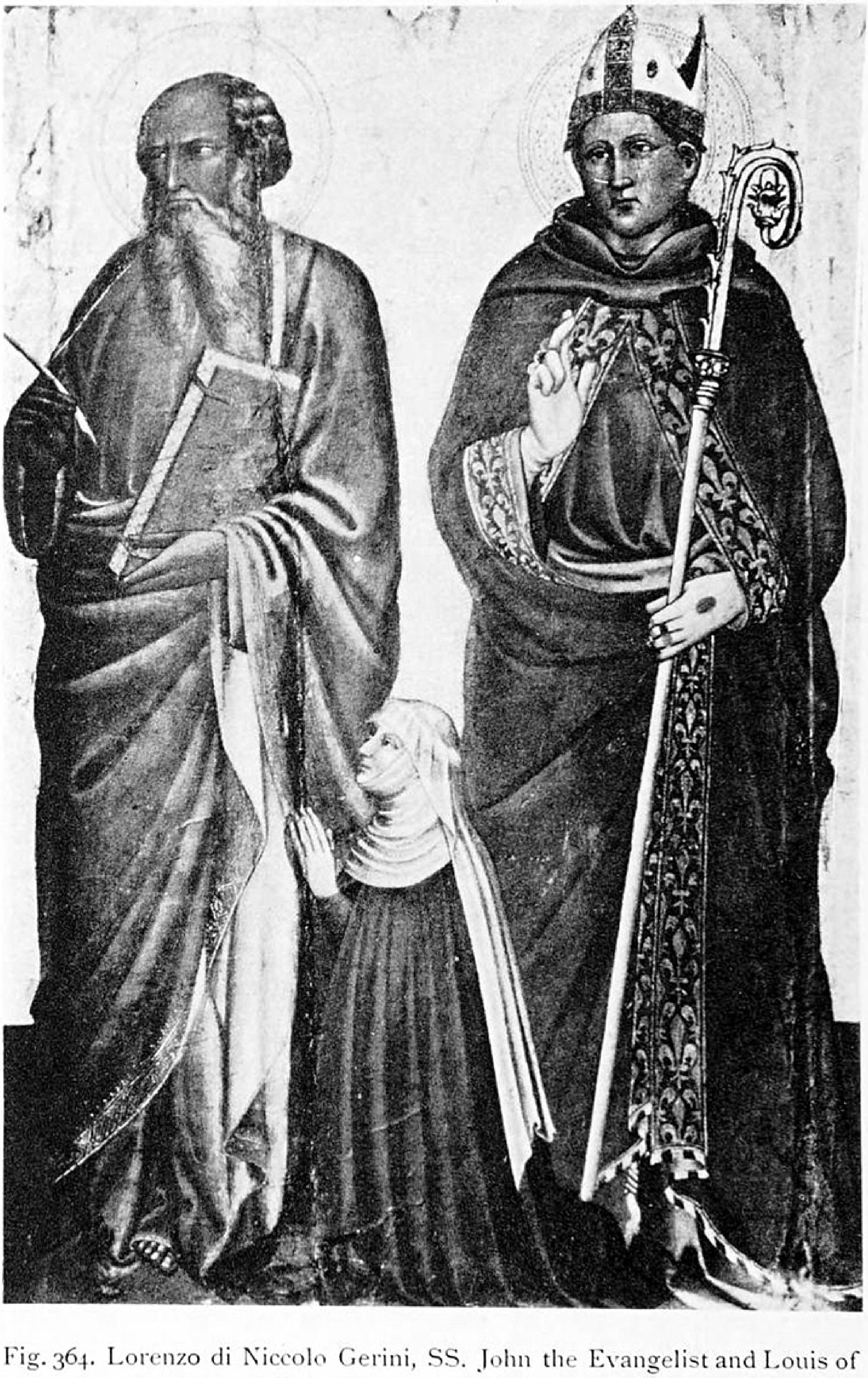


Fig. 364. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, SS. John the Evangelist and Louis of Toulouse. Museum, Rouen.

Photo Bulloz.

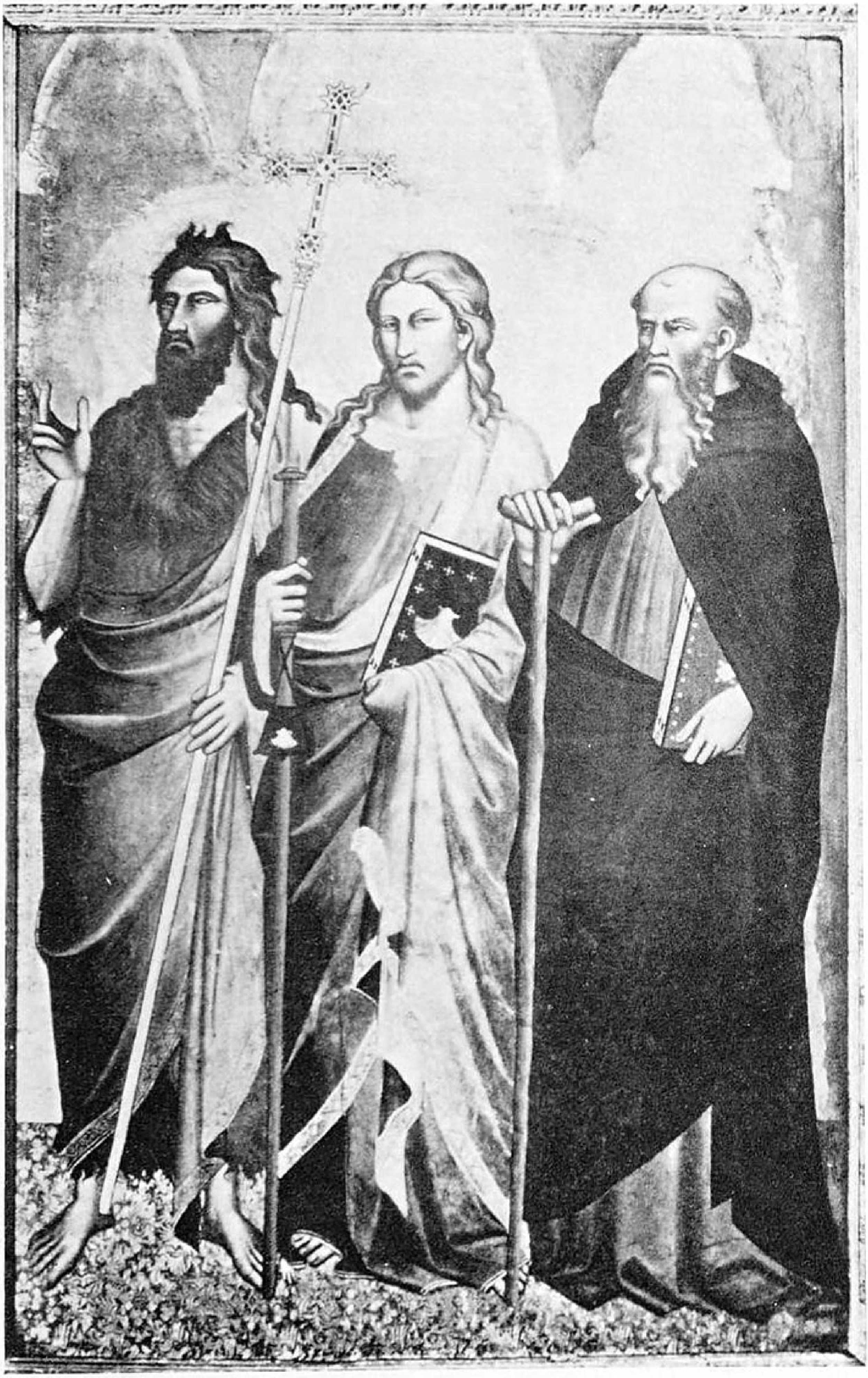


Fig. 365. Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, SS. Antony Abbot, James the Elder and the Baptist. Gallery, Pisa. Photo Brogi.

With Lorenzo di Niccolo's early manner, Trecento painting revives for one moment only to disappear again very suddenly. The artist, as we have observed, had many qualities which he must have acquired by studying and appreciating painters of an earlier period than the one to which his father belonged, and than whom Lorenzo was really a better and less vulgar artist. He was a more skilled draughtsman and a better colorist, and he attempted, with a fair amount of success to follow his illustrious predecessors, even in the more delicate particularities of their technique. He grasped the value of sober concentrated compositions for dramatic effects, and as a narrator he may be called the last adherent of that tradition which goes straight back to Giotto himself.

Lorenzo di Niccolo, however, was not a great master and when he came under the influence of Spinello and Lorenzo Monaco, especially that of the latter, his art degenerated, although figures like those in the panels of Pisa and Rouen can still be called Trecento art, shown under a 15th century aspect.

## PIETRO NELLI AND TOMMASO DEL MAZZA.

Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza are only known to us through one enormous polyptych in the Pieve of Impruneta. Documents, published by Milanesi (¹), however, offer us further information concerning these two artists.

Besides the date of 1375 on the altar-piece, we know that until 1382 they kept a shop together. That same year Pietro matriculated in the corporation of "medici e speciali"; in 1384 he received payment for the Impruneta picture and in 1397 was charged with the decoration of the choir of the same Pieve. In 1411 he was

---

(¹) *G. Milanesi*, Memorie intorno a Pietro Nelli, Florence, 1877. *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, p. 609, note 3. See also *Khvoshinsky e Salmi*, op. cit., p. 63, who attribute to Pietro Nelli a frescoed triptych of 1382 in the ex-Franciscan church at Borgo San Lorenzo.

inscribed in the company of S. Lucca and in 1416 [1] painted a fresco for the refectory of the hospital of S. Bonifazio. He died in 1419.

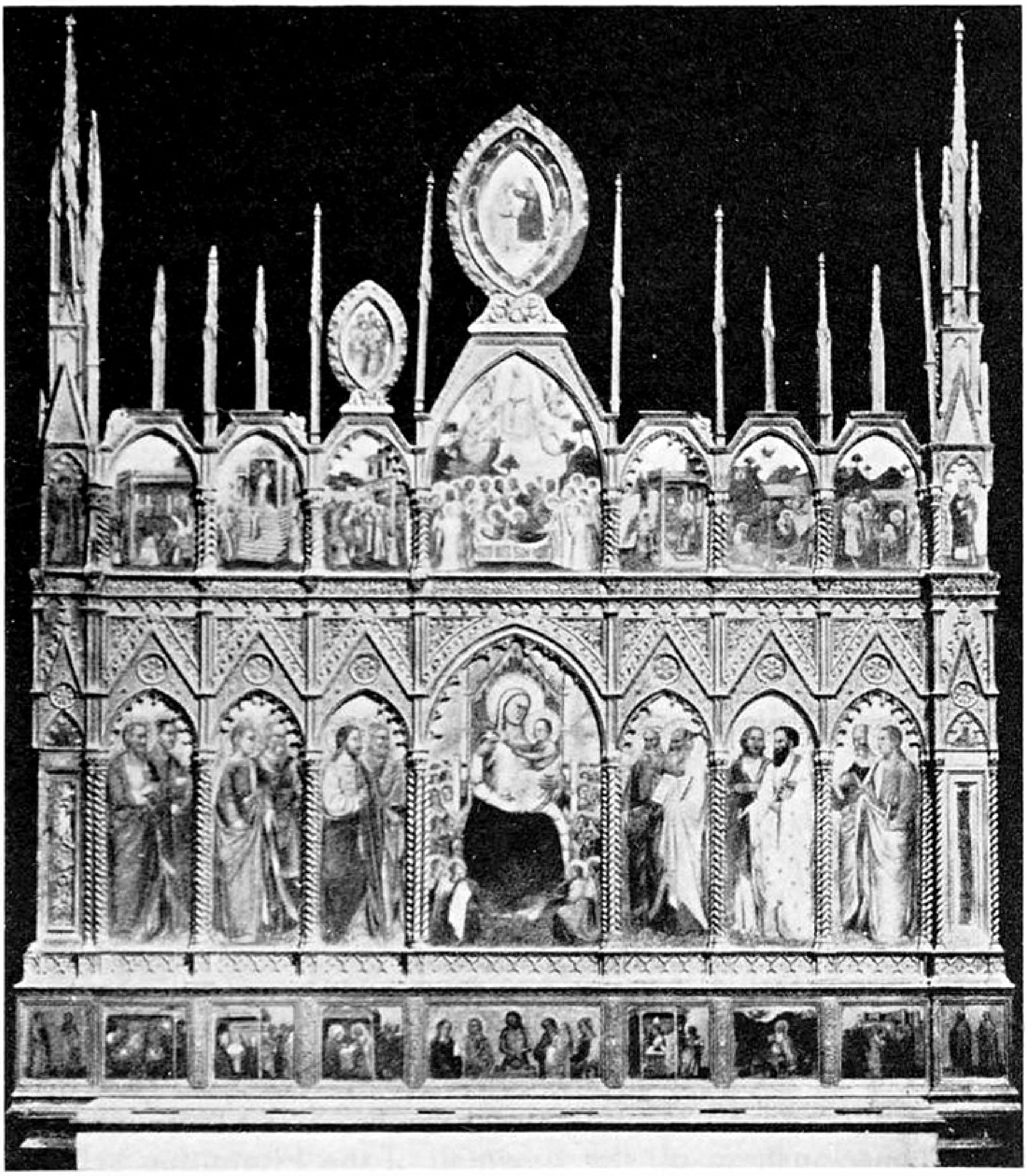


Fig. 366. Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza, polyptych, 1375. Pieve, Impruneta.

Photo Alinari.

Milanesi identifies Tommaso del Mazza with Tommaso di

---

[1] In the matricola of the painters of Florence we read, after the name of Pietro di Nello, "abb. 1406". *Gualandi,* Memorie, VI, p. 187. *L. Manzoni,* Statuti e matricole dell' arte dei pittori delle città di Firenze, Perugia, Siena, Rome, 1904, p. 130.

Marco; he matriculated in 1377 (1) and for the same hospital in which Nelli painted the fresco, he executed a panel in 1391 Milanesi affirms that he ornamented with six frescoes the chapel to the left of the choir in the Cathedral of Prato.

Vasari tells us that Tommaso was a pupil of Andrea Orcagna and in 1392 made a panel which in his time was to be found in the church of S. Antonio, Pisa.

We can only judge the merits of these two painters from the polyptych, mentioned above (fig. 366), in the centre of which the Virgin is represented enthroned and surrounded by angels, while of the three panels to either side each contains two figures of Apostles. Below, the predella is divided into seven compartments, the central one showing us the Lord standing dead in His tomb. Above, an equal number of panels illustrate events from the youth of the Virgin and of the Saviour while in the middle we find the Death of the Madonna depicted. Only two of the pinnacles now remain.

Instead of connecting our artists with Taddeo Gaddi and Niccolo Gerini as has been done, I see in them late imitators of Bernardo Daddi. Not only is the polyptych in its ensemble modelled on Bernardo's altar-piece now in the Uffizi, but the proportions, types, expressions and general feeling all reflect Daddi's art.

It is not devoid of interest to observe that at the close of the 14th century we find at the same time that Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini (2) revived, as it were, Taddeo Gaddi's manner, two other painters were drawing their inspiration from Taddeo's greatest contemporary, who, however, was representative of quite another tendency.

That there were artists at that time who selected their masters from painters of a bygone generation may have resulted from their consciousness of the downfall of the Florentine school.

Artists like Lorenzo di Niccolo, Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza form the link between the great Florentine Trecento tradition and those painters who, like Bicci di Lorenzo, who died in 1452, produced during a great part of the 15th century, works in which the Giottesque elements are really of more importance than those borrowed from their contemporaries or immediate predecessors (fig. 367).

---

(1) In the same matricola we find the year 1390 inscribed after the name of Tommaso del Mazza. *Gualandi*, op. cit., p. 188. *Manzoni*, op. cit., p. 130.

(2) *O. Sirén* believes that Lorenzo di Niccolo also assisted in the execution of the Impruneta polyptych, L'Arte, 1904, p. 342.

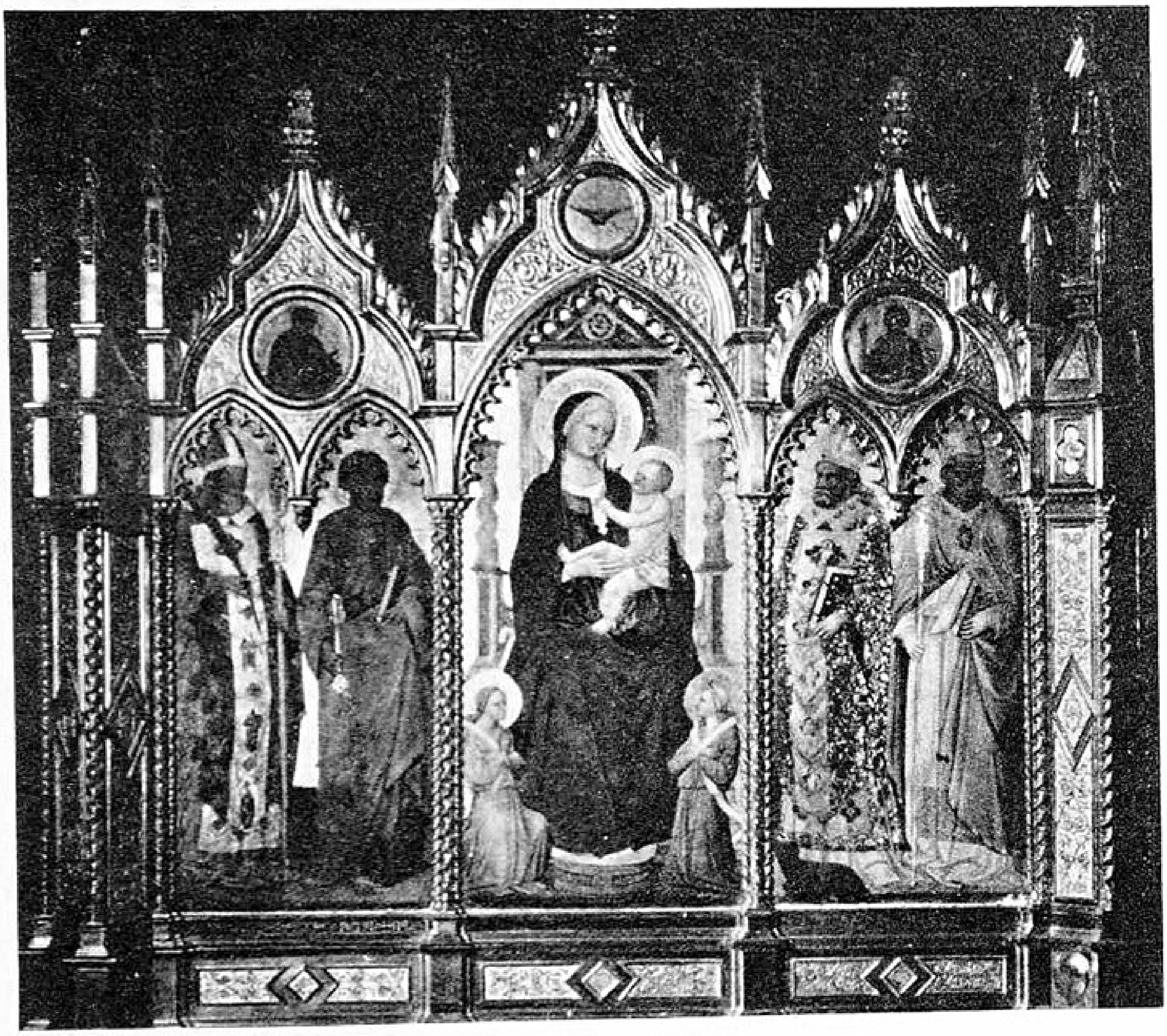


Fig. 367. Bicci di Lorenzo, polyptych. Cathedral, Fiesole.

Photo Brogi.

# APPENDIX.

## NOTES ON FLORENTINE MINIATURES.

Florentine miniatures have been studied and copiously illustrated by Signor D'Ancona (1). Notwithstanding the considerable number of interesting examples of this art that we possess, it is difficult to determine the existence of a Florentine school of miniature painting.

Sienese art lent itself more than Florentine to the production of miniatures. The members of the former school had little to change to their already minute technique to enter the domain of this branch of art, while the Florentine painters, accustomed as they were to monumental proportions, had to entirely alter their artistic conceptions and their technique to become accomplished miniaturists. Moreover, I think that this art was much less practised in Florence than it was in Siena.

Further, as I have already remarked in the previous volume, Florence employed Sienese miniaturists, for one of the official registers of the town of Florence of about 1330, which I saw not long ago in an old book-dealer's shop, was illustrated with very fine miniatures belonging to Simone Martini's school (2); and these are not the only Florentine miniatures executed after this manner (3).

Genuinely Giottesque miniatures are rare and Signor D'Ancona reproduces only a few which, besides, are not very beautiful (4).

The finest miniatures showing Florentine characteristics are some which, on account of a Sienese element, are reminiscent of the art of Bernardo Daddi, one of the few Florentine painters of this period, whose temperament was not antithetic to miniature painting. The most important series, in which, however, the connection with Daddi

---

(1) *P. D'Ancona*, La miniatura fiorentina, 2 vols., Florence, 1912.

(2) Vol. II, p. 593.

(3) *D'Ancona*, op. cit , pls. 16, 29.

(4) *D'Ancona*, op. cit., pls. 12—13; and of later date, pls. 25—27.

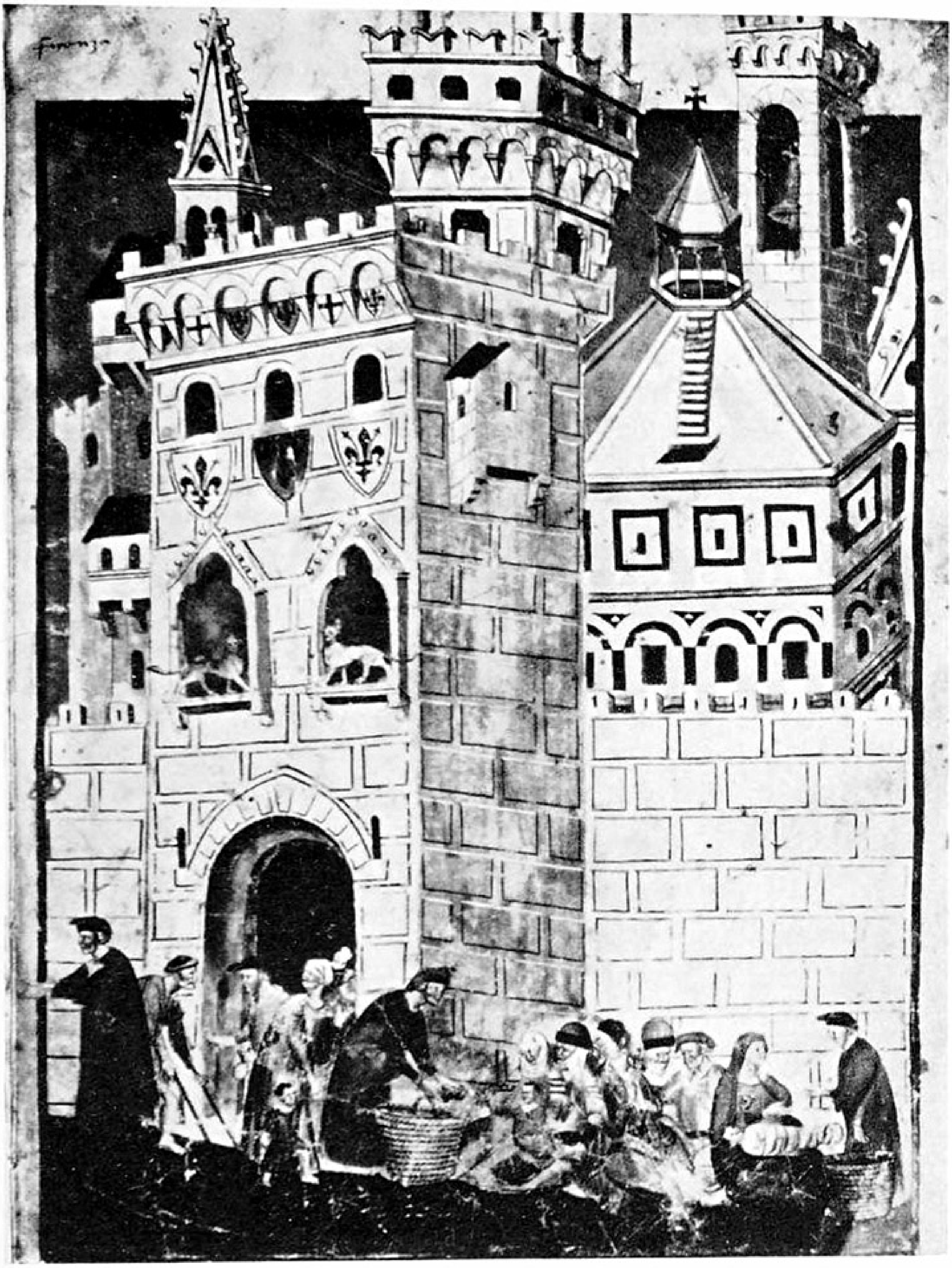


Fig. 368. Miniature from Lenzi's "Biadajolo", circa 1335. Laurenziana Library, Florence.

Photo Pestellini and Ciacchi.

is not very evident, is found in the so-called "Biadajolo" manuscript of Domenico Lenzi in the Laurenziana Library in Florence, dating probably from about 1335 (fig. 368). In these illuminations, action is depicted with a vivacity which is thoroughly Florentine, while the appearance of the figures, their elongated proportions and graceful forms in particular, seem to derive from Sienese art.

A more direct influence of Daddi is manifest in some of the miniatures from the hand of Don Simone Camaldolese (1); others, also attributed to him show, on the contrary, a later technique with a certain resemblance to the manner of Niccolo di Pietro Gerini (2), whose influence will also be found in other Florentine miniatures (3).

The above remarks only help to prove that there existed in Florence a certain activity in this branch of art, the productions of which reflect some of the elements of the contemporary school of painting. In Florence, however, the art of miniature was of little importance until the 15th century, when Lorenzo Monaco and his pupils founded a school of miniature painting which was of great consequence and long duration.

---

(1) *Idem*, pls. 18, 19 and 23.
(2) *Idem*, pls. 17, 20 and 21.
(3) *Idem*, pls. 24, 32 and 33.

# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 1. While this volume was in the press, there appeared *W. Hausenstein*, Giotto, Berlin (1923), the chief interest of which is the setting forth of the different studies on Giotto. The book, which is written in a very affirmative and enthousiastic manner, offers no new ideas. One of its great drawbacks is that all Rintelen's theories from his "Giotto und die Giotto-apokryphen" are taken as final. I do not deny the importance of Rintelin's fine work, although I do not agree with some of the opinions he expresses therein.

Hausenstein, in common with many other writers, makes the mistake of arguing that works showing some variety in style — especially a better or worse technique — must be from different hands. It is one of the critic's most delicate tasks to determine to what extent a painter's manner may vary, and the easiest course to follow is to reject the possibility of two works of somewhat different style being by the same artist. It is this method that Hausenstein, as well as Rintelen and some other writers, has followed when he abrogates the frescoes at Assisi from the list of Giotto's productions. It is not because I do not see a difference between them and his other works that I continue to believe this series of paintings by the great Florentine. The greater the artist, the more likely is he to change his manner.

p. 254. A late Giottesque crucifix, rather smaller than the usual size, is preserved in the chapel of Pius IV at the end of the store-room of the Vatican Gallery.

p. 293, 5th. line from below, the word "follower" should read "with".

p. 294. A picture of the school of the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece was brought to light after the collection that Mr. H. P. Horne left to the city of Florence, was arranged. There are several other important paintings in this collection which only recently have come to my knowledge. The panel in question is a triptych showing the half-length figures of the Madonna with the Child and of two saints. It bears a particularly close resemblance to the Madonna of Pescia which is by the master himself.

p. 294. In the December 1923 number of the Bolletino d'Arte del Ministero della-Pubblica Istruzione, *R. Offner's* article entitled, Jacopo del Casentino, integrazione della sua opera, appeared. in which the author ascribed a considerable number of new works to this artist.

Apart from those that I have already mentioned in this volume, I can accept the following from Mr. Offner's list: *Florence*, Loeser coll., the Death of the Virgin (p. 272, I included this picture in the list of works of Giotto's school, but I think that Mr. Offner's attribution is correct); in the same coll., a half-length figure of the Madonna with the Child; *Princetown*, New Jersey, A. Marquand coll., Crucifixion; *Rome*, Vatican Gallery, store-room, no. 104, half-length figure of the Madonna (?). Two other Madonnas in Lucca and Genoa that Mr. Offner ascribes to Jacopo are unknown to me.

Among the works that Mr. Offner includes as Jacopo del Casentiono's, there is a group which I think can be attributed to another painter, one who shows a close connection to Jacopo del Casentino with whom, however, he cannot be identified. They are: an enthroned Madonna, considerably repainted, in the oratory at Scarpia; a triptych in the Bondi collection, Vienna (Madonna with saints in the centre and the Nativity, Crucifixion and the Annunciation in the side panels); a Madonna in the midst of angels and saints in the Städelsche Kunst Institut, Frankfort a. M., and a half-length figure of the Madonna in the Paolini collection, Rome.

In agreement with several of my predecessors, I ascribe (p. 291) the panel of St. Miniatus in S. Miniato al Monte, near Florence, to the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece; a Madonna in the Gallery of Brussels was mentioned (vol. II, p. 156[2]) as a late copy of a painting by Segna di Buonaventura; I have included (p. 272) a panel showing a holy bishop, the Baptist and St. Peter among the Giottesque works as I did not believe that the attribution to Jacopo del Casentino was correct; but since I have read Mr. Offner's article, I do not think it altogether impossible that it might be from this artist's hand. I am of opinion however that we cannot hold him responsible for a triptych, divided between the Galleries of Berlin and Göttingen and a Madonna in the Horne collection, Florence (19); the latter seems of later date and sooner from the hand of a Florentine follower of Segna di Buonaventura.

However I see no reason to contest the attribution to Jacopo of the upper part of the panel outside the Palazzo dell' Arte della Lana, representing the Coronation of the Virgin which Mr. Offner ascribes to an adherent of the Gerini but it seems much more repainted.

The difference in our conception of this master and the divergency in the works that we attribute to him originate from the fact that Mr. Offner admits an important Sienese element, even a direct influence of Duccio, in Jacopo del Casentino's art, with which hypothesis I disagree.

p. 317. Executed at the same early period as the pictures at Strasbourg and in the Lichtenstein collection and just as strongly influenced by Daddi is a triptych which I saw many years ago in a private collection and which I attributed to Bernardo Daddi (p. 376). Quite recently I discovered the same work cleaned and in much better condition in Florence and recognized in it an early work of Taddeo Gaddi's.

Another youthful production by this artist, although somewhat later than the foregoing and slightly less influenced by Daddi, is an enthroned Madonna in the Horne Museum, Florence (no. 77). The attitudes and general appearance are very similar to those of the Madonna in the Lehman collection.

p. 335, note 1, "1912" should read "1921".

p. 338, 6th line from below, "S. Felice" should read "Sta. Felicita".

p. 344. The Madonna with saint at Stia which I attribute to a late follower of Taddeo Gaddi, is ascribed, without sufficient reason I think, to Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini by Signor G. Poggi, the Superintendent of Fine Arts for Tuscany. in *G. Dainelli e G. Poggi,* Itinerari automobilistici d'Italia, Toscana, Florence, 1924, p. 219.

p. 376—77. For the triptych attributed to Daddi, see the addition to p. 317.

p. 390. The Horne Museum, Florence, possesses still two pictures which I hesitatingly ascribe to Daddi himself. The one is an important part of a Crucifixion (no. 54) and is catalogued as a production of the Sienese school of the 14th century. The other represents the martyrdom of St. Peter (no. 99) and is classified as a Tuscan work of the 14th century. The Crucifixion in the Horne collection, Florence, should be erased from this list. The Venosti Visconti collection that I mention here is in Rome, not in Paris, the triptych in this collection might be by Daddi himself.

p. 408 note 1. Among the triptychs of Daddi's school might still be mentioned one in the Museum of Tivoli, which in Rassegna d'Arte, 1916, p. 99, is attributed to the school of Simone Martini.

pp. 417 and 424. The word "Pseudo" should be erased from the titles of figs. 240 and 242.

p. 419. 20th line "Covone" should read "Cavone".

p. 421 note 1. A painting which in many respects reminds us — as has rightly been remarked by Signor A. Chiappelli (Rassegna d'Arte. 1909, p. 71) — of Maso, is the Madonna enthroned in the midst of ten angels and saints, discovered in a tabernacle on the corner of via del Leone and via della Chiese. Particularly the figures in the foreground — the Baptist and St. Romuald (?) — resemble in type and treatment those we find in Maso's work.

p. 424. A painting of the Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John, which belongs to Mr. Arthur Acton. Florence, may be ascribed to Giottino.

p. 443. 3rd line of new chapter "Activities are only known to us" should read "Activities were, until recently, only known to us".

p. 463. 13th line from below "Pozzi" should read "Pazzi".

p. 490. To Nardo di Cione's works can be added a little triptych in Mr. Henry Goldman's collection, New York. representing the slightly more than half-length figure of the Virgin between the standing figures of SS. Peter and John the Evangelist and possibly also the very damaged fresco of St. Benedict and scenes from his life in the Museum of the Ognissanti church, Florence (*R. Offner*, Nardo di Cione and his triptych in the Goldman collection, Art in America, 1924, p. 99).

p. 508. The part of this volume dealing with the "Compagno dell'Orcagna was printed a considerable length of time before Mr. Offner's article to which I referred in the addition to p. 490, appeared. Although I do not agree with him on every point. I am pleased to see that, quite independently, we have arrived at the same conclusion, viz. the existence of an anonymous member of the Orcagna group, to whom he too ascribes the altar-piece in Sta. Croce and the Holy Trinity retable and whose hand he also recognizes in the two panels in Munich. The list of works I attribute to this artist, however. is much longer. We might perhaps identify this anonymous master with the fourth brother, Matteo di Cione.

p. 517 note 1. A Coronation of the Virgin in Mr. Arthur Acton's collection, Florence, should be added to the list of works of the Orcagna school.

p. 533 note 2. Giovanni del Biondo might be accredited with a painting of St. Onuphrius with a small devotee in the Acton collection, Florence. The panel shows a long inscription which is a feature common to this master's works.

p. 562. I should like to make it clear that the Madonna in the Town Hall of San Gimignano, claimed by Cavalcaselle as a work by Cenno di Ser Cenni, still exists and that the attribution is correct.

p. 609. The scenes from the Passion in the Pharmacy of Sta. Maria Novella that I described as a work of the school of Spinello Aretino, are attibuted to Mariotto di Nardo by Messrs. *Khovshinsky and Salmi*, op. cit., II, p. 60.

p. 609. With regard to the name of Lippo, it will be found as the painter's signature on the sword of a half-length figure of St. Paul. which as pendant to that of St. Peter adorns one of the lateral panels of a painting of the Madonna in the Acton collection, Florence. But this work seems to be of a somewhat earlier date and originates probably from Siena, where this manner of signing a picture is not rare.

p. 624 note 1. A saint dressed in a red cloak in the Acton collection, Florence, might be attributed to Niccolo di Pietro Gerini.

p. 625, 5th line of note 1 of p. 624: "Schmitzen" should read "Schnütgen".

*local follower of* —, frescoes in the vault 190[1], 260.

S. Damiano, *Giotto's school*, Madonna 267.

S. Francesco, *Frate Martino*, active 259[1].

Upper Church, *Cavallini's school*, the Fathers of the Church 17, 175; *Cimabue, eclectic follower of* —, scenes relating to the life of Christ 94; *Giotto*, St. Francis cycle 5, **17—48**, 51, 76, 121, 122, 123, 126, 128—133, 136, 170—77, 183, 233, 239, 268, 276, 277, 280—84, 307, 308, 309, 310, 312, 312[1], 357. additions; *Giotto*, Madonna 41; *Giotto, assistant of* —, continuation of the St. Francis cycle (scenes 20—24) 133, 136, 146, **178—82**, 186, 227, 266; *the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece*, continuation of the St. Francis cycle (scenes 25—28) **280—85**; *idem*, collaborated in the first scene of this cycle 284, 285, Roman painters of the end of the 13th cent., active 169.

Lower Church, *Capanna, Puccio* —, active 267, 267[1]; *Giotto and helpers*, frescoes in the Magdalene chapel 5, 7, 42, 128, **147—157**; 161, 224, 267; *Giotto, Assisan follower of* —, Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the legend of St. Stanislaus in the tribune **259 – 262**, 411; *Giotto, late follower of* —, the Crucifixion in the tribune 266; *Simone Martini*, frescoes in the St. Martin's chapel 268; *the Master of S. Francesco*, frescoes in the nave 35, 45, 175[1]; *Master Stefano*, frescoes in the St. Nicholas chapel 227, **228—37**, 264, 409, 421, 424; *Master Stefano, follower of* —, two frescoes of a miracle of St. Francis in the right transept **237—40**, 310; *the Master of the Vele*, Franciscan allegories above the altar 10, **201—208**; *the Master of the Vele and helpers*, frescoes referring to the Saviour and St. Francis **207—22**, 227, 274, 315, 329.

S. Francesco, monastery, *Giotto, Assisan follower of* —, Crucifixion **262**.

Sta. Maria degli Angeli, *Giotto*, active 9, 43, 44; *Giotto, follower of* —, figures in the Porziuncola 266; *the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece*, the Baptist, v. Oxford, Christ Church College.

S. Ruffinuccio, *Giotto, Assisan follower of* —, Crucifixion, Flagellation and Entombment 262.

S. Giuseppe Institute, *Giotto, Assisan follower of* —, Baptist, Archangel, Annunciation, Crucifixion etc. 264.

Private coll., *Giotto's school*, fresco fragments from S. Pietro, Rome 272.

Monsignor Tini's coll., *Giotto's school*, crucifix 253.

**Avignon** 10, 11.

*Giotto*, active 5, 9; *Orcagna, Andrea* —, sends pictures to the Pope at — 458.

Gallery, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, Madonna 618; *Orcagna's school*, Coronation of the Virgin (322) 517[1].

**Bajmocz.**

Pálffy coll., *Compagno dell' Orcagna*, polyptych 512.

**Bergen** (Norway).

Museum, *Master Stefano, attrib. to* —, Madonna 240.

**Berlin.**

Kaiser Friedrich Museum, *Aretino's, Spinello* —, *school*, Last Supper 609; *Daddi*, triptych (1064) 358, **379**, 392[2]; *idem*, Madonna (1040) 346, **384**; *idem*, scene from the legend of St. Dominic (1094) **372**, 392[1], 469[1]; *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, Descent of the Holy Ghost, miracle of St. Francis (1073—74) 310; *idem*, triptych (1079) 303, **313—316**, 317, 377; *Giotto*, Death of the Virgin from the Ognissanti, Florence (1884) 10, **160**, 165, 321[1]; *Giotto's assistant*, Crucifixion ($1074^{A}$) **190**; *Giotto, Pistoian(?) follower of* —, Madonna and saints ($1141^{A}$) **270**; *idem*, the Assumption ($1141^{B}$) **270**, 321; *Jacopo del Casentino*, (wrongly attrib. to), panel of a triptych, additions; *Starnina*, altar-piece (1039) **571**.

Kupferstich Kabinet, *Orcagna, Andrea* —, or *Matteo di Cione*, part of a design for the pulpit of the Cathedral of Orvieto 472.

v. Beckerath coll., *Andrea da Firenze*, St. Mary Magdalene 442.

**Bologna.**

Sta. Trinita, *Capanna Puccio*, active 267;

Gallery, *Pacino di Buonaguida*, Madonna and saints (102) 12, **242**, 249, 250.

**Bonn.**

Gallery, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, decapitation of St. Catherine 624[1].

**Borgo San Lorenzo.**

*Nelli, Pietro —, attrib. to —*, frescoed triptych 646[1].

**Boston.**

Fine Arts Museum, *Gerini, Lor. di Nic.*—, Madonna (67) **638**; *idem*, Madonna (66) 643[2]; *Veneziano, Antonio* —, Madonna (new acq.) **449**.

Gardner coll., *Daddi*, Madonna 353; *Gaddi, Agnolo* —, (wrongly attrib. to), Annunciation 556[1]; *Gerini. Nic. di Pietro* —, *follower of* —, St. Antony 627; *Giotto, assistant of*—, Presentation in the Temple 186.

**Bovile Ernica.**

S. Pietro Ispano, *Giotto*, angel from mosaic in S. Pietro, Rome **14**, 17, 42.

**Brooklyn.**

Babbot coll., *Giotto, Pistoian* (?) *follower of* —, triptych 270, 321.

**Brunswick.**

Museum, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, Madonna and angels 629; *Gerini, Lor. di Nic.* —, Pilate washing his hands 638.

**Brussels.**

Gallery, *Segna di Buonaventura*, 15th century copy of —, Madonna, additions.

Somzee coll., *Orcagna, Andrea* —, Madonna, v. Budapest, Gallery.

**Budapest.**

Gallery, *Aretino, Spinello* —, panel from the Monte Olivetan altar-piece (21) 583; *the Master of the St. Cecily altar-piece, school of* —, Madonna (41) 276, 293; *Orcagna, Andrea* —, Madonna from the Somzee coll., Brussels (50) 468.

Zichy Museum, *Orcagna's school*, Coronation of the Virgin 517.

**Camaldoli.**

Monastery, *Aretino, Spinello* —, altar-piece 579.

**Cambridge (England).**

Fitzwilliam Museum, *Gerini, Nic. de Pietro* —, Annunciation (550) 614; *Giovanni del Biondo, attrib. to* —, Madonna 533[2].

**Cambridge (U. S. A.).**

Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, *Aretino, Spinello* —, panel from the Monte Olivetan altar-piece (4A–D) **583 – 585**; *idem*, Madonna (3) **599**; *Daddi*, triptych (1) **361**, 365, 368, 402; *Jacopo di Cione*, scenes from the history of Our Lord (2) **502**.

Kingsley Porter coll., *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, Madonna 624[1].

**Castel Fiorentino.**

S. Francesco, *Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni, attrib. to* —, frescoes of SS. Clare and Francis 562.

Sta. Sofia, *Giovanni del Biondo*, polyptych 518, 519.

Sta. Verdiana, *Giovanni del Biondo*, fragment of a polyptych 519; *Gaddi's, Taddeo* —, *school*, Madonna 342.

Gallery, *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, Madonna 342.

**Chantilly.**

Musée Condé, *Daddi, school of*—, Death of the Virgin 408[1]; *Giotto's* Navicella, design of — 14[3].

**Chatsworth.**

Lord Pembroke's coll., *Giotto's* Navicella, design of — 14[3].

**Chicago.**

Reyerson coll., *Aretino, Spinello* —, Confirmation of St. Francis' rule 606[1]; *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, Madonna 614.

**Citta di Castello.**

Gallery, *Aretino, Spinello* —, Madonna **599**.

**Cologne.**

Wallraf-Richartz Museum, *Giovanni del Biondo, attrib. to* —, Madonna, 533[2]; *Aretino, Spinello* —, panels from the Monte Olivetan altar-piece, formerly in the Ramboux coll. 583[2], 585.

Schnütgen Museum, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, portable crucifix, 624.

Ex-Ramboux coll., *Aretino, Spinello* —, panels from the Monte Olivetan altar-piece, v. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum.

**Copenhagen.**

Museum, *Aretino, Spinello* —, Madonna 606[1].

**Cortona.**

S. Domenico, *Gerini, Lor. di Nic.*—, altar-piece from S. Marco, Florence 632, 635.

**Cracow.**
Czartoryski Museum, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, Christ enthroned between angels (327) 624[1].
**Dijon.**
Museum, *Daddi's school,* triptych 408[1]; *Lorenzetti, Pietro* —, triptych 393[1]; *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, Nativity 321.
**Dresden.**
Gallery, *Daddi, follower of* —, Presentation in the Temple (27) 405; *Giotto, follower of* —, St. John in prison (5) 272.
**Düsseldorf.**
Bone coll., *Starnina,* picture 573[2].
**Edinburgh.**
Gallery, *Gaddi, Agnolo — (?),* Crucifixion from the Earl of Southesk's coll. 556[1]; *Giotto's school,* scenes relating to SS. Dominic, Francis and other saints 272.
**Empoli.**
Compagnia della Croce, *Lorenzo di Bicci,* made a crucifix for —, 574.
Collegiata, Gallery, *Nic. di Pietro Gerini's school,* Madonna (5), four saints (13), triptych (14) 631[2]; *Starnina,* picture 573[2].
**Englewood (U.S.A.).**
Platt coll., *Daddi,* Crucifixion 378; *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, prophet 344[1]; *Nardo di Cione,* centre of a triptych 487; *Starnina,* Madonna 573[2].
**Escurial.**
*Starnina,* lost frescoes 565[3].
**Ferrara.**
*Giotto,* active 6.
**Fiesole.**
S. Ansano, *Nuzi, Allegretto* —, (wrongy attrib. to), SS. Peter and John 509[3]; *Giovanni del Biondo,* altar-piece, v. Fiesole, Bandini Museum; *Starnina,* Madonna 573.
Sta. Maria Primerana, *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro* —, the Presentation in the Temple 624[1].
Bandini Museum, *Giovanni Bonsi (?),* two saints (15, 17) 408; *Daddi's school,* Virgin and adorer 404; *idem,* two wings of a triptych (17) 404; *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, saint 339; *Gaddi's, Taddeo* —, *school,* Annunciation 345; *Gerini, Nic. di Pietro,* — Trinity (21) 631[2]; *idem,* Madonna and saints 631[2]; *Giovanni del Biondo,* altar-piece from the S. Ansano church 518, 520, 521; *Nardo di Cione,* Crucifixion (36) 489; *Orcagna's school,* scenes from the Lord's Childhood 469[1].
**Figline.**
Misericordia, *Giovanni del Biondo,* Madonna 519, **531**.
Casa Pacetti, *Gaddi, Agnolo* —, frescoes 551.
**Florence.**
*Aretino, Spinello* —, active 518; *Giotto,* active 5, 6, 12, 43.

Churches, Monasteries, etc.
S. Ambrogio, *Gerini's, Nic. di Pietro* —, *school,* Descent from the Cross 631[2]; *Nardo di Cione,* Madonna 488.
Sma. Annunziata, *Gaddi, Taddeo* —, active 303, 302; *Orcagna, Andrea* —, active 458; *Starnina,* two saints, v. Munich, Altere Pinakothek.
S. Antonio, *Veneziano, Antonio* —, lost painting 451.
Sti. Apostoli, *Orcagna, Andrea* —, Madonna 466.
S. Appolinare, *Orcagna, Andrea* —, and *Nardo di Cione,* active 458.
Badia, *Buffalmacco,* active 276; *Capanna, Puccio* —, active 267; *Giotto,* active 9; *Maso,* frescoes in the Cavone chapel 413, 419; *Nardo di Cione,* Passion scenes in the Giocchi e Bastari chapel, **481**; *Orcagna, Andrea* —, polyptych 465, 509[3].
Baptistery, *Gaddi, Agnolo* —, active 536
S. Barnaba, *Orcagna's school,* figures of saints 508[1].
S. Basil Monastery, *Giottino* lost paintings 411.
S. Brancazio, *Gaddi, Agnolo* —, lost altar-piece 539.
Carmine, *Aretino, Spinello* —, fresco fragments, v. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool and National Gallery, London; *Gaddi, Agnolo* —, lost frescoes in the choir 538; *Giovanni da Milano (?),* Madonna and saints in the sacristy 442; *Starnina, attrib. to* —, frescoes in the S. Gerolamo chapel, 565.
Cloister, *Giovanni del Biondo, attrib. to* —, Madonna and saints 533[2].
Cathedral, *Gaddi, Agnolo* —,